

**OPENING THE “BLACK BOX”: NONRESIDENTIAL AFRICAN AMERICAN
FATHERS ON BLACK MEN’S EDUCATIONAL OUTCOMES: DURING THE
PERIOD OF THREE FEDERAL POLICY**

A Record of Study

by

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Submitted to the Office of Graduate and Professional Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

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December 2015

Major Subject: Educational Administration

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ABSTRACT

The study investigates the education phenomenon of nonresidential African American fathers as boys across educational policy. These fathers give narratives of their lived education experiences as children through various education reforms. Described in the research are restrictive learning environments, education socialization, and the cross-generational impact on males who become nonresidential African American fathers. The research draws on looking back at lived education experiences during various education reforms. Retrospective research performed in medicine when researchers look backwards from an outcome to discover new information. The findings help to identify factors not captured in an initial study. Through social justice theory narrative analysis will inform the researcher of unsuspecting occurrences or phenomenon part of education reforms designed to close learning gaps. Retrospective research analyzes education reform policies with negative outcomes of a group in order to adjust policies and pedagogy to increase academic achievement among African American males. The findings suggest education agents interpret and practice at the campus level impact the no solutions were in place to partner with NRAAFs to insure the academic and social success of their children when education reform policies were implemented.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my committee chair, Dr. Webb-Hasan, and my committee members, Dr. B. Irby, Dr. P. Larke, Dr. E. McKyer, and Dr. K.M. Foster.

Thanks also go to my friends, colleagues and the department faculty and staff for making my time at Texas A&M University a great experience. I also want to extend my gratitude to the Center for Public Policy Priorities, and to the men who were willing to participate in this study.

Thanks to my mother, Mae E. Fletcher and Uncle Johnson L. Fletcher (ret.) United States Navy. Finally, a special thanks to my ancestors, Johnson Piper (Big Papa), Henrietta Fletcher (Mamo), Queen Esther Piper (Aunt Sister), Ruby Fletcher, Early Piper and Eddie B. Fletcher.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

“The weakest person has no business carrying the water to the fight.”

Dr. Edmund Gordon

In the past five decades since the integration of the public school system, various education reforms have attempted to address the education gaps of African American children. However, education reform measures have not accurately addressed the limitations or inadequacies experienced by African American males (Ball, 1994). This study establishes how the lived education experiences of nonresidential African American fathers contribute to their sons’ educational outcomes. To date, longitudinal research exists that considers the impacts of these reforms through the experiences of African American males. Few studies establish how the school experiences of these men as boys, shape their life-long perceptions that later extend to the educational and social experiences of their sons (Harper & Fine, 2006). This retrospective study provides insight into these reforms through the voices of these nonresidential African American fathers (NRAAF).

Although I recognize the discrepancies associated with the educational and societal gaps of African American females, for the purpose of this study, I concentrate on African American males. It is not my intent to overlook African American girls who face challenges in education as well, but to narrow the research to the group with

consistently low academic achievement. African American males have continued to academically underperform and are socially tracked to prison in much higher numbers than African American girls, whites, or other groups of color (Skiba, Michael, Nardo, & Peterson, 2002; Texas Appleseed, 2010).

“Nonresidential” is a term widely used to describe fathers living apart from their biological children (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (2004). They can be unmarried, divorced, or fathers who are married but with long-term or indefinite separation from the rest of their family (Julion, Breitenstein & Waddell, 2012). In the U.S., 65 percent of African American fathers (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010) are living apart from at least one of their children (p. 85). Similarly, in 2000 the State of Texas, female-headed households represented the largest percentages of impoverished African American families, reaching approximately 70 percent and 73 percent 2010 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). Single African American father head of household is 15 percent (Pew Research Center, 2014). This data suggest that many African fathers in Texas may be nonresidential.

While there are large numbers of nonresidential African American (NRAAFs) fathers both nationally and presumably in Texas, there are few studies (Julion, Julion, & Breitenstein, 2012; Miller, & Maiter, 2008; Ransaw, 2012) that focus on the influence of these fathers on the education outcomes of their children (Coles & Green 2009; Kindle, 2012; Perry, 2009; Ransaw, 2012). Parental involvement is important to the success of a child both academically and socially. Residential fathers are viewed in education as positive role models to their children and are attributed to the academic and social

success of their family (Kreider 2009). The research on nonresidential European American fathers suggests that they also positively impact the education outcome of their children (Harper, & Fine, 2006). These various findings call for greater understandings of how the presence of nonresidential African American fathers shapes the academic development of their children, specifically their sons.

This study helps fill this gap in the literature and understanding by inquiring into these NRAAF's educational experiences. The voices of NRAAF are an overlooked and critical source of insight into the reforms that have influenced generations (e.g., Boomers, Generation X, Millennium) of African American men's education. Their varied experiences, through different reforms, convey the lived experience of the implementation of these policies and help to evaluate the impact of these reforms across time.

Reforms

The study focuses on selected reforms following *Brown vs. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954), which declared segregated public schools as unconstitutional and thereby integrated the public school system. The first major reform was the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), defined as Public Law 89-10 and established under President Lyndon Baines Johnson's "War on Poverty." It was designed to provide every child with equal access to a high quality education including a curriculum that met the needs of every child to close education gaps. The second program was the Zero Tolerance policy established toward weapons on school campuses under the Gun-Free Schools Act of 1994 (Pub. L. 103-382, Title I, § 101, October 20, 1994, 198 Stat. 3907).

The policy established sanctions to punish intentional or accidental infractions regardless of the extenuating circumstances. The third program was No Child Left Behind of 2001 (NCLB), which was the reauthorization and re-naming of ESEA – a program created to redirect funding to schools and school districts with high percentages of low-income students and families. NCLB was designed to assess, through state mandated testing, whether schools closed the gaps in student achievement. No Child Left Behind of 2001(NCLB) a standards based education reform establishing measurable academic outcomes of African American students (Gonzalez-DeHass, Willems, & Holbein, 2005). There are other reforms that came out of the Brown decision. I focus these because these were financially driven policies that incentivized high enrollment.

Although the Brown decision created a precedent for these reforms, there was no framework for the implementation of integration or a scholastic mechanism to measure outcomes (Ogbu, 1978). Without a previous model to follow, Brown lacked social justice depth to demonstrate an ability to prevent discriminatory practices in schools and increase academic measurable outcomes across the social realm. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), defined as Public Law 89-10, was established to create equity of opportunity for students. No Child Left Behind followed this law. The reauthorization of ESEA, No Child Left Behind (NCLB) focuses on ability and overlooks other critical sections of the policy. In NCLB, Section 1118 is dedicated to parent involvement. The law or policy requires the participation of parents with written provisions on how schools will draw on both parents' participation to build capacity (Gonzalez-DeHass, Willems, & Holbein, 2005).

Absent are the voices of the students that experienced education through this policy. I offer the voices as one source of feedback and descriptive measure of the impacts of these programs.

Research Questions

To consider these policies and help fill the gap in the literature, this research explores the education experiences of nine to twelve nonresidential African American fathers with sons that also have been subject to reform programs. These fathers and their sons overwhelmingly have experienced these reforms through restricted learning environments including special education or a disciplinary context – created by Zero Tolerance. Several questions focus my investigation of these fathers’ experiences and the broader contexts in which they operate to evaluate the impact of these reforms on the lives of African American males:

- 1) How have NRAAF benefitted from educational policies and societal programs as it related to their education outcomes and their lived education experiences from restrictive learning environments?
- 2) What factors in education have impacted and created systemic disadvantages (e.g., unemployment, penal system, high mortality, family instability) for NRAAF in society?
- 3) What solutions do NRAAF offer for the education of their children?

This record of study was organized into five chapters. Chapter I serves as the introductory chapter to the study with the following sections: (a) an overview of education reforms, (b) research questions, (c) early education, (d) inequity in education among African American students, (e) nonresidential African American fathers, (f) theoretical framework, (g) research design, (h) role of researcher, (i) significance of the study, (j) operational definitions, (k) extra, (l) longitudinal component of research, and (m) data and statistics on African Americans. The chapter opens with an introduction followed by an overview of education reforms. Next, the chapter presents research questions, followed by literature on early education and the aforementioned in chapter one. Chapter II provides related literature. The chapter begins with an introduction of the history of restrictive contexts and special education and expands to the introduction of nonresidential African American fathers.

Chapter III presents hybrid methodology of a retrospective study with critical narrative analysis and description of the study population, instruments used to examine levels of autonomy, relatedness, competence and academic motivation as variables in this study. Quantitative and qualitative procedures are outlined with an explanation of the process for analyzing the data for both methodologies. Chapter IV presents the research findings. Finally, Chapter V provides a summary of the research findings including a discussions and recommendations.

Early Education

Early public education in America centered on ensuring the existence of a dominant cultural family structure. During the progressive era from 1869 to 1921, reformers sought to include family life as an area of education and advance the nuclear family as the standard: a married couple, with a father, a mother, and both parents living with their children. Fathers played the dominant role in the home and mothers had a strong influence in the education of the children. This gendered division of labor also was reflected in White men's predominance in constructing the educational policy of the time and White female teachers' work to socialize their students to fit the European American family profile as a means for academic success. These standards challenged the lived realities of many urban African American families with nonresidential fathers.

Education and family norms were quite different for African-American families. Traditional school attendance for African Americans revolved around the spring and fall cotton seasons. When African Americans did attend the "Colored" schools under the "separate-but-equal" doctrine, the curriculum mandated by state government was to fall in line with the "southern way of life." The Southern way of life curriculum reflected pro-southern, pro-white, and pro-segregation perspectives, and were absent of Black male intellectual contributions. For example, the "southern way of life" was not necessarily the truth of the state's history, but a select account of how racial groups were viewed for posterity. The southern way of life perpetuated a belief that marginalized or excluded the value of African American males to society and African American families (Perltein, D., 1990; Emery, K., Braselmann, S., & Reid Gold, L., 2004). The "southern

way of life” curriculum influenced the way African Americans were perceived and marginalized their education opportunities (Emery, K., Braselmann, S., & Reid Gold, L., 2004).

However, during the summer of 1964, under the collaboration of the Council of Federated Organization (COFO) an organization developed to coordinate civil rights activities and groups, Freedom Schools were formed. To counter the influence of the “southern way of life,” Freedom Schools set out to transform the social and political structure of Mississippians with a curriculum that challenged “southern way of life” (Chilcoat & Ligon, 1994). Similar to church missionary work Freedom School were embedded in community life. In a three part process, African Americans trained in Freedom Schools would become active citizens, registered voters, and organizers throughout the civil rights movements.

The Freedom Schools countered the dominant culture’s curriculum by connecting African American students’ school life with their lived experiences, thereby elevating the learning disconnects for students (Ladson-Billings, 1995). The Freedom Schools and their curriculum were designed through collaborations between the National Council of Churches, The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), civil right participants, and experts in education curriculum design (Ladson-Billings, 1995; Chilcoat & Ligon, 1994). The principles of the curriculum were clear with an outline of six core areas: 1) Why are we in Freedom School?; 2) Citizenship; 3) Academic

curriculum 4) What is Freedom School?; 5) What alternatives do Freedom Schools afford us?; 6) What does the dominant culture have that we want?; 7) What does the dominant culture have that we don't want?; and 8) What do we have that we want to keep? Liberation was the guiding premise of this reformed curriculum.

In Freedom Schools, African American males were front and center, taking prominent roles by shaping the minds of learners and the community. Leaders at these schools understood their institutions to be socializing agents (Rousmaniere, Dehli, & Smith, 2013). According to Paulo Freire (1970), schools should be socializing agents where students are able to exercise their liberation by “opposing theories” this is a form of liberation. Opposing theories is a form of critical pedagogy which consist of teaching methods designed to challenge forms of social oppression or belief systems” (p. 125). Freedom Schools operated from this same theory, asking open-ended questions to build knowledge. This form of questioning increased a student’s comprehension and expression of their experiences (Chilcoat & Ligon, 1994). Scholars support the theory that the absence of inquiry disables students’ ability to critically think (Freire, 1970; Boykin, 1983). Additionally, these schools were able to use African American male teachers as experts in order to achieve successful educational outcomes for other African American male learners.

In social justice teaching, culturally relevant pedagogy requires students to apply epistemological knowledge to their lived experiences in order to increase curiosity that builds intellectual skills, civil rights organizations set out to transform education and

curriculum this was one of the purported remedies or changes to this form of education came with the creation of Freedom Schools in 1964.

To effectively transform education through curriculum, both what is present and absent in children's lives must be acknowledged. These factors contribute to the construction of how a child connects to learning (Ladson-Billings, 2000; Delpit, 1988; Giroux, 2009). Through observation, analysis, and input from a collaboration of workers with strong interdisciplinary academic backgrounds, the Freedom Schools were able to identify areas within the African American communities that pointed out long-term disproportions, such as economics. The curriculum's development drew on student interest, knowledge, lived experiences, and what was needed as citizens. In 1964, nearly 41 Freedom Schools were established throughout Mississippi to address racial and social injustices within the education system. Researchers have since shown how curriculum absent of cultural pedagogy allows gaps to exist in instruction. Curriculum absent of cultural pedagogy ensue inequity in education (Bailey & Boykins, 2001).

A large number of African American students experience inequity in education. African American children make up 15.8 percent of the children educated in the United States and of 47 percent are African American boys. Of those African American boys 47 percent, 82 percent experience some form of restrictive education such as in-school suspension, school suspension, classroom containment designed for socially maladjusted students, and juvenile correctional programs (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010; Uniform Crime Reports, 2010). These programs and the effects on the educational system reflect (dialogue?) the juvenile justice system established in the late 1800s and its intersection

with Jim Crow a dual social system designed to relegate African Americans to second-class citizenship (Ward, Geoff, 2012).

According to Shapiro, Meschede, & Osoro (2013) the underpinning of a dual social system is based on policy. How policies are constructed and implemented can either create social and education gaps or secure the fundamental rights of education for children (p. 2). Although the U.S. Constitution does not express the right to education, it is embedded in the Tenth Amendment that "...powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states...are reserved to the states or ...the people" (U.S. Const. amend. X). Thus, each state recognizes education in their State Constitution as a civil right. During the 19th century, if a child over the age of seven was prosecuted it was in adult courts and if convicted the child was incarcerated with adult offenders (International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1966). These conditions fostered a change in laws to ensure that the law protected the educational rights and emotional development of children (Williams, Y, 2013; Bernard, 1992).

With *Brown vs. the Board of Education* (1954), education integration and social reform reached beyond elementary and secondary education to federally funded programs, including prison rehabilitation after Congress passed the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act Pub. L. No. 93-415, 42 U.S.C. § 5601 et seq.) in 1974. This Act contains a series of "core protections" to deinstitutionalize minor offenders, separate youth offenders from adult offenders, address disproportionate minority confinement, and provide education intervention for juveniles (Reynolds, 1998). Education intervention involves the school-to-prison pipeline (Appleseed, 2007). Scholars have

shown that a large disproportionate number of minority students are regularly transferred to special education or restricted education settings (Appleseed, 2007; Fowler & Appleseed, 2010; Polite, & Davis, 1999; Skiba, & Rausch, 2006). A restricted education setting is when a child is removed from the regular education environment and placed in a special education program or a disciplinary setting that prohibits a student's interaction with other students in regular classrooms (Appleseed, 2010; Losen & Skiba, 2010).

Special education is designed to serve children with physical and severe mental challenges who are required to attend public school due to compulsory laws. The significance of the program is to provide learning and enrichment opportunities for students with disabilities. Many of the programs separate students. Moreover, a large number of African American children are placed in these programs under the premise of moral behavior and self-control (Noguera, 2003; Cremin, 1965). Of the children placed in these programs, many are from low-income single-parent families headed by females.

Exploring Disruption in an African American Context

In 1939, African American sociologist E. Franklin Frazier conducted the first study on the African American family. He theorized that parents cultivate specific character traits in their children that lead to various education outcomes. According to Frazier (1939), urbanization and a lack of full participation in the democratic process created a social disruption within the African American family. Moreover, his theory notes the importance of African American fathers' interpersonal relationships with their children on the kids' educational outcomes.

The influence of intersecting social dynamics on educational outcomes is not a new perspective in the field of education. Researchers Urie Bronfenbrenner and Pamela Morris (2006) and Gary Becker (1971) asserted that environment, economics, and family have a profound impact on the educational outcome of a child. Today, the residuals of these factors are manifest across the education stream.

An overview of the African American population helps to illuminate negative or different views of African American nonresidential fathers. When studied, few have approached the topic by connecting education and life experiences as factors that impact an already small population. African Americans account for 14.2 percent of the U.S. population. African American males make up 48 percent of that population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013) and 69 percent of them are fathers (U.S. Census Bureau report, 2013). Of the African American population, eleven percent is male, 5 to 22 years old, and in public schools. Additionally, 68 percent of the group lives in households without their biological fathers (U.S. Census Bureau 2012). Of the group nearly 80 percent have experienced a restrictive education context in public schools: specifically, a restrictive learning environment that includes special education or any disciplinary setting related to misbehavior (Skiba & Peterson, 2000).

For over a century, scholars have discussed the effects parents have on the educational outcomes of African American males (DuBois, 1899; Unnever & Gabbidon, 2011). Circumstantial evidence might give the impression that African American fathers are not committed to the posterity of their children. It is challenging to disagree with this reasoning given that there is limited-to-no data to support either position otherwise.

Special education reports from schools and data on school discipline practices (Texas Appleseed, 2010) suggest that African American fathers are less likely to participate in school problem-solving as it relates to the education and behavior of their children, because seldom or not educators do not include African American fathers in the education process of their children. A few scholars have stated that after considering socioeconomics and other factors in schools, absent fathers are the go to reason for poor performance among African American children in special education and school discipline programs (Radin & Russell, 1983; Bisnaire, Firestone, & Rynard, 1990).

These perspectives neglect African American scholarship on race, African Americans and the education system (DuBois, 1965; Dyson, 2006; Frazier, 1939; Woodson, 2006). Racial and gender inequalities exist for parents with children in these restrictive settings (Losen & Skiba, 2010). Discrimination may plague African American fathers in education just as it does African American boys in schools (Julion, Breitenstein, 2012, & Waddell, 2012; Losen & Skiba, 2010). Some would argue that restrictive learning environment programs (e.g., special education, JJAP, in-school suspension, alternative learning centers) are absent of the social and cultural instruments that diverse populations need, thereby crippling children (Ladson-Billings, 2011). Children with disabilities and in crisis need additional support to overcome gaps in social and learning development. For example, the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) state that it is the responsibility of the school to ensure that resources (e.g., fathers, learning experts, teaching tools) are available so that students will succeed (Schiele, 2005). Just as various learning or mobility instruments are vital to

assisting children with development and learning deficits, so are nonresidential African American fathers.

The impact of disproportionality or discrimination against one group has a negative impact across every segment of society (Becker, 1992; Robinson, 2012; Skiba et al, 2011). Kenneth Arrow (1973) explains that physical characteristics are used to define an individual's value and not one's intellectual ability or productivity, "the validation in the market place of personal characteristics of the worker that are unrelated to workers' productivity" (p.2). In other words, individuals of color with characteristics close to Europeans are less likely to experience discrimination at the level of an individual with strong African characteristics or African American dialects. Such practices create disparities of African Americans.

Education leaders as well as policy makers must include a multicultural construct in education policy and pedagogy in schools, because without a complete picture of the African American experience in education and society, any reform measure will likely fail. This oversight may produce and seemingly encourage racial disparities (Kupchik, 2010; Skiba, Horner, Chung, Rausch, May, & Tobin, 2011).

Nonresidential African American Fathers

There are historical conceptions, systemic structures, and social institutions that stimulate the perpetual dynamics of this phenomenon, nonresidential African American fathers. A number of factors contribute to this phenomenon: a large number of African American males in the school to prison pipeline and high unemployment. These factors,

add to African American fathers not able to meet the traditional roles set forth by the dominate culture as men being providers (Coley & Chase-Lansdale, 1999).

However, there are African American males who are able to matriculate through the racial and classed based structures. To understand why some African American fathers are able to stay with their kids while others do not, researchers direct attention to policy and professional education practices that include first-hand accounts of how to teach African American males to maneuver in an inequitable social system (Anderson, Kohler, & Letiecq, 2005). Since schools are often the first formal environments where students encounter racial differences, African Americans and other children of color must learn to understand school settings where students are taught to fit within a group hierarchy and social roles in society. Ladson-Billings (2005) and Russell (1997) explain that race is a social construct that guides an individual and community. Schools are among the primary spaces where what students experience as a norm comes into effect. Scholars of child development and education assert that in order for children to achieve academically, educators must understand how education policy and curricula affect education socialization (Ladson-Billings, 2010; Delpit, 1988; Darling, 2007). When education reform measures are adopted, policymakers and educators should consider the long term racial implications in the lives particularly of African American boys and men.

Theoretical Framework

I use critical race theory (CRT) as a framework to consider how race, class and gender influence/shape/constrain the education experiences of African American males. CRT builds on the experiences of persons of color to theorize the operations of race and

racism in institutions (or institutional racism) and unequal institutions of power and their long-term effects (Bell, 1995). The notion of institutional racism helps to theorize that likelihood that black men are going to: a) have an inadequate educational experience in poorer schools; b) more likely be labeled, harshly disciplined, and even possibly put into prison pipeline; and, c) be undereducated and therefore more likely unemployed (Burrell, & Warboys, 2000; Polite, & Davis, 1999; Robinson, 2013; Skiba, Michael, Nardo, & Peterson, 2002). These compiling disadvantages make it difficult for them to live up to societal expectations as caregivers, breadwinners and, consequently, can lead them to nonresidential fathers.

Critical Race theory also conceptualizes interest convergence, which is the theory that dominant groups will support social changes (e.g., laws, decisions, policies) provided that they meet their interests or needs – typically needs that help obtain greater resources or expand their power. The dominant group’s interests can be covert or obvious. CRT provides a framework for exploring educational policy through pedagogy and their effects on the lives across generations of African American males. The narratives of these men will add clarity of their experiences.

Since I conduct narrative analysis using an emancipatory paradigm, I also draw on social justice theory to guide this inquiry (Irby, 2013). A narrative analysis will show how nonresidential African American fathers construct their realities in this study (Piantanida & Garman, 1999; Pinnegar, & Daynes, 2007).

An interpretivist study seeks to understand the phenomena, and participants give understanding and meaning to their actions in the study (Darke, Shanks & Broadbent,

1998). Moreover, in the social justice framework, I am interested is the primary voice of African American males who are nonresidential fathers with experience as students during various social and educational policy innovations. This includes understanding the kinds of education reforms that are types of policy learning environments under pre-Brown and various education reform measures, integration, Elementary Secondary Education Act (ESEA), and No Child Left Behind (NCLB).

This approach seeks to address a variety of questions including: What was the education experiences of African American males educated under these education reform policies measure? How did education reforms contribute to the life outcome of this group? How members of this group assign meaning to their experience in education? And how school experiences shape Black masculine intellectual identity in American society and education?

Retrospective Approach

To understand how successful education leaders examine education practices from the past, this study combines reflections and retrospective practices. Reflective or reflexivity in education focuses on objectivity to make sense of experiences through inquiry and strategies (Brown & Irby, 2001). A retrospective approach centers on factors related to an outcome, which include the voices of individuals affected by the outcome of their education (Cobb, Confrey, diSessa, Lehrer, & Schauble, 2003). Participants are asked to recall events and situations over a period of time. According to scholars, the retrospective process re-examines historical events that may change education practices

or policies (Cobb, Confrey, diSessa, Lehrer, & Schauble, 2003). The processes include building on the outcome of previous studies, recruiting cohort participants, conducting interviews, interpreting data, and identifying new findings.

There is a gap in the literature regarding why education policy makers rarely use retrospective studies in their evaluations, even as they are common practice in education (Darling-Hammond, 2010). In education, they are readily used because they allow practitioners to embed reflection practices in their curriculum (Irby, & Brown, 1999). However, there is a gap in the literature which shows students k-12 grades reflecting on their education experiences under numerous education reform policies or programs. A retrospective process can be problematic because a researcher may forget historical events and need recall, which can influence a study (Cobb et al, 2003). That said, the significance of this design enables the researcher to explore policies and education practices through a social justice conceptual framework that allows the researcher to use historical data, and identifying new findings.

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significance of this design enables the researcher to explore polices and education practices through a social justice conceptual framework that allows the researcher to use historical data recorded for other purposes. These purposes may include but not limited to better policy innovation to school reform and school improvement. The focus of this study is to gain insight and identify education policies and programs that create discriminative practices.

This design allows the researcher to understand the lived experience of the research participants. Such studies most often involve secondary data collection based upon data available from previous studies or databases. Here, the investigator seeks to understand how the phenomenon is embedded in education and contributes to the socio-economic experiences of nonresidential African American fathers; these fathers, in turn, often influence the outcomes of their sons. Moreover, retrospective narratives help the investigator to look backwards, identify and examine social injustice factors through education that construct an outcome unnoticed in the initial study (Cobb et al, 2003). Therefore, the investigator may use events of a particular time period to trigger relevant information.

In this design frame, the outcome is established at the time of the initial research. However, a different perspective may allow the researcher to formulate connections and gain new information that may lead to new research (Mills, M., 2013). Retrospective designs are efficient in education research where graduate students explore past education practices through a lens that allows them to examine historical data unrelated

to the initial outcome. These findings may shift education practices, and policies leading to new information and outcomes.

The research design follows a five step model (Cobb et al, 2003): (1) the researcher identifies historical research; (2) the researcher will recruit participants for the study; (3) questionnaires and open ended interviews are administered to participants; (4) experiences are described and data compiled; and (5) new information emerges that was not identified in the initial study.

Trustworthiness

The study includes trustworthiness which consists of specific criteria and applies principles as described by Lincoln and Guba (1985, 1986). Such criterion establishes validity to research that includes four criteria: 1) credibility, 2) transferability, reliability, and objectivity. In addition, cross-checking is added, a mechanism in trustworthiness to provide transparency to examine steps taken at the start of the study until reporting the findings. This process is also referred to as audit trail (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003; Guba & Lincoln, 1981).

In the study credibility is established through the use of triangulation. Triangulation requires the use of interviews and observations to get multiple forms of data in an effort to help conduct member-checking of the data. This process clarifies interviews for accuracy by interview participants reviewing their interview data for accuracy through feedback. Through this process the researcher uses multiple tools of data collection to validate data. For interviews, codes are used to ensure that accurate

codes are placed in the correct categories which postulate themes (Denzin 1987; Yin 1994).

A follow-up interview is in place to clarify any imbalance in the interview discussion. This is where the triangulation of data will occur. In order to understand data, interviews may be compared to historical documents, policies, and observations, in order to verify integrity of data. This is to insure that reliability is established in the study analyzed using what Glaser and Strauss (1967) describe the use of multiple data sources. For example, historical data such education policies are gathered during interviews and compared to retrospective interviews or other historical data related to phenomena. The use of this process allows the researcher to self-check for personal biases and filter through data prior to submitting as a finding.

Role of Researcher

As an African American woman, I raised four children (three sons and one daughter) as a single parent. Each of them had a nonresidential African American father. I raised my children in an urban community that included high levels of drug trafficking and crime. It was not uncommon to hear gunshots daily or to have incidences of homicides take place in the neighborhood. Somehow, the children in the community were able to piece quilt some sense of normalcy out of the chaos. Without fathers in the home, my children created an idea of a perfect father in their minds; they would later share this with me. Nonetheless, I strategically navigated this solo duet, as a mother and a father. I believed that I needed to be hard and strict. This was a social device that I believed protected my children from the streets. As much as I knew that all of my

children needed positive life outcomes, I believed that education was the key. For me, I saw education as a way to save my children.

Schools were a battlefield where African American boys had three options: go to special education, go straight to prison or play football or some other sport and be very good at it. Although each of my four children participated in athletics and were scholars, my sons gravitated to athletics. In school, athletics is where African American boys are most often celebrated. My eldest son would talk about how, in elementary school, one teacher would segregate the class by race. She would allow the African American children to play in class, but give the White students different class assignments.

With my second son, I refused to allow him to be placed in special classes and as a consequence, he was retained. The school confirmed that he did not have a behavior problem or a learning disability. As a parent, I quickly learned that refusing to let your African American boy be placed in special education meant automatic retention and the child failed the grade. The following school year I took an \$80 per month public assistance (welfare) check and used \$50 dollars per month to send my son to a private school. After spending a year in Catholic school earning “A” grades he was promoted and later placed in his proper grade.

When my third son was in elementary school, I was called in for a conference. During the conference the teacher stated that my son was disrespectful. She explained that she referred to him as a “little boy” and he replied, “I am a Black man.” She in turn said that, “little Christian boys didn’t talk like that.” She also stated that his behavior was

a sign of aggression and if it occurred again he would be sent to the principal's office.

All of these incidences with my sons occurred in elementary school.

My daughter, like my sons, was also academically gifted and concentrated on her studies rather than athletics. She was moved up twice in school and was two years younger than her classmates. The age difference was not a struggle, but race and academic expectations quickly became one. My daughter would state that the African American students considered her too White. She experienced bullying because some African American students said that, "she talked White," and used an academically advanced vocabulary. At the same time, White students questioned her academic achievement since she was often one of only African American students in advanced classes. The challenges my children faced during their elementary education led me rotate them from private, public, and charter schools.

What I have come to learn as an educator, policy maker, and parent is that many of the academic experiences (e.g., bullying by teachers and students, outcasts) that African Americans children face in school are just as dangerous as the violence (e.g., homicides, gangs, drug) in the urban communities. Subsequently, all of my children have graduated college with one completing graduate school and one currently in law school. In reflecting on their experiences, I have instigated discussions with my sons. I asked them what was it like to be Black males and, in each conversation, the common theme was their absent fathers. Those discussions changed my life and brought me to this research.

My goal is to understand first-hand from the experts that is nonresidential African American fathers, how education reform measures have impacted long-term outcomes (e.g., graduation) for nonresidential African American fathers. My interest in this area is a direct result of the significant numbers of African American boys experiencing the isolation associated with matriculating within an academically and socially biased education system, resulting in long-term economic gridlock. I have witnessed the introduction of education reform measures that have failed African American males.

From a parent to local policy maker, few education leaders have come together to create systemic and sustainable positive outcomes for African American males in public education. There are few (Epstein, 1998) curricula or policies that specifically address the needs of African American males. There are special programs that address those with deficient in cognitive development or who are non-native English speakers, but few address the dismal educational outcomes in schools that lead to the long-term struggles faced by many African American males.

Significance of the Study

The purpose of this study is to explore how the involvement of nonresidential African American fathers will enhance the academic success of their sons in traditional classrooms and special education (including restricted learning environments). The lived education experiences of nonresidential African American fathers (NRAAF) remain an overlooked source of information and insight into the education outcomes of African American boys and men across generations. The testimonies of African American

fathers about their education as children will help challenge the realities of education socialization and some education reforms.

The findings of this research may help scholars to understand the intergenerational effects of education with NRAAF and how education systems can gain knowledge and meaning from the new information that contribute insight into the oversights and ineffective practices of policies and pedagogical practices directed at African American males. For example, new information may show that multicultural curriculum may be an effective strategy in aiding teachers in better understanding diverse learners groups. This may explain why education policy and pedagogy have used zero tolerance in exchange for good education practices in educating African American males. In order to understand education, schools need to be explored as a large socializing agency.

The main goal of this study is to encourage change in special education, in the school-to-prison pipeline, and in education policy with a social justice foundation. Education must include a complete picture of the whole child being educated. The voices of nonresidential African Americans fathers have been absent from the education process and therefore reform measures have been inadequate.

Operational Definitions

The terms and definitions provide an understanding of the use in the study.

1. *African American Masculine Identity* a set of cultural norms (e.g., behaviors, action,
2. language) validated as criteria for Black manhood (Polite & Davis, 1999)

3. *Counterstorytelling* rooted in critical race theory (CRT) “a method of telling the stories by those people who are traditionally marginalized in society (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).
4. *Discrimination* is based on the interdisciplinary context of this term. The definition explains that discrimination is the unjust treatment or inequity of an individual or group based on their physical characteristics or social position. According to Kenneth Arrow (1971) discrimination is the “valuation in the market place where personal characteristics of the worker that are unrelated to worker productivity” (p.2).
5. *Intersectionality* is a practice or system of oppression designed to socially and economically constrict another person socially and economically (Crenshaw, 1995).
6. *Microsystem* is a relationship between a person and their environment. Identified as a complex relationship between school and home (Robinson, 2013).
7. *Macrosystem* is a cultural context (e.g., socioeconomic status, racial, lived experiences) of a child (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).
8. *Mesosystem* involves one of the environmental systems that influence a child’s development. For example, more than a family or other close individual relationships, but culture and political decisions made that shape a child’s life (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).
9. *Nonresidential African American Father* an African American male parent who does not reside in the same household as his biological child(ren).

10. *Restricted Learning Environments* are placements of a child outside the traditional and regular learning environments. These include, but are not limited to all areas of special education as well as various forms of school discipline. Students in special education are identified with cognitive and physical disabilities (e.g., sub average intellectual functions, emotional disabilities). Moreover, various types of school discipline and behavior strategies designed to restrict a student actions described as harmful. Restrictive learning areas include school detention, suspension, placement in Juvenile Justice Alternative Projects (JJAP), and expulsion.
11. *Zero Tolerance* policies are designed to promote safer schools. States mandate zero tolerance disciplinary programs as alternative learning environments for juveniles with severe criminal behavior that compromises the safety of laws-abiding students. The purpose is to grant educators the discretionary power to remove students for misbehavior (Kupchik, 2010).

My research captures education policy socialization, school discipline, and the intergenerational impact it has on males who become nonresidential African American fathers.

Extra

The focus of this study is to understand the ways in which nonresidential African American fathers can circumvent the policy that prompted (see pg. 3) the school-to-prison pipeline. Due to complexities that construct the special education restrictive environment-to- prison pipeline, the framework of this study navigates the lived

experiences of nonresidential African American fathers' restrictive learning environments in education and society (Polite & Davis, 1999).

The narratives of African American men elucidate the intersecting factors shaping their experience as the group that proportionally has the greatest educational disparities resulting from curriculum content, educator perception, and the impact of the father's nonresidential status.

Longitudinal Component of Research

In doing so, I attempt to bridge the gaps inherently present in current educational scholarship and literature concerning kindergarten through 12th grade (Roy & Dyson, 2005). By understanding the experiences of students educated under various education policies educational systems, policy makers, and education leaders can devise strategies that support academic achievement and life outcomes.

Data and Statistics on African Americans

According to the U.S. Census (2013), African Americans make up 14.2 percent of the population. Of this fraction, 48 percent are men and 69 percent of them are fathers (U.S. Census Bureau Report, 2013). Furthermore, it is through this CRT study that the researcher seeks to determine if the lived experiences of African American male are repeated through generations. This phenomenon is cyclical with implications expanding cross-generational dynamics.

Texas has the second largest African American population in America with African American males representing 48 percent of that population. Of the African American male population 51.1 percent are 18 years old and younger (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). This means that Texas educates one of the largest populations of African American boys in the country. Those that establish the ideology of social norms describe these men as detached from their children by choice. However, this labeling is determined without giving any credence to the actual voices of the men being criticized as nonresidential fathers. At the same time, research suggests that NRAAF are less likely to be included in the education of their children than their white nonresidential parents' counterparts, male or female (Childs, 2012).

This study will assist researchers in understanding the influence of past reforms and the value of non-residential African-American fathers in reference to their sons. Changes in education with the inclusion of this group may have a significant impact in the education of African American boys.

In previous research, the voices of African American men have not been considered or treated as a significant force influencing the behavior and education achievement of African American children (Bourdieu, 2006; Skiba, Eckes, & Brown, 2009; Texas Appleseed, 2010).

Furthermore, it is through this CRT study that the researcher seeks to determine if the lived experiences of African American male are repeated through generations. This phenomenon is cyclical with implications expanding cross-generational dynamics.

Race and racism contribute to the dynamics of education and economics as evidenced through the firsthand accounts of NRAAF presented in Chapter four. Additionally, from a retrospective view, these men's narratives add clarity to the literature as experts who are on the receiving end of federal education policies and outcomes. For example, these men detail the application of policies and programs designed to enhance the educational outcome for children of color traditionally marginalized throughout the American education system.

I ask: If nonresidential African American fathers are actively engaged in the positive social development and education of their sons what can occur? I wonder is it too radical for education leaders to remove barriers for African American male citizens in a social structure that often create negative psychosocial experiences that affect the outcome of these males' life experiences. This question is especially important in Texas, which is a state that educates or fails to educate more African American males than almost any other in the country.

The next chapter provides a literature review of the research on African American males' academic experiences and achievement. There are gaps in the literature on the vital role that African American fathers play in the individual lives of their children and in school partnerships. African American boys with similar educational experiences as their fathers often share similar life patterns as adults. These patterns include a trajectory of tracking that leads to a similar economic status. Scholars suggest that context plays a pivotal role in the education and social development of children (Bronfenbrenner, 1989). When researchers include few or no NRAAFs in their

studies, they are unlikely to understand the complete picture of effective education policy. Nonresidential African American fathers may be a missing link in resolving the social and academic shortfall for African American boys.

To give context to my study and claims, this literature review covers several broad areas: The history of restrictive education contexts, African American family structure, Family Structure and Educational Experiences, Single African American Mother Households, African American Boys, Education Policy, Restrictive Learning: School Discipline and Education Reform, Black Masculinity Identity vs. Masculinity identify, and Introduce Fathers to the Discussion.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

The premise of most social justice education cases after The 1954 ruling *Brown vs. Board of Education* (1954) 347 U.S. 483, created a standard for remedying conditions in education that create inequities among African American and white students in the U.S. One of the strongest points in the *Brown* case was demonstrated by Dr. Kenneth Clark's testimony on his famous doll study (1947) showing children's attitudes about race. Clark provided expert testimony in the case of *Briggs v. Elliott* (1952) 342 U.S. 350 under *Brown vs. Board of Education* (1954). His study showed that racial segregation generated feelings of inferiority among African American children (Clark & Clark, 1947).

Although *Brown* had critical limitations, a key finding was that the psychological impact of a segregated learning context influenced children's ability to learn. Burrell and Warboys (2000) state that although *Brown* addressed inequity in educational systems, gaps or limits existed in enforcement. It is important to note that the United States only mandated by law the right to an education beginning with the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (PL 88-352), Public Law 94-142, Public Law 101-476, and the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA). Although special education laws are provide legal rights for students and parents, scholars assert an over-representation of students of color in restrictive learning environments are often due to discriminatory practices (Kunjufu, 2009; Ladson-Billings, 2000).

History of Restrictive Contexts and Special Education Family structure involves understanding what contributes to the behavior of a group. Family structures, like organizational networks, are defined by social norms that establish individual and group positions in society. Children's relationships with their parents are therefore influenced by familial social standards. This is critical since environments determine how children develop. Bronfenbrenner (1999) theorizes the interactions of individuals within an immediate group (e.g., child, parent, educator, employer) as a microsystem. For example, microsystems could represent a family structure within an environment. Further, Bronfenbrenner (1999) asserts multiple microsystems construct a mesosystem. Like a community, mesosystems develop norms or cultural beliefs that are defined as macrosystem. These social networks are the communities and institutions in which children develop cultural ideologies and where meaning is developed. These belief systems play a critical role in why students exhibit certain behaviors and patterns in various contexts (Mischel, 2004).

The European American middle-class model creates the standards for the American family structure. This model includes a mother and father and is based on the historical and ideological norms of the dominant group. The mother plays the role of the nurturer and teacher of the children, while the father's role is defined as provider and protector of the family. As a member of a patriarchal and dominant group in society, the father has the "opportunity of choices," to maneuver the social and economic order of dominance. Moreover, due to the social structure, children in these family structures

have access to an education system with a pedagogy designed to perpetuate that social structure.

By contrast, the structure of many African American families varies considerably based on socially intersecting factors. Most of the literature on the historical structure of the African American family describes a deficit view of both the maternal and paternal participation and continues to present African American parents even today as aloof and unconcerned for their children's welfare (McAdoo, 1998). Similar views are identified in many education and social policies. However, despite certain ingrained social structures, African Americans have maintained a different family structure within their community.

From the beginning, the concept of family among African slaves was fragmented. Marriage was prohibited among slaves, but many slave owners agreed to their unions. Slave owners viewed marriage among slaves as to their advantage, since any slave child born added to their wealth. This civil union included a ceremony constructed by the slaves and included religious and spiritual remnants from Africa. Although some slaves participated in civil unions, fidelity among the slave couple was left to the discretion of the slave owner.

As property, slave masters required their male slaves to procreate with slave women who were identified as "prime breeders" for the purpose of producing children with an ability to sustain long work hours in the fields. In fact, children born to slaves were valuable capital for slave owners. Slave children were identified as assets based on their potential output of work or service minus the cost of basic maintenance of their person. For example, to determine the value of a single slave male or female, an owner

would include the age, health condition, sex, location, size, and how much the slave produces. These characteristics determined the slave's market value (Ruggles, 1994). But often, education and marriage were proscribed for African American slaves. What is noteworthy is that education and economics were the tools used early to suppress African American fathers' voice. Without the skill to read or write, African American men lacked the ability to negotiate work beyond sharecropping and other menial labor. A large number of freed slaves returned to plantations because the laws that once protected former slaves collapsed after Reconstruction (Frazier, 1932).

Freedom for African Americans as sharecroppers or land tenants carried the same conditions as slavery. African American men with families remained silent about the infractions of their white landowners against their families in order to remain on the land. Any form of resistance from an African American man would result in severe punishment or death. These extreme practices created even greater hardship for African American mothers left alone to raise children (Frazier, 1932). Although the wages were meager and living conditions were harsh, often these conditions were the best available to African American families. White landowners controlled the economic system; therefore, African American fathers were subservient as a survival mechanism (Frazier, 1932).

Although short lived, Reconstruction allowed some African Americans a chance to build stable community structures and secure education opportunities. For these families, education was identified as the key to social mobility and economic freedom. During this period, African American families began to flourish (DuBois, 1899; Frazier,

1932; Myrdal, 1944). These communities built schools, which solidified the family structure and perpetuated a social and economic intersection of learning among African Americans. A large number of African Americans married and lived lives similar to those of European Americans. African American fathers were able to settle in as protectors and economic providers. Most literature overlooks how similar the African American family structure was to that of White families during Reconstruction and the early 19th century, (Ruggles, 1994). Yet, education and social disparities continued to marginalize people of color.

E. Franklin Frazer was one of the first scholars to study African American life in the United States. His 1933 study addressed how African American males, through the African American family structure, had an intrinsic value system where family added meaning to the individual's existence (Camus, 1942). The family is the foundation of African American youth and serves as a catalyst to strong education and economic outcome. According to Frazier (1939) the American slavery system initiated the fractured African American family structure. Nonetheless, the common elements to these families are that the structures are fragile and fractured. More contemporary scholarship on family structures that address these conditions (Garfinkel, McLanahan, Tienda, and Brooks-Gunn, 2001) add weight to my argument that African American fathers must be included in the education process of their children.

In the 1980s, African American families with fathers would decline even more, leading to a greater lack of stability within the family network. Studies on the African American family structure reveal that 72.2 percent of African American children are

born out of wedlock (U.S. Census report, 2010). In economic terms, if 72.2 percent of U.S. business infrastructures experienced instability due to gaps, what would be the initial approach to reform? Furthermore, in regards to African Americans, do other dimensions of stratification exist by race and gender that contribute to inequities?

There are limited interpretations in the educational experiences of African American men as to why these conditions exist in this community. Unlike Frazier, the Moynihan Report (1965) concluded that the African American family structure was fractured not because of the economic structure supported via slavery, but because of “pathologies” brought on by African American communities due to a breakdown in the moral structure of the community. Daniel Moynihan (1965) asserted that the social injuries to the African American family were self-inflicted because of the “pathologies” of dominating mothers and the emotional disconnection of fathers. Other theorists (Moynihan, Rainwater and Yancey 1967; Stack 1974) contested this viewpoint and asserted that there was no consideration of the resilience of African American family members and the desire to maintain a family structure.

Family Structure and Educational Experiences

Currently, one in three children in the United States lives away from their biological father (National Center for Education Statistics, 2011; United States Census Bureau 2009; Congressional Desk, 2009). In the US, African Americans make up roughly 12.9 percent of the population, yet in 2001, 53 percent of African American children lived in single parent homes (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003). Approximately 72 percent of African American children are born to single mothers, including a mother

living with or married to a partner other than the biological father of the child (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). Single females' head 43 percent of all African American families (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003), while African American males head only 10 percent of single parent African American homes.

In a study between 1992 and 2008 among married couples the results suggest that the risk of divorce increases for African Americans reared in single parent households, especially with absent of fathers (Amato, 2012) In addition, when the education of and marital stability among African Americans increased, gaps between whites and African Americans also decreased (Shapiro, Meschede, & Osoro, 2013). In fact, with education, economic growth, and a stable family structure, African Americans experienced social mobility.

Although racial discrimination as a result of slavery existed, African Americans were able to mitigate barriers within education and a defined family structure. For example, in Texas, during the 2012 school year, the student population in K-12 was 4,998,579; African American students totaled 640,171 (AEIS, 2012 Texas Education Agency 2012). However, African American students represented 76.7 percent of those receiving disciplinary action, under the discretionary code; Latinos increased to 66.7 percent, and European American represented 47.9 percent of the student population disciplined (Fabelo, A., & Center, J., 2011).

Single African American Mother Households

Of the adult American population, single mothers make up approximately 6.5 million. Of the African American adult population 67% are single mothers while 25% of

the 9.4 million whites are single mothers and 42% of the 6.8 million Latinos are single mothers (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). The numbers for single parent the African American mothers have tripled since the Moynihan Report (1965). While the numbers are used to show a decrease in the moral standing among African American families, the numbers fall short of explaining the causes of certain pathologies.

African American single mothers are depicted as the sole parental participants in the educational outcome of their sons. To completely understand the factors that contribute to these outcomes, the voices and experiences of absent participants are required. According to the Moynihan Report (1965), the status of black families is framed by the dominant culture, often without the complete historical perspective on the conditions of African American mothers. This assertion includes having accurate information about the individuals who support single mothers.

Though less visible, nonresidential African American fathers are often supporters of these single mothers. Rarely are the two mentioned in the literature as collaborators in the successful outcomes of their children. This oversight continues because the maternal structure has been treated as a norm since the early days of slavery (Moehling, 2007). For African American mothers, the model of single motherhood is a manifestation of an economic and legal social structure that solidified racial and gendered social positions. Single African American mothers are not an anomaly, but a constructed phenomenon within the American experience.

Ryan Brewer (1993, 2003) suggests white and African American single mothers have similar life experiences in raising their children including poverty and gaps in education.

However, I contend that scholars fail to include the intersectionality of race and racism in society.

Studies with African American single mothers as their focus often compare them to middle-class European mothers with husbands, which, again, fall within the standard definition of the familial structure (Moehling, 2007). The comparison results in the stereotype of African American single mother as an oxymoron in the dominant culture's maternal model. However, Stacey (2007) asserts that history fails to specifically link the historical implications in American history to past and current conditions of African American families.

The social dynamics of African American mothers and fathers are completely different from other racial groups due to slavery, economics, and education. Moreover, there are gaps in the literature about the adverse conditions that nonresidential African American fathers overcome to ensure African American single mothers have positive educational outcomes for their sons. For example, these fathers are able to discuss as experts their lived experiences with sons and how to avoid social and education traps that lead to negative life outcomes (Rocque, 2010).

Traditionally, in the study of pedagogy and child development, fathers are often overlooked OR not treated as contributors (Coley, 2001). There is an emergent interest in fathers in the realm of public education due to the dismal conditions of low-income minority children and the education system. There is concern for fathers' roles as they pertain to their children's education (Coley, 2001; Cabrera, Tamis-LeMonda, Bradley, Hofferth, & Lamb, 2000).

With this study comes an emerging emphasis on nonresidential African American fathers (Julion, 2012). I argue it is important to include nonresidential African American fathers in the literature because this group is one of the fastest growing subgroups in the African American population.

With over half of this group's population of school age, these fathers can serve as experts in assisting educators and policy makers in understanding the social dynamics of these boys – a group that has perplexed researchers and educators for many years (Kunjufu 1985). Previous studies focused on the traditional sample of middle-class, married fathers of European decent that has broadly established the parameters for the research on fathers (Coley, 2001, U.S. Health & Human Services, 2011). Only a few studies have looked at low-income, nonresidential, and minority fathers. Adding this group to the field of study will challenge and help clarify the constructs that define these fathers, as well as the precursors to their attitudes and experiences toward the education outcome of their sons.

Paternal involvement shows an increase in verbal skills and higher scores on assessments of cognitive abilities. Daughters are often more mentally competent with positive fathering involvement (Pruett, 2000). Additionally, the overwhelming percentage of African American children, 53 percent, who live in single parent homes (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003), the low percentage of African Americans who never marry, 43 percent (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003), the low high school graduation rates for black males, 53 percent (Greene & Winters, 2009) all of which results in African American fathers being commonly perceived as poor fathers and husbands or negligent and

uninvolved fathers (Smith, et al, 2005; Taylor, 1997). African American fathers have been historically described as ineffective (Frazier & Frazier, 1993) and contributors to the negative pathology of poor parenting (Moynihan, 1965).

Dates and Stroman (2001) assert that the media does not accurately portray minority families. As a result, Smith, Krohn, Chu, & Best, (2005) suggest that there is little in the social science literature about the relationship between African American men and their children and that the literature appears to reflect the public's view of African American fathers as financially irresponsible, hyper-masculine, and uninvolved (Coles & Green, 2010). It is worth noting that this description is used for both married and unmarried African American fathers.

African American Boys

The education enrollment of students in U.S. public schools in school year 2007-2008 included 87 percent white students, 48 percent African American students, and 57 percent Latino students (NCEI, 2008). As single parent families increased, a large number of boys were relegated to special education programs. Teachers have the highest referral rate of students to special education. White females make up 85 percent of the teaching population (Kunjufu, 2009). According to Skiba, Horner, Chung, Karega, Rausch, May, & Tobin (2011) it is difficult to determine what students should truly receive special education services and discipline referrals due to stereotypes that contribute to the disproportionate numbers of students who are placed in these restrictive education settings (p.87). Often times a student outcome is based on low expectation of educators.

In the education system there are a number of instruments utilized to evaluate the placement of students. In fact, African American male students are likely to have an evaluation take place in the first two years of entering elementary school (Kunjufu, 1985), which most likely determines their permanent academic placement. There is an assumption that the intent of these evaluations is to create a homogenous learning environment. However, this approach appears to undermine school integration (Bell, 1992) and there is pushback from the contingent that suggests students with similar learning abilities learn better together. Scholars who have an impact on special education are only able to make changes for students in the dominant culture. By contrast, students of color remain unaffected by many of these changes because they do not hold dominant cultural attitudes or the paradigm of which education models are designed for (Banks, & Banks, 2009).

To fully understand the historical consideration of education, the social dynamics that support literacy for students must be recognized. A climate of negativity perpetuates the deficit framework used to place students. This climate and framework result in students being identified as emotionally and cognitively delayed. In many studies researchers raise concerns about this problem (Powers, Hagans-Murillo & Restori, 2004; Waitoller, Artiles & Cheney, 2010; Ward, 2010). There is an especially persistent worry about the significant numbers of African-American and Latino children and how this environment affects them (Gardner & Miranda, 2001; Rueda, Klingner, Sager & Velasco, 2008).

Many studies related to African American males are problematic because the sample groups exclude holistic narratives of this demographic. In addition, without a complete look at the individuals who may influence the lives of these children the above findings are not substantial since the nonresidential father was neither observed nor noted as a participant in the decision-making process that determines the likely trajectory of African American boys. Often, scholars (South 1993; Tucker and Mitchell-Kernan 1995; Crissey, 2005) assert that behavior or attitudes of African American fathers are a result of the status and historical conditions that affect the experiences of African American fathers.

These theorists attempt to prove that there is no significant difference in the educational or social outcome of African American boys even if fathers are not connected to the boys as nonresidential fathers. Some scholars refer to this as pathological cultural norms and social values that are characteristics of African American culture.

Research shows that if you control other factors such as schools, socio-economics, and communities, the absence of non-residential fathers would make it difficult to determine the importance of those fathers (Coles & Green, 2010). However, emerging research has examined the impact of a father on a child's academic ability, whether the father is residential or non-residential. Although there are limited findings, the research shows that African American children respond positively to education knowing that a father is participating. Regardless of a father's background (Gregory, Skiba, & Noguera, 2010), African American children simply want to have a father's participation.

Rocque (2010) found that the educational expectations and attitudes of fathers are the strongest predictor of outcomes for male students. There are gaps, however, in the research related to the fathers of African American boys. While there are studies with relationships to nonresidential fathers, there is no research that identifies the educational attitudes of the fathers of these boys. Roque (2010) does not attribute his findings only to race but adds gender as a characteristic in education that serves as a bias against African American boys.

There is limited literature on the educational outcomes for African American children with parental involvement. Due to the diverse structures of African American families there are inconsistencies in the methodologies used to understand what occurs in these families and the members that make up the family structure. The dynamics of the African American family structure are different from other racial groups due to the racial history of the country. This history has affected the posterity of its members and economic mobility. Despite their socioeconomic positions, nonresidential African American fathers may be able to give a perspective to educators and policy makers not previously considered.

This perspective is vital to creating effective education policies for this population (Duncan, Brooks-Gunn & Klebanov, 1994) and may enhance the limited research of black families and the new epistemology of African American Male Theory (AAMT). With the number of African American males disproportionately identified in special education, there is an interest in the topic.

In general African American males are identified with the lowest educational outcome. For example, there is no shortage of research on the area of African American males in special education, but there is a limit on the resources identified to approach the issue (Cooper & Jordan, 2003; Noguera, 2007; Patton, 1998). As legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw notes, a number of intersecting factors contribute to the stratification of African American life and education (1989). Even with the variables routinely identified, the approach to the problem is the same. It would be productive to have educators consider a retrospective look at the education outcome of students by hearing the perspectives of those students who lived the experience. Regardless of the geographical region, there must be consistent patterns within the experiences of students who attended schools during the various education reforms. A closer look at the reforms through the experiences of the students who were their supposed beneficiaries gives practitioners and policymakers a unique perspective on what it is like to be on the receiving end of education reform as an African American male student.

Education Policy

History Elementary Secondary Education Act

The inception of a major education reform began in the wake of civil rights resistance. Although education reform was law it was reluctantly implemented or not implemented due to resistance by segregationists. The reluctance to the implementation of civil rights placed limits on the effectiveness of education reform. The Elementary Secondary Education Act (ESEA) (Public Law 89-10), an education reform policy designed to provide education opportunity for disadvantage children and low-income

communities, was snagged during its implementation and the expansive phases of the policy. The implementation phase was a major pitfall when a state's values conflicted with the intent of the policy. Interest convergence is considered a major pitfall (Bell, 1995; Crenshaw, 1995).

For the first time a major education reform policy existed and included substantial federal funds. The policy focused on creating positive life outcomes for the poor and disadvantaged (Bell, 1995). As states and local education agencies complied with ESEA mandates, federal subsidies were awarded to them. While many argue ESEA provided education access to the poor, interest convergence exists. For example, "bureaucratic regulations, state and local education authorities, and numerous federal influences over schools grew significantly." With bureaucratic growth a number of agencies at the top and bottom of government had access to ESEA Title 1 federal funds (McGuinn, & Hess, 2005).

What holds true is that with over 50 years of education reform, students of color continue to lag behind throughout various facets of education policy (Darling-Hammond, 2007; Giroux, 2009). Of student populations, African American males remain the lowest academic achieving subgroup in grades K-12 (Snyder & Dillow, 2013). Some argue that there is still reluctance in the education arena and that if funding did not exist the legislation would not exist.

To get legislation passed President Lyndon Johnson partnered with resistant southern states to co-operate in school desegregation in exchange for changes in ESEA. Due to politics and bureaucratic ties numerous federal, state, and local entities were

allocated access to Title I funding (Losen & Orfield, 2002). According to John Dewey (2007) when principles from old policies are incorporated in progressive education reforms, new reforms are ineffective. For example, even opponents of ESEA policy were able to receive ESEA funding through legislation in exchange for voting for the policy. This means, states where school districts did not have disadvantaged students or low-income communities received federal funds. Since no monitoring of the policy existed to measure the effectiveness of the policy process or output, the policy was a symbolic gesture (Bolman & Deal, 1991). The deviation from the original intent of ESEA through Title I funding represents a true form of interest convergence (Bell, 1995).

For opponents of integration, Title VI of the ESEA barred federal funds for segregated programs and schools. However, the outcomes from states' resistance proved that a number of programs and schools sidestepped federal fund by changing school boundaries so as to not include African American students and non-English speaking students along with students with various disabilities were assigned to special programs. Some argue that these maneuvers allowed schools to use special education (e.g., restrictive learning settings) as a tool to segregate students while remaining eligible for federal funds (Losen & Orfield, 2002).

Highlights of the ESEA policy reforms of education experiences occurred during education benchmarks from 1965 through 1975, and again from 1981 to 1992. The Elementary Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA) P.L. 89-10 unfolds into diverse legislation. The first expansive federal education legislation to authorize funding for the disadvantage students was Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) P.L. 94-

142. In 1975, IDEA was enacted to serve individuals with disabilities (e.g., mental retardation, mental illness, physical disabilities). From 1981 to 1992 the Education Consolidation and Improvement Act (ECIA) Public Law 97-35 consolidated 42 programs into seven to include the 1) Education Consolidation and Improvement Act of 1981, 2) Education of the Handicapped Act Amendments (Public Law 98-199), 3) ESEA of 1984 (98-511) the Bilingual Education Act, 4) Handicapped Children's Protection Act of 1986 (Public Law 99-372), 5) Augustus F. Hawkins-Robert T. Stafford Elementary and Secondary School Improvement Amendments of 1988 (Public Law 100-50), 6) Child Development and Education Act of 1989 (Public Law 100-50), and 7) National Commission on Time and Learning, Extension (Public Law 102-359). Political processes and streams of funding influenced each reform.

The education policy created as part of the "War on Poverty" was designed to alleviate poverty in traditionally marginalized communities and disadvantage students, however it failed to accomplish positive outcomes for a number of reasons. First, scholars asserted that education and training section of this policy were not fully implemented (Becker & Chiswick, 1966). Secondly, systems within education changed but the quality of education did not change for disadvantage students (p. 181). Thirdly, policymakers did not explore geographical areas where ESEA would work successfully (Jeffrey, 1978). Finally, the policy lacked oversight continued monitoring and assessment for effectiveness (McDonnell & Elmore, 1987).

According to McDonnell and Elmore each step of reform in education policy must include a rationale for the type of policy instruments and assessment throughout the

policy process (1987, p. 134). The problem for past education policies comprised of connecting predictability. Understanding individual responses at various levels of institutions determines the success of policy implementation and factors output. What are evident, alternative policy instruments were necessary at the macro and micro level of social governmental structure to address social problems (McDonnell & Elmore (1987).

Shortcoming of Education Reform

The education reforms studied lacked alternative policy instruments in place to identify if educational needs of disadvantage students were monitored and asses. Rather than policies with divergent substantive goals, these exhibit different means of pursuing an objective in educational improvement and reflect gains and losses. Few studies in education reform look at differences in the adoption of a policy and weigh the impact incentives may have on policy meeting an intended goal.

The reform was ineffective in addressing issues of inequity in education, especially for children of color. Some argue it is impossible to pinpoint outcomes since policy entrepreneurs lacked the experience as experts in understanding low-income communities (Fultz, & Fultz, 2008). In addition, community capacity building was excluded from the process. It is possible that with the inclusion of individuals in the innovation process, controversy is lessened in communities. Moreover, geographical context was not considered (e.g., southern states, demographics, political unrest). Each state was left to implement and apply the policy based on their political ideology.

This controversial reform lacked visibility and feedback from the communities it was intended to serve. According to Hess (1999) a moralistic policy requires intercut diffusion, buy-in from the grass-roots level up, as well as clarity of policy outcomes. Without a guide, distributive policy can be ineffective in highly charged political climates. Even with mandates, it was not clear what alternative policy instruments or mechanisms could ensure the intended outcome without stakeholders understanding their roles (McDonnell & Elmore, 1987).

Complex policy requires involvement from all interest groups (e.g., communities of color, education leaders, policy entrepreneurs, site-base management groups, economically disadvantage) and to charge individuals with setting the agenda (p.139). In addition, education policy must be a scaffold to address effectiveness within processes (Hess, 1999). The scaffolding process includes understanding how communities respond to a policy and individual outcomes. For example, site-base management groups, which include community members, are able to monitor and assess policy effectiveness on the ground. Site-base management groups allow individuals on the receiving end of a policy to voice policy impact. Therefore, a policy like ESEA only makes sense to those on the receiving end of the funds.

Restrictive Learning

Texas has the second largest population of African Americans in the United States, second only to the state of New York. Of the African American population, 48 percent are male. Of this population, 51.1 percent are 18 years old and younger. In other

words, Texas educates one of the largest populations of school age African American males in the United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013).

A number of statutes (e.g., Civil Rights Act, VI, XV, IDEA, NCLB) should protect the rights of students, yet inequities persist. Much of the early education development in America centered on eugenics (McCune, 2012; Skiba, 2012). This social movement promoted the belief in superior intelligence and abilities. According to Francis Galton, the founder of eugenics, the term means “well born.” In his studies Galton theorized that through biology and statistics an individual could be identified as suitable or “unfit” for society (McCune, 2012). Consequently, a researcher’s purpose for education was to prepare students of color for subordinate jobs and positions in society. It is important to note, “Eugenics was a major tenet in the formation of American schools” (Winfield, 2007). Many argue numerous forms of over identifying African American children with disabilities in school, restrictive learning environments, and corporal punishment is a form of eugenics (Winfield, 2007; Johnson, Boyden, & Pittz, 2001).

School Discipline and Education Reform

Public school educators administered corporal punishment to establish and manage behavior in school settings (Martin & Nuzzi, 2004; Irby, 2009; Robinson, 2013). In African American communities prior to *Brown v. Board*, scholars noted that fewer discipline problems existed (Mannheim, 1952; Simpkins & Simpkins 2009, p. 24). Although many argue that up to a point, it is important to note that no standardize data

existed that allowed comparison between groups. Nonetheless, narratives from African American educators, former students, and community members indicate that as education reform measures increased so did school disciplinary measures applied to African American students.

Nine years after *Brown v. Board of Education*, Congress established the Elementary Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965. The Act established the legal authority for grades K-12 as the largest single funding source for disadvantage children. The purpose of ESEA was to provide funds for education to close gaps and create equity for students in regulated classes. Since 1965 the Elementary Secondary Education Act (ESEA) has been modified seven times (Advancement Project, 2011). Although research identifies discipline as a major element in reform measures, such as the Reauthorization of ESEA or No Child Left Behind (NCLB), my perspective is derived retrospectively from the narratives of former students who are now fathers. Despite efforts at reform, incidences of school violence continue (Skiba, 2008). In response to the increase in school violence, zero tolerance policies were adopted.

Zero tolerance policies are designed to impose strict punishment to perpetrators of undesirable behavior. Discipline is an intricate part of the discourse. Since the establishment of public education, educators have discussed appropriate discipline in school (Tyack, 1995). The forms of punishment consisted of corporal punishment such as paddling, temporary removal from school, expulsions, and placement in correctional institutions (Skiba, Michael, Nardo, & Peterson 2002; Texas Appleseed, 2009). These

forms, although common, vary based on the socio-economics and the education context (Losen & Orfield, 2002; Dunbar & Villarruel, 2004).

Zero tolerance policies also brought financial ties. Schools and education venues that did not execute these policies were subject to losing federal funding. Tied to federal money, school policies loosely defined, with subjective interpretation, of the threat of a firearm to school safety. Educators and law enforcement used the tool “reasonable cause to believe” to determine if a firearm threat was emanate (18 U.S.C. § 921(a)(25). One of the sections of the law includes the Gun-Free School Zones Act (GFSZA). Under federal law an individual “knowingly in possession” of a firearm is to be prosecuted 18 U.S.C. ch. 44 § 921 et seq). For example, if a second grader bites his strawberry Pop Tart into the shape of a gun the teacher can confiscate it and the child could end up being suspended. Some assert that in the student’s disciplinary file the Pop Tart is denoted as a weapon, which could permanently remain in the student’s file (Burris, 2013).

Based on zero tolerance, students are to be suspended from school for at least one year with anything that can be construed as a weapon (Skiba, & Peterson, 2000; Skiba, & Rausch, 2006). However, what is rarely mentioned zero tolerance carries a carries a discretionary exception that allows principals to modify the automatic expulsion on a case by case basis. However, rarely do administrators review actions on a case by case basis (Kang-Brown, Trone, Fratello, & Daftary-Kapur, 2013). Much belief the rate of zero tolerance applied to African American students is racially biased. African American students consist of 15 percent of the students in the Civil Rights Data Collection, but

approximately 44 percent of suspended once, 36 percent suspended more than once, and 36 percent expelled (Lewis, Butler, Bonner, Fred, & Joubert, 2010; U.S. Department of Education, 2014).

This is supported by the disproportionate number of African American punished related to zero tolerance (Solari, & Balshaw, 2006; Taylor & Detch, 1998). Schools are able to maintain or secure federal funds with an education policy that appears to track African American students, specifically boys to restrictive learning environments. The large number of African American boys with similar lived experiences suggests that their racial and gendered position comes to bear on their educational and life outcome.

Black Masculinity Identity vs. Masculinity Identity

According to Whiting (2013), successful development of African American males consists of nine stages of development from infancy to adulthood. The model includes the following characteristics: masculinity, race pride, academic self-confidence, need for achievement, need for affiliation, awareness of self, internal locus of control, willing to make sacrifices, future orientated, and self-efficacy. It is through these nine stages through which identity is formed. Students with similar underdeveloped sense of self are likely to connect at a core level based on experiences, context (Whiting, 2006v). Identity adds solidarity and meaning to group members where values are formed (Strauss & Howe, 1991, p.14). Moreover, it is through this process, the fourth stage between the ages of six and eleven when school and social interaction plays a critical role in a child's sense of pride, self-worth, and abilities (Erikson, 1968; Phinney, 1993),

It is the yearly school years that relationships children build solidarity with their peers based on authority acceptance new skills lead to inferiority. It is at this stage some scholars suggest African American boys seek to clarify their masculine identity as it relates to their Black racial identity (Erikson, 1968; Kunjufu, 1985).

Systems of education construct models that individuals are to follow in society. School learning environments reinforce these models that include expectations based on gender. Research shows (Fabelo & Center, 2011) that student behavior outside of the models is confined to restricted learning environments (e.g., special education, school expulsion, school detention) and results in poor academic outcomes. Due to cultural differences and racial and gendered position, African American males are often outside of traditional education models and relegated to restricted learning environments (Ladson-Billings, 2000; Mannheim, 1952; Polite & Davies, 1999) because of different understandings of Black masculinity verses dominant constructions of masculinity. Ideally, education reform should reduce inequities in education by closing social and learning gaps experienced by African American boys. As Ladson-Billings (2011) asserts, the construction of pedagogy does not use rubrics of diversity to add depth to student learning, including diverse types of masculinity.

With the start of education reform (Elementary Secondary Education Act, 1968), the emphasis in establishing education equity was centered on superficial treatments of race and gender. Although, the Act was important it remained incomplete, because it only addresses the aforementioned surface aspects of issues such as race and gender (Sadker, Sadker, & Klein, 1991). But, McIntosh's (1988) "invisible knapsack" and the

“Male Privilege Checklist” are works that indicate privilege even in masculinity or “White” masculinity, requiring a deeper consideration of gender (Coston & Kimmel, 2012). Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) adds further depth with her concept of “intersectionality” that explains how factors such as class, race, physical features, education, gender, intersect and contribute to their position and experience in the social structure. Therefore, policy makers must consider different forms of masculinity and work with experts to better understand the education of Black masculinity.

American education is based on European masculinity, which was originally defined in Europe as a hegemonic structure (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Historically, the purpose of education in Europe was to perpetuate a model of manhood. These models were based on masculine identity derived from an individual’s activities in the public sphere. Activities of a male were measured by socioeconomics and social mobility.

Traditional masculinity consists five of multiple levels of manliness or masculinity 1) the warrior willing to subvert his individualism for victory and conquest and does not question authority. 2) the Aristocrat civic-minded driven by principled 3) the adventurer a free spirit who takes risks. 4) the gentleman well mannered, cultured yet superficial, 5) and self-made independent man. The idea of self-made men is one form of masculinity that made years of competition a necessary way to prove that a man had achieved the fundamental elements of masculinity (Connell, 1977. 1982). These elements of masculinity were based on the early American needs of middle-class and upper class European males (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Connell, 1977).

Education was a critical component of the ethos of this group of men and established the levels of masculinity that schools were supposed to encourage. Levels of masculinity (Connell, 2005, 1998) include power brokers, Artesian, and the self-made man. In the highest level, the power brokers are chiefly concerned with the posterity of white males. A good description of this group is that they are property owners with deep community and family participation. With the American Revolution, the hero represented the patriarchal ideal. The craftsman or the hard worker represented this ideal form of masculinity. From the American Industrial Revolution evolved the self-made man (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

What these treatments of the evolution of masculine ideals fail to mention is that these forms of masculinity centered on European culture and social structure, all of which excluded African American males. Moreover, masculinity has taken a number of forms since race and social economics influences how African American men have been able to coexist within dominant notions of White masculinity (Connell, 2005, 1998).

Schools are defined as social agents and a microcosm of the world where policy and pedagogy construct what is a standard for students. With precision, pedagogy establishes that both genders, regardless of ethnicity, should navigate school contexts the same. According to Bush and Bush (2013), to understand the education experiences of African American males and their trajectory in society is to understand their epistemology (Bush & Bush, 2013, p.6). In addition, there is limited literature of the importance of Black masculinity in the education of African American males as compared to the masculinity of other males in their environment. I argue that since

students are formed through diverse ecological systems (Dancy, 2012; Kimmel, 2012; Bronfenbrenner, 1977, 2005) schools must move from a monolithic pedagogy influenced by feminism and embrace multiculturalism, which recognizes diversity in the male's masculine structural patterns influenced by history and race. Often the social and behavioral differences of African American boys in school are interpreted as resistance resulting in these students being placed in a restrictive learning context (Kunjufu, 2011).

Education measures are generally constructed without the voices of those they intend to benefit (Skiba, 2011; Ladsing-Billings, 2000). I agree that diversity in the construction of education reform is educationally valuable because of my experience as an educator and parent, but I recognize that the voices of nonresidential African American fathers are absent and yet critical to the discourse in educating African American boys. Lawson Bush and Edward Bush (2013) contend that African American males need an epistemology, because the combination of race and gender means African American males experience distinct complexities throughout society. These complexities are intersectional (Crenshaw, 1989) and position African American males beneath other male and some female subgroups (Connell, 1989). African American males do not receive the same masculine privileges as White males because of race.

Bell's (1995) critical race theory (CRT) and Ladson-Billing (2000) critical race theory in Education shed light on the difficult living conditions, education, and social problems of African American citizens. Their scholarship illustrates why educators and policymakers must understand how race and education are woven together. This knowledge also allows educators and policymakers to understand Black masculinity and

the type of masculinity that play out in the classroom every day. Wrenetha Julion (2012) argues that fathers should be considered a valued support system in education settings.

Researchers (Connell, 1989; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) have strong assumptions that masculinity fits for all boys, but some disagree. The overrepresentation of African American boys in restrictive education settings (National Statistics of Education, 2013; Ladson-Billings, 2005) is often a result of educators' unfamiliarity with Black masculinity. Researchers (Robinson & Werblow, 2012) have long assumed that African American boys placed in these settings are from single African American mother households, and the decisions are made by single mothers without the input of nonresidential African American fathers. For instance, one eminent scholar of African American males in education studies, Jawanza Kunjufu, assumes that effective training practices for teachers must be incorporated in schools.

As David Johns himself put it, "...adults should ensure that Black boys are developing fundamental academic and social skills; learning and engaged in school and out-of-school settings; are supported in developing a strong sense of black masculine identity" (2007,p xix). He adds that adult stakeholders must be involved in the lives of the students, especially nonresidential African American fathers.

There is a consensus among scholars (Hall & Applewhite, 2013; Banks 1995; Connell, 1989) that masculinity is defined as what is required of manhood with fundamental rules to follow: (a) men should take chances; (b) men should be respected & honored; (c) men should not be feminine; (d) men should be fearless and conquer; (e) men should be economically driven; (f) and men should not show emotions. Yet, these

very scholars fail to mention how some of these characteristics, though attainable for white males, are insurmountable challenges for African American males and boys. Few researchers have looked at the resilience of Black masculinity and how African American males have created competencies in these characteristics. Furthermore, the research falls short of discussing the important roles of African American men in families and how racial dynamics construct Black masculinity and education outcome (Connell, 1989, p.292).

Historically, Black masculinity carries a history of subordination and racial discrimination. Moreover, African American males are diverse. Since *Brown vs. Board of Education (1954)*, education reforms address race and not the intersections of gender. Of these practices, inequities exist within populations of color. For example, within the African American population females have high numbers in special education and restrictive education settings, however, these numbers are not as high as African American males (Skiba & Rausch, 2006). Subsequent education reforms have not offered any knowledge to educators to assist in their practices with diverse student populations except in restrictive education settings. According to scholars African American men and boys' awareness is influenced by their racial position which is defined as Black masculinity (Bush & Bush, 2013). Black masculinity is the belief system of traits established within the African culture with remnants of a historical past unfamiliar with the various forms of masculinity.

Wrenetha Julion (2005) asserts that America is facing a public health crisis due to the conditions of African American males and boys. These findings challenge

common neoliberal assumptions that education and reform measures are addressing the complex issues of race and gender in education (Robinson, 2013). Moreover, mainstream studies of African American boys in education are limited and lack the significant voices needed to guide education reform.

Introduce Fathers to the Discussion

For nearly four hundred years, the American social structure has centered on state-sponsored racial segregation. Even after *Brown v. the Board of Education* (1954), segregation continued for 15 years. It has only been since 1954 that race has played a dominant role in the formulation of education policy and practices. Certainly, much of the literature shows that mothers are more involved in education than are fathers, but much of the literature is misleading (Coles & Green, 2009) since many of the studies in the research exclude “black fatherhood” as part of the family dynamics. Despite the social media caricature of a deadbeat, emotionally detached father, these fathers are highly involved with their children (Coles & Green, 2009).

Few researchers give a complete picture of the intersectionalities (Crenshaw, 1989) that shape African American males. Typically, these fathers are viewed from a deficient model in the education of their children (Hammond, Caldwell, Brooks, and Bell, 2011). To understand the data, a disaggregation of children in single parent families requires a methodology that can give a clear picture of nonresidential African American fathers.

While African American males make up less than half of the African American population, the low numbers of African American males creates a pronounced decline in

marriage trends. Although 16 percent of African American families are married couples, over 40 percent of African American children live with their fathers. These households consist of married or cohabitating couples or single fathers. However, skewed numbers exist about African American families.

African American fathers are often marginalized across interdisciplinary areas (Hammond et al, 2011). These areas are segments of society where social networks and the norms provide access to social mobility. Interdisciplinary areas include labor, economic markets, judicial systems and education.

The nonresidential African American father's educational experiences can influence a child's life trajectory. A number of studies show that when fathers are involved in a child's life, a child builds high aspirations regardless of the father's economic status or education attainment. Moreover, the literature indicates that increased levels of paternal involvement can enhance a child's wellbeing during the developmental stages (Harper & Fine, 2006). Nonresidential fathers have a ripple effect across the lives of their children's educational and economic lives. Whatever these factors are that influence the lifelong effects of these males, few mainstream studies in education have addressed or peeled away these layers of complexities.

According to the U.S. Census Bureau data, approximately 72 percent of African American children are born out of wedlock in America (2011). More specific to my personal experience as an educator, of the 50 States, Texas leads the nation in the number of children born out of wedlock. This data does not suggest that fathers are not active, yet it often leads to fathers being treated as invisible (Coley, 2001). Due to the

absence of many fathers from the same home as their children, seldom are asked to participate in the education of their children. Recent policy makers aim to construct welfare reform policies to produce greater father involvement with their children, but the policies so far fall short of producing models that will improve these outcomes. However, attempts are made to bring the issue to the forefront of reforms.

When behaviors or actions occur that are contrary to what we believe, we refer to them as an anomaly because the phenomena is outside of the scope of any defined paradigm. Ultimately, a paradigm shift is at stake (Kuhn, 1970) and there is an opportunity to give NRAAF a voice in education.

Summary

The literature on education reform policies and nonresidential African American fathers provides an opportunity for researcher to fully understand how the innovation of education policy and school practices contribute to negative intergenerational education and life outcomes. Although scholars contribute important knowledge to the research in this study there remains a gap in the literature on the effects of past education policies and school practices on past generations of students. Moreover, without the knowledge and understanding of how education policies and school practices are affecting current school children the gap among African American boys and other students will increase. The involvement of nonresidential African American fathers in the education of their sons may be the link in education research that fosters understanding of policy makers, educators, and parents.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This study explores socio-historical inquiring into these NRAAF's educational experiences. The voices of nonresidential African American fathers (NRAAF) are an overlooked and critical source of insight into the education reforms that have influenced generations (e.g., Boomers, Generation X, Millennium) of African American men's education. Their varied experiences, through different reforms, convey the lived experience of the implementation of these policies and help to evaluate the impact of these reforms across time. I focused on a major city and congregation in the state of Texas.

Texas has the 2nd largest population of African Americans in the United States, the 2nd largest school system in the country, and educates one of the largest populations of African American boys in the United States. This study will present a new perspective to education with new voices of nonresidential African American fathers to the conversation of education reform.

Chapter III provides an explanation of the role of the researcher and the research study connection. It describes research design geographical community settings used as research sites, study participants and sampling techniques, data collection procedures, analysis methods, trustworthiness, the researcher's journal, and ethical dilemmas.

Research Design

The study design study uses qualitative methods critical race theory (CRT), critical discourse analysis, and Narrative Analysis. The narrative methodology analysis

which provides a detailed explanation of knowledge and meaning of life experiences (Fairclough, 2003; Souto-Manning & Ray, 2007) of African American male students, specifically through the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965 and the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) time periods. The goal of this hybrid methodology and approach is to pinpoint retrospectively how education reforms contribute to the lived experiences of nonresidential African American fathers and how their experiences may affect the outcomes of their sons.

Critical Race Theory

The critical race theory (Bell, 1992) approach seeks to examine the retrospective narratives of nonresidential African American fathers educated under segregation, integration, ESEA, and NCLB. Critical Race Theory (CRT) research describes the view point of individuals' experiences through a critical analysis of race or racism in an education structure (Laman, Jewett, Jennings, Wilson, & Souto-Manning, 2012; Landsing-Billings, 1998). The basic framework of CRT includes five tenets that are interdisciplinary and can be approach from various branches of knowledge. Through an analytical lens CRT tenets recognizes 1) racism as an engrained permanent fixture in the American power structure; 2) the power structure of America is based on White privilege through hegemony; 3) storytelling and counter-storytelling that exposes stereotypes, discrepancies or myths in the dominate discourse accepted in society about marginalized groups. This tenet will examine the education of those consistently marginalized across education segments (Ladson-Billings, & Tate, 2006); 4) CRT

challenges the notion in which liberalism and meritocracy presents false stories from the dominant culture, which asserts all individuals have equal access to a fair and quality education; and 5) the American system is colorblind or neutral (Bell, 1995; Ladsing-Billings, 2005).

Intersectionality with CRT focuses on the various dimensions of systematic oppression. In this study intersectionality combines with CRT to reveal what race alone does not account for discrimination (Creswell, 2012). The term “intersectionality” refers to gender, class, national origin, and sexual orientation combined with race contributes to one’s lived experiences through the impact of race (Crenshaw, 1989). Through in-depth interviews narratives will present perceptions.

Critical Narrative Analysis

Critical narrative analysis (Souto-Manning, 2014) an interchange of critical discourse analysis (van Dijk, 2002) and narrative analysis (Fairclough, 2003) is a means by which knowledge and meaning is addressed. According to Souto-Manning (2007), narratives are social products produced by society for the purpose of transmitting information of social agency. According to Schoem (2003) critical narratives is “a form of intergroup discussion occurring over a period of time in a social settings” (216); further, Souto-Manning (2007) asserts through a socio-political lens critical narratives present a critical perspective of injustice in an oppressive social structure such as education systems, laws, and ideologies which create conditions that marginalize people. Many assert critical narrative analysis is a form of “shining the light” on real world

issues as a form of “pushing back” against power systems in an effort to make social change (Robinson, 2013; Souto-Manning, 2007).

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis is the power of language in social context. Discourse is any form of communication which includes written, verbal, visual, or actions.

According to van Dijk critical discourse analysis (CDA) focuses on the relations of power present in the language; who is exercising power in a social milieu. Narrative Analysis is a subset of discourse analysis and focuses on meaning through language and how certain groups structure their experiences or role in society (2002, page 95). With the two combined, an analysis examines and questions power domination of social institutions and discourse that is accepted as part of everyday narratives.

For example, as children in schools in communities (social context) nonresidential African American fathers may have experienced other African American boys like self are being placed in special education, suspended from school, or in other restrictive contexts. In critical discourse analysis analyzing discourse expands the understanding of a phenomenon to social action. Certain actions become or set the realities to discourse (Souto-Manning, 2014, page 162). This is why interviews are important.

During interviews a broader context captured information proved critical to analysis. Narratives of African American males cannot be examined without considering their social contexts. African-American males are racialized in schools through the

process of pedagogy, which is a macrosystem of society (Bronfenbrenner, 1999). Through their narratives of storytelling and counter-stories layers of racial complexities, are unveiled with the use of CRT, CNA, and CDA (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). With the use of this hybrid methodology the researcher interviews cohort members and explore historical events in education over the past fifty years, drawing on archival materials.

The voices of nonresidential African American fathers can help identify if social intersectionalities exist in education policies and practices that contribute to the ineffectiveness of nonresidential African American fathers' involvement in their sons' positive educational outcomes. Caldwell, Antonakos, Assari, Kruger, Loney, and Njai, (2014) assert that nonresidential African American fathers are more involved with their children's education than first belief by researchers and these "fathers are engaged in religious activities with their adolescent children at higher rates than other fathers"(p. 310). Further, NRAAF are more vigilant when their children are in trouble and are instrumental in helping their children work through experiences associated with discriminatory practices as well as challenges in school (Caldwell, et al, 2014).

Findings from this study could determine if nonresidential African American fathers are the missing critical link in the education reform of African American boys, thereby changing the approaches of education policies, practices, and studies. Ideally, education leaders will understand how retrospectively systems as socializing agents can close the education gaps that hinder the right to life and liberty of African American males.

Hybrid

This study blends three principle methodologies to document and analyze participants' reflections on their life span: Critical Race Theory (CRT), critical narrative analysis (CAN) and critical discourse analysis. The research draws on these methods to make meaning out of complex human conditions and includes stories or narratives of marginalized individuals that counter dominant accounts (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Fernandez, 2002; Langellier, 2001; Lansing-Billing, 1998).

Critical narrative analysis (CNA) adjoins critical discourse analysis (CDA) to satisfy both the theoretical and methodological gaps in a retrospective study (Souto-Manning, 2007). A critical narrative analysis (CAN) and critical discourse analysis (CDA) have the potential of closing the theoretical gaps in past events. Both CNA and CDA put emphasis on the sociopolitical factors. Critical discourse analysis allows the researcher to identify ideological themes from the narrative of participants. Ideological themes are the educational and lived experiences of participants. Critical discourse analysis provides an analysis of what power of language is communicated through education policies, practices, and relationships. The power of language includes verbal and nonverbal forms of communication shaped by psychosocial and racialization.

According to van Dijk (1993) to understand the relationship between discourse and power structures effectively, it is through analysis this may reveal the reproduction of strategies whether through text or a form of covert social power through social agents are in place to reproduce social inequities. For instance, nonresidential African American

fathers may share experiences of social agents such as teachers, administrators, or police officers in positions to reproduce dominance in education settings (p.250).

The narratives of participants give meaning of past education and life experiences. It is through these experiences their identity is constructed which conveys meaning of their role in society. Critical narrative analysis methodology is a composition of embedded narrative methods applied to understand people's lives, which include the physical, symbolic, and the metaphysical, of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2003). Researchers assert with both critical narrative analysis and critical discourse analysis, the researcher has the ability to call into question past moral positions and inhuman practices that marginalize and devalue contributions of a group that influence posterity (Forgas, 2002; Robinson, 2013). This pairing of analyses gives an in-depth look at the complex layers of lived experiences highlighted by a critical race theory approach. Narrative analysis gives understanding to real-world issues and promotes changes in systems. This quality makes it an ideal methodology to capture the social justice issues and circumstances related to the conditions absent of the narratives of nonresidential African American fathers and African American boys.

It is through an ecological system that African American males are jointly connected. According to Bronfenbrenner (2005) human development occurs through the influence of two elements: cultural ways and social events. These elements link to pedagogy and governmental policy, which influence social environments, education, and ecological ecosystems. Thus, through pedagogy, the institutional discourse becomes a part of the African American male narrative and must include an analysis to make sense

of their past experiences. Since there is a gap in longitudinal research of nonresidential African American fathers as participants in a retrospective study will provide information that allows the researcher to develop education interventions through policy and practices to address education issues.

Unlike in education, retrospective studies are common in medical research and as common as prospective studies. Retrospective cohort studies, historic group studies, and historic studies exist to look back and describe a medical patient's lifestyle (Mannheim, 1952). Retrospective cohort studies describe cohort members' relevant information from past records and data. This approach allows the researcher to analyze high and low incidences of an occurrence that constitute a specific outcome as well as factors not considered during initial studies (Hess, 2004). For example, in 1956, the largest retrospective cohorts study was conducted and involved survivors of the Atomic Bomb explosions. Typically, this type of study is less expensive and time consuming since the outcomes are already known. However, retrospective studies lack statistical measures, which may be problematic (Hess, 2004; Gearing, Mian, Barber, and Ickowicz, 2006).

Although prospective studies are more favored, a retrospective study is conducive in unmasking information. This approach allows the researcher to identify occurrences from the past not considered and through the use of CNA language provides meaning of these occurrences. Along with CDA which uses forms of communication to shape the meaning of how people view their role in society. A retrospective approach in a qualitative hybrid study, including critical narrative analysis and critical discourse

analysis of a cohort group gives meaning to an education phenomenon. The advantages and disadvantages of both types of studies will add clarity to why the researcher uses a retrospective design approach. Listed below is a table which identifies the advantages and disadvantages of a retrospective study.

The table below consists of two columns which identify the advantages and disadvantages in a retrospective study. In the advantage column are six factors identified as advantages to a retrospective study. These factors are widely used to support a retrospective study. For example, studies that use a retrospective methodology do so because it is an inexpensive way of gathering data. However, the disadvantage column identifies reasons why a retrospective study may not be used. For example, in a retrospective study participants may find it difficult to recall events and individuals. This may lead to inaccuracy of data being obtained. Nonetheless, a retrospective study allows a researcher to examine a different perspective of a phenomenon.

Advantage and Disadvantages of Retrospective Studies

Table 1 Advantage and Disadvantages of Retrospective Studies

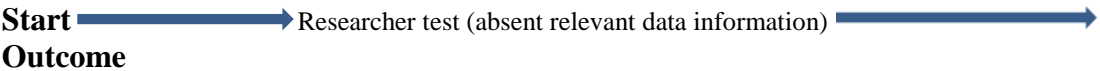
Advantages	Disadvantages
Inexpensive	Strongly relies on accuracy of written record or recall of individuals (recall bias)
Uses existing data	Missing data – important data may be missing
Allows study of rare occurrences (phenomenon)	Difficult to control bias since blinding does not exist
Easier to measure environments where there are periods of high and low education outcome	It may be difficult to establish or obtain information from institutional regulations due to statutes and regulations
Can perform Critical Narrative Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis to give meaning to phenomenon that resulted due to policies & practices (add to improvements)	Cause and effect is difficult to establish
Able to collect data not identified during the original study or initiative	Hypothesis generating

Hess (2004)

Below is an illustration comparing a prospective and retrospective study. The diagram shows the differences of the two types of studies and how information flows (Gearing et al, 2006). A table then details the steps of a retrospective study (Hess, 2004).

Illustration: Retrospective vs. Prospective

Prospective



Retrospective

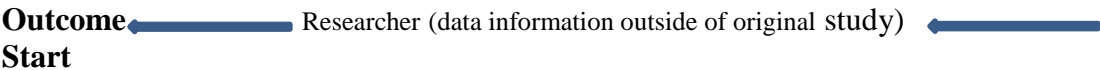


Illustration: Retrospective Methodology: Nine Steps

Table 2 Illustration: Retrospective Methodology: Nine Steps

<i>STEPS</i>		<i>COMPONENTS</i>	<i>ELEMENTS</i>
<i>1</i>	<i>Conception</i>	<i>Research Construction</i>	<i>Research Questions</i>
<i>2</i>	<i>Literature Review</i>	<i>Literature Review</i>	<i>Search education literature</i>
<i>3</i>	<i>Proposal Development</i>	<i>Proposal: identify variables</i>	<i>Research Proposal Examine education studies with retrospective methodology</i>
<i>4</i>	<i>Data Abstraction Instrument</i>	<i>Development Abstraction Instrument Theoretical Framework Conceptual Model(s)</i>	<i>Create a chart with chart reviewers or Narratives or data abstractors</i>
<i>5</i>	<i>Develop Protocols</i>	<i>Develop Interview Question(s) for narratives for Nonresidential African American Fathers (NRAAF)</i>	<i>Define clear protocol and guidelines of how narratives will be obtained</i>
<i>6</i>	<i>Data Constructor Abstraction</i>	<i>Identify Education Policy review periods: Elementary Secondary Education Act (ESEA) No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Post- No Child Left Behind (NCLB)</i>	<i>Chart Process</i>
<i>7</i>	<i>Sampling</i>	<i>Sampling Issues</i>	<i>Select Participants Sampling methods Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria Identify and Managing missing data</i>
<i>8</i>	<i>Ethics Review</i>	<i>Obtain permission from Institutional review board</i>	
<i>9</i>	<i>Conduct Research Study</i>	<i>Research study Interview participants</i>	<i>Researcher investigate study using all</i>

Ideally, retrospective narrative analysis will allow for an exploration of the processes of education of this population of males. In fact, the aforementioned illustration outlines the steps used to guide the researcher in this retrospective study (Gearing et al, 2006). The narratives of participants will connect to previous events and practices not noted during the reform periods. Essential to the discourse are the accounts of African-American males that have yet to be used in education research or the description of historical education policy. A discussion of education formulates how practitioners and policymakers will use education as tool to better understand norms and cultural politics. Education is a social tool that supports the social milieu and exposes latent exclusions. Narratives are important to gaining information and provide data to unmasked information (Hendry, 2010).

Narratives create mental models or cognitive structures based on historical experiences. It is through the manifestation of mental models that life outcomes exist. Research suggests that that negative perceptions operate through subconscious mind and mitigate an individual's ability to advance (Groenewald, 2004; Steel, 1997). Consequently, if nonresidential African American fathers develop successful mental models of their lived experiences, then these "mental files" are transferred to their sons (Ninan, 2014). This retrospective approach helps document and describe how African American boys devise mental models and how they navigate and deflect racial traps in the education systems.

A combination of document analysis and interviews from nonresidential African-American fathers about their education will create the basis of my retrospective study. I

will examine the education experiences under the legislative acts between the 1960s through 2010. This time period encompasses the establishment of education policies designed to create equity in public education. I will use the interviews and archival documents to consider African American males' placement in special education, restrictive disciplinary placement, graduation outcomes, economic outcomes, and participation as full citizens.

The narratives or counter-stories will provide significant data on the self-constructed social devices used by African American males to avoid the special-education-to-prison pipeline. It will also add to the literature on how to successfully educate African American boys from ages 3 to 26 years old. Since there is no longitudinal study this phenomenon retrospective narratives will serve as a framework to intervene in the education-to-prison pipeline conversation.

Critical Narrative Analysis and Life Stories

Narratives are ways to make sense of lived experiences in the world. It is through narratives that meaning is shared (Souto-Manning, 2014; Polkinghorne 1988). Through the meanings of narratives individual identities are shaped from events and individual perspectives are formed (Ochs & Capps, 2001; Polkinghorne 1988). It is through the power of discourse that individuals are able to understand social positions, cultural understanding and purpose. Narratives describe phenomena that can expand into new epistemologies (Brown & Donnor, 2011).

For African-Americans, narratives and counter storytelling form an interactive process through which the culture and historical events are shared and solidify the meaning of experiences. According to Woods (1985), narratives and counter storytelling convey with depth an individual's lived experiences. Including the voices of nonresidential African American fathers in pedagogy and education can help balance the distorted narratives of the dominant culture (Robinson, 2013; Woods, 2002). Further, the articulation of their experience as an "out group" in education, allows the researcher to explore the "Black male crisis narrative," as an omission within societal discourse (Brown & Donner, 2011). This research seeks to incorporate the narratives of the discordant lived experiences of nonresidential African American fathers, their roles, and how social policies and education practices create conceptual models that contribute to the education outcomes of African American boys.

Community Setting

The study was conducted in two urban community sites in Texas. Constantly for the past two decades census data identifies this context as the third fastest growing major cities in the United States (U.S. Census Data, 2000; 2010). Of the general population, growth stands at 20.4 percent viewed by many around the country as the "Silicon Valley of the South." Like other major cities Whites, Latinos, and other groups saw population growth. In 2000, racial and ethnic group's populations included the following: Whites 347,554, Latinos 200,579, Asians 30,580, and African Americans 64,259. In 2010, Populations continued to grow: Whites 385,271, Latinos 277,707, Asians 49,159, and

African Americans 60,760. Compared to all major racial and ethnic groups, African Americans experienced the greatest decline in populations with loss of five point percent (Castillo, 2011, April 23). In addition, employment is a reflection of the economic growth in the city. However, African Americans lack representation in many areas of the job market. The two major employment areas are technology and construction with African Americans losing out in both does to a lack of training in construction and technology (Castillo, (2011, April 23). Moreover, a decline in the number of African American school age children in the area decline (Robinson, 2013). Many noted the exodus of African American children from the city's schools had to do with African American students' decline in education opportunity (Ren, 2014).

This decline was due to the African American population expressing a low quality of life as compared to other groups in the area (Ren, 2014). Knowing the context of participants' lives gives meaning to the experiences of the African American males in the study. The first setting includes a community located in a political metropolis embedded in the southwestern United States. While the community is one of the nation's fastest growing urban areas, the African American population is the only population in the country declining at a double-digit rate (Ren, 2014). African American males represent the largest citizenry subgroup with the lowest earning level, the highest school dropout rate, and the greatest percentage of its population that is incarcerated (Ren, 2014). Of this group, nonresidential African American fathers represent one of the largest parent groups.

In this city in the late 1920s a legal segregation plan relegated African Americans and Latinos to a “Colored District” African Americans and Latino citizens were informed if they wanted “running water” and other plumbing services from the city they needed to relocate east of the main highway or eastside of the city. The segregation plan or the Master Plan segregated African Americans community to one section east of the city. The community included segregated schools, churches, and parks. Nonetheless African American residents, during the early 20th century, were identified as among those groups most likely to own their own homes.

The 1970s saw the closing of African American schools, consistent economic redlining by lenders, social blight, drugs, an increase in crime, an exodus of African Americans in search of better schools for their children, and the initial warning of the coming AIDS epidemic. Additional changes included a large influx of immigrants and an increase in demand for technology professionals. These events led to a shift in the community demographics, and the former “Colored District” became increasingly gentrified.

The second study site was a church also located in Texas in the same metropolitan area. The church has members from the larger urban, rural, and suburban areas that include a large African American male population that is quite diverse and makes up approximately 40 percent of the church membership. The African American membership is not declining and, unlike the first site, the community has an African American group that is politically active. The educational attainment of African

Americans at this site includes graduates from colleges and universities, high school, General Education Diplomas (GED), and members who did not complete high school.

Unlike the first site, many of the members come from outside of this urban community. Some of the members come from larger urban areas where African American schools remain opened except some middle schools. A large number of the members are from a community where, currently, the schools are identified as specialty schools. In the 1980s, African Americans from this area remained in the four major African American neighborhoods and later entered other parts of the city.

Study Participants and Sampling Technique

For this study, three generations – Baby Boomers/Boomers, Generation X, Generation Y/Millennium – will be included. Baby Boomers are individuals born between 1946 through 1964, and include two sub-sets: the first set was born between 1965 and 1970s and the second between the mid 1970s and 1980s. Generation X includes individuals born between 1965 and 1980. Finally, Generation Y/Millennium are individuals born between 1980 and 2000. African American males who are “Boomers” share collective experiences in education with knowledge as students during major education reform (e.g., ESEA) and as parents, with sons as students during zero tolerance, and No Child Left Behind (NCLB) policies. The researcher utilizes narratives from all interview participants to evaluate the relationship between the intent of education reform policy and the life experiences of African American males’ outcomes.

The researcher recruited nine using snowball sampling techniques from one to two urban Southwestern cities. Some participants are members of a father's program in their local communities, and others are not. This sample hopes to include participants with diversify backgrounds. Selected participants include self-identified, African American males with at least one male child under the age of 18 years old and not residing with the father. Participants will have attended a public school that participated in the following education reforms: desegregation under *Brown vs. Board of Education* 347 U.S. 483 (1954), the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) (1965), No Child Left Behind (NCLB) (2001), and the Strengthening America's School Act 2013. NRAAF are key informants and the experts with specific knowledge to expose in-depth thoughts, perceptions, and education lived experiences (Gall & Gall, 2007). This first-hand knowledge is otherwise not available to the researcher.

To understand the value of nonresidential African American fathers' in education is to know the historical underpinning of their communities, schools, and the social political influences that shape their ecological system. The nuances within the African American male citizenry are often overlooked by education and policy discourse.

Education reforms over the past fifty years have been inadequate, in part because they have not been informed by communities' stories. I will collect community archival data, community data, community archival documents, demographic documents, other videos, and research information on the histories of these communities.

In the chart below (Table1) is a generation chart, an instrument that provides an overview of generations from which I will recruit from. Generation charts are useful instruments used for the purpose of generation analysis. The chart displays demarcations which identifies one generation from another (Mannheim, 1952; Robey-Graham, 2008). This is significant in allowing researchers to identify time periods and other occurrences.

The chart consist of five columns, four of the columns include generations, sub-generations, time table, and significant education reform policies and events during that period of time. The generation column includes five generations from the Greatest Generation to Generation Z. The next column, sub-generation is a split in the generation. For example, the Baby Boomer generation is a major era, but it includes two cohort groups. A cohort formulates individuals who experience the same events and born within a specific time period. Sub-generations are also known as social generations. The subsequent column notes the time period in which individuals were born. Finally, the education reform policy column identifies major educational occurrences during a specific generation.

Table 3 Generational Chart¹

	Gene- ration	Sub-Generations	Time Table	Education (occurrence) Reform Policy
20th century	Greatest Generation	G.I. Generation	1901-1927	Compulsory Era - school attendance laws are enacted in all states (C 84). Oregon revises.
		Silent Generation	1928-1947	(US Supreme Court, Pierce v. Little Sisters for the Poor) The child is not the mere creature of the State... those who nurture him and direct his destiny have the right (parents).
	Baby Boomers	Boom Generation (BG) (Boomers I Born: 1946-1954)	1948-1961	Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka (1954)
		Hippie (Boomers II Born: 1955-1965)		End of segregation & Start of Integration National Defense Education Act -federal funds public schools – math & science
	Generation X	Baby Busters	1962-1979	Elementary and Secondary Education Act-federal funds (i.e., Title I)
		MTV Generation		IDEA (1975) special education
		Boomerang Generation		Zero Tolerance
	Generation Y	Echo Boom (Generation McGuire) Echo Boomers or Millenniums	1980-1999	Start of increased parental authority and options (voucher)
				Gun-Free Schools Act in (1994)
	21st century	Generation Z	New Silent Generation	2000-2012
				Charter School
				Home school

Robey-Graham (2008)

Consent and Confidentiality

¹ Generational data obtained from “Generational Comparisons and Contrasts Chart” starting with Boomers to Millennials (Robey-Graham, 2008).

<http://www.napavalley.edu/people/jhall/Documents/Generational%20Chart.pdf>

After identifying the participants, each participant was provided with a consent form that included the details and expectations of the study. As study participants read the consent form they were free to ask questions before they agreed to participate (Appendix A). All completed consent forms were collected and secured in a file cabinet of the researcher's home office. The researcher is the only individual with access in order to protect the identity of the study participants. All participants received a copy of their rights (Appendix B). During the data collection phase, individual participants had the right to review the data collected on them during the study as well as the findings. Following the protocol of the Institutional Review Board, participants were free to dismiss themselves at any time from the study without penalty.

During the study the researcher secured and maintained the confidentiality of all participants, especially through the data collection process. For confidentiality, the identity and demographics of research participants were concealed through the use of pseudonyms. The participants will be referred to as nonresidential African American fathers (NRAAF) and as numbers (e.g., Andre, James, Carl), as well as when they were interviewed.

Instrumentation

In qualitative research the researcher serves as the sole human data collection instrument. According to Key (1997), the researcher may use various data collection methods to ensure accurate and valid data collection. It is the responsibility of the researcher as the human instrument to remove preconceived notions, biases, and

assumptions about a phenomenon (Key, 1997). According to Schwandt (2007) research designs with open-ended questions and narratives about the participants' lives should form a more conducive model of logic to ensure that the researcher is able to access a depth of information from the participant.

Data Collection Procedures

To ensure consistency, the researcher will conduct all interviews. Narratives will be collected through a series of semi-structured and open-ended questions (Appendix C). The goal is to hear stories from NRAAFs from different generations (e.g., Baby Boomers, Generation X, Millennials) who experienced different education reforms. With those who lived through the Elementary Secondary Education Act (ESEA), No Child Left Behind (NCLB), and post NCLB, I asked construction questions and exploratory questions, yet allow the fathers to take their stories in whatever direction they felt appropriate. Based on interview responses, I conducted follow-up questions when needed and had the interviews transcribed. The interviews lasted one hour per session. Some participants required follow up interviews. To maintain accuracy, all interviews were audio taped.

Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis involves transforming a collection of data into forms that enable meaningful explanation and understanding of phenomena (Husserl, 1994, p. 347). Since this study includes a hybrid design, which includes a CRT study through critical narrative analysis and critical discourse analysis, the qualitative data analysis

portion are essential. The information from the narratives helps explain the sociological perspectives of the three generations in this study (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Moreover, any oversight in the analysis of the data could discredit the research design and the findings of the study, thereby, further marginalizing and excluding the narratives of nonresidential African American fathers.

Step one: Collective Narrative (discourse)

The narratives in this study are a collection from nine nonresidential African American fathers (NRAAFs) educated in U.S. public schools. Collaboratively and individually, narratives touch on sociopolitical conditions of education policies from pre-integration to No Child Left Behind (NCLB). Moreover, I argue narratives from this sample group add authenticity, which has the ability to reveal the modes of reproduction in education through groups (i.e., student, family structures, racial, gender, social) (van Dijk, 1998, p.352). Finally, narratives provide examples of how school policy and pedagogy have intergenerational impact within a group.

Listed below is an overview of all participants. Of study participants all but one is a Boomer. The collaborative chart below (Table 2) gives an overview of participants with a description of the father's background as follows: the first row identifies the nonresidential father by a pseudonym NRAAF and a number to maintain the confidentiality of the subject; the second rows lists the education reform policy the subject was educated under; the third row indicates the level of education attained; the fourth identifies if the NRAAF's biological father was included in the NRAAF's

education process; the fifth row chronicles the generations of nonresidential father patterns linked to NRAAF; the sixth row accounts for the restrictive learning experiences of the NRAAF while in school K-12; the seventh row indicates whether religion played a role in the NRAAF's life; the eighth row describes if the NRAAF received assistance through special programs; and the ninth row identifies the NRAAF's education to his life outcome.

Step two: Individual Narratives (discourse)

In this section each individual narrative works to display the uniqueness of the individual through storytelling. The retrospective narrative captures the three sections of storytelling the beginning, middle, and the end (McCormick, 2004). The significance is to explore in-depth talk with participants over their K-12 school education policy experiences and the significance of a NRAAF's role through the process.

The storytelling process pulls a narrative for two purposes for "analysis of narrative and narrative analysis" of which together produces an inquiry framework (Polkinghorne, 1995). According to Polkinghorne, 1995 as cited by (McCormick, 2004) in 'analysis of narrative' the researcher seeks to attain data from narratives in an effort to draw themes consistent across all participants' stories (p. 220). As compared to analysis of narrative, narrative analysis includes a description of events and actions to construct an understanding of life events (McCormick, 2004; Robinson, 2013).

Participants

An overview of each nonresidential father (NRAAF) is identified in a matrix.

There are nine participants in the research study. Each participant reflects on the significance of a father during the educational process under various policies.

Andre (44) participant one in table four reflects on the influence of a father although the father was not present.

“...in his absence my father was teaching me and he didn’t even know it.”

“...I was placed in special education in elementary until I graduated from high school.”

Table 4 Participant 1 Andre

Andre						
<i>Age</i>	<i>Son(s)</i>	<i>Education Reform Policy</i>	<i>Education Level</i>	<i>Generations of NRAAF</i>	<i>Restrictive Learning</i>	<i>Justice System</i>
44	1	ESEA IDEA	High School	2	yes	None

Darrell (51) participant two in table five reflects on the challenges of fitting in school and for his biological father during.

“...all I wanted was to fit in school...I wanted to learn...I was dumb...and I wanted a relationship with my father.”

Table 5 Participant 2 Darrell

Darrell						
<i>Age</i>	<i>Son(s)</i>	<i>Education Reform Policy</i>	<i>Education Level</i>	<i>Generations of NRAAF</i>	<i>Restrictive Learning</i>	<i>Justice System</i>
51	1	ESEA IDEA	High School	2	yes	Adult

Lawrence (54) participant three in table six speaks of the reproduction of discourse in with education policy and effects on the next generation of children.

“...all my kids were raised while I was in prison...it was in prison that I got the services that I needed.”

Table 6 Participant 3 Lawrence

Lawrence						
<i>Age</i>	<i>Son(s)</i>	<i>Education Reform Policy</i>	<i>Education Level</i>	<i>Generations of NRAAF</i>	<i>Restrictive Learning</i>	<i>Justice System</i>
54	1	ESEA	High School	3	yes	Adult

Joshua (30) participant four in table seven gives voice to events that would influence a student’s behavior in schools. These event would lead to the student’s life outcome.

“...in middle school...sixth graders were jumped...they would take your shoes or whatever they wanted from you...now once you fight back and win they kept coming back to fight you...they placed me in special education and identified me as emotionally disturbed...I didn’t have a father...the streets taught me.”

Table 7 Participant 4 Joshua

Joshua						
<i>Age</i>	<i>Son(s)</i>	<i>Education Reform Policy</i>	<i>Education Level</i>	<i>Generations of NRAAF</i>	<i>Restrictive Learning</i>	<i>Justice System</i>
30	2	ESEA IDEA Zero Tolerance NCLB	GED	3	yes	Youth/ Adult

Caleb (66) participant five in table eight reflects on the deficiencies of education reform and the effects on African Americans which made social, economic, and educational outcomes difficult.

“...Black people were not in a position to accommodate integration...cause we had to give up too much...support systems, history, teachers, community, values.”

Table 8 Participant 5 Caleb

Caleb						
<i>Age</i>	<i>Son(s)</i>	<i>Education Reform Policy</i>	<i>Education Level</i>	<i>Generations of NRAAF</i>	<i>Restrictive Learning</i>	<i>Justice System</i>
66	1	ESEA	Some college	2	yes	Not

Harris (63) participant six in table nine taught as a child not to have a voice.

“...I was not raised by my biological mother or father...back then you didn’t ask questions.”

Table 9 Participant 6 Harris

Harris						
<i>Age</i>	<i>Son(s)</i>	<i>Education Reform Policy</i>	<i>Education Level</i>	<i>Generations of NRAAF</i>	<i>Restrictive Learning</i>	<i>Justice System</i>
63	2	ESEA	Some College	2	none	Adult

Henry (63) participant seven in table ten says that despite the presence of a grandfather and a good education the need for a biological father remained a need.

“... although I had a strong man in my life I wanted my daddy...yeah, I wish I had my daddy...I got a good education.”

Table 10 Participant 7 Henry

Henry						
<i>Age</i>	<i>Son(s)</i>	<i>Education Reform Policy</i>	<i>Education Level</i>	<i>Generations of NRAAF</i>	<i>Restrictive Learning</i>	<i>Justice System</i>
63	4	ESEA	High School	2	none	Adult

Armstrong (58) participant eight in table eleven reflects on education from the perspective of an adopted African American male.

“...I was adopted...once we were integrated I was placed in special education...the man in my life was a good man, but he would not stand up for me...everything was always a secret... I guess I was not supposed to know my biological father.”

Table 11 Participant 8 Armstrong

Armstrong						
<i>Age</i>	<i>Son(s)</i>	<i>Education Reform Policy</i>	<i>Education Level</i>	<i>Generations of NRAAF</i>	<i>Restrictive Learning</i>	<i>Justice System</i>
58	2	ESEA	Some college	Adopted (1)	yes	Adult

Wayne (50) participant nine in table twelve reared in the home with his biological father speaks of the power of a father in the home and the values taught.

“...my father was a no none sense person and I learned as a father you have to know what values you want to teach your son...I say, you have three things, and everything you do is tied around those values and you don’t waiver from it...as a father of a Black boy you have to think about his survival...education is key.”

Table 12 Participant 9 Wayne

Wayne						
<i>Age</i>	<i>Son(s)</i>	<i>Education Reform Policy</i>	<i>Education Level</i>	<i>Generations of NRAAF</i>	<i>Restrictive Learning</i>	<i>Justice System</i>
50	1	ESEA	Graduate	1	none	Youth

Researcher's Journal

By keeping a journal, I was able to reflect on my thoughts as I moved through the research process. The journal helped me remain objective by checking for my own biases' (Bloom, 2002). During the interview process, I took notes as well as used an audio recorder. The notes allowed me to describe the nonverbal expression of participants during the interview process. Overall, the goal was to add the presence of these fathers to the education and policy as well their voices. More than just transforming the research process, I want to bring African American males out of the shadows of education injustice. As an inclusive structure forms in education research, nonresidential African American fathers can partner with education leaders and policy makers to give an expert perspective in the critical discourse of African American boys' education phenomena (Wodak and Meyer, 2001).

Ethical Dilemma

Retrospective studies require a participant to recall experiences that can be emotional. With this consideration, I was mindful to observe during interviews how the participants responded to questions. If a participant found it difficult to answer a question due to painful experience, I allowed the participant to end the interview or move to the next question. In general, the study presented no obvious risks or ethical dilemmas.

CHAPTER IV

NARRATIVES

Social structures are similar to schools. Each structure is a socializing agent with influences from education policies. Education a nucleus of society, with pedagogy that intertwines through family, community, and a student's identity which produces life outcomes. A microcosm of political contexts and cultural ideologies, schools represent the ideals of broader society. This chapter presents the CNA of nonresidential African American fathers (NRAAFs) speaking of their educational experiences during various policy eras. Narratives from these participants provide insight of education policies and practice that impacts generations of fathers and sons.

In 1995, the Clinton Administration designed an initiative as a "blueprint" strategy to strengthen families by increasing fathers' involvement in the education of their children. The initiative, the Responsible Fatherhood Initiative, was allotted federal funds through grants to aid programs designed to improve a father's role in the family and community (Hijjawi, Wilson, & Turkheimer, 2003). *An exploratory analysis of father involvement in low-income families* (No. WP03-01-FF-Hijjawi. pdf).p. 3). In 2002, the Bush Administration provided over \$60 million in federal grant funds to be used for fatherhood promotion programs. The program responded to the theory that a lack of father involvement could contribute to a child's negative education outcome (Amato & Rivera, 1999; Dick & Bronson, 2005; Sigle-Rushton & McLanahan, 2002). However, there was limited research at the time on nonresidential African American fathers' influence on their children's education (Hijjawi, Wilson, & Turkheimer, 2003).

Consequently, neither of these administrations drew attention to the particular case of nonresidential African American fathers.

In 2007, as co-founder of the Responsible Fatherhood and Healthy Families Act Barack Obama (2007) identified the education and economic issues of African American fathers and past policies that fail to support African American males as positive role models, "...to recognize Black men as husbands, fathers, sons and role models....we need a new ethic of compassion to break the cycle of educational failure, unemployment, absentee fatherhood, incarceration, and recidivism"(p. 11). Later, the Obama Administration would expand the Responsible Fatherhood and Healthy Families Act of 2007 to address the harsh economic and undereducation conditions of African American males which fosters poverty among African American families and children (Mincy, Klempin, & Schmidt, 2011).

According to some estimates 77 percent of children in the United States live in single parent homes. In 1990s, scholars took notice of the absent father phenomenon and determined that nearly 60 percent of children born lived in households headed by single-mothers (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). Many African American men born in the "Boomer" generation (1946-1964) grew up in homes without their fathers (U.S. Census, 2013). Of African American males, "Boomers" were largely educated in public schools during *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954), and the first major education reform policies, the Elementary Secondary Education Act (ESEA) 1965. Subsequent educational policies would follow IDEA, Zero Tolerance and NCLB.

Emerging Themes

The interviews in this study capture themes from long awaited narratives with epistemological perspectives of nonresidential African American fathers (NRAAFs) describing their education experiences from pre-ESEA to NCLB policies. Through the analysis of participants' interviews I will capture components of critical race theory (CRT). According to Braun and Clark (2006) analysis of semi-structured interviews allows the researcher to sift through narratives (p.79). Further, the analysis of narratives exposes social structures influenced by education reforms that activate education policies. This approach gives an in-depth and authentic view of the effects of education and policy (Ladsing-Billings, 2000).

In this section participants (NRAAFs) share childhood school experiences through retrospective narratives. Based on Critical Narrative Analysis (CNA), sections of analysis are placed in essential categories that contribute to CRT. Critical race theory categories are revealed through 1) Storytelling/ Counter-storytelling, 2) racism as a permanent fixture in society, 3) interest convergence, 4) Whiteness as property, 5) colorblindness or neutrality, and 6) the critique of liberalism.

With the understanding of meaning I apply critical discourse analysis (CDA) which demonstrates the power of verbal and nonverbal language from various spaces of society, family, school, education policy, community, and the formation of an individual's identity. In this study the power of language is explored in policy text, nonverbal communication, pedagogy, and the social agents that communicate social

injustices. Finally, this hybrid methodology provides understanding and meaning of gaps not identified from studies related to education outcome and NRAAFs.

Clandestine

Retrospective narratives of nine NRAAFs were obtained through a sequence of semi-structured interviews. Initially, the goal was to obtain interviews from NRAAFs from a spectrum of generations starting with the Baby Boomer Generation through Generation Y. I was approached by some NRAAFs about the study, however, only a few would participate due to their secrecy. Through the snowball collection approach, I was referred to some NRAAFs who held prominent positions and or advanced degrees. When I connected with some of these NRAAFs to discuss the study some spoke little of the children born before or outside of their marriages in spite of the assurance of confidentiality. Despite being NRAAFs offspring who range from the late 20s to early 50 years of age these fathers were secretive of their outside children.

In a different approach, I asked if their sons were NRAAFs in an effort to gain knowledge and understanding of the sons 'educational experiences, but not one would share information. Shortly, I would speak with a son of a NRAAF. This son was successful in his career and obtained an advance degree. Although in his mid-40s and a father of two sons he was reluctant to ask his biological father to participate in the study. Even though I explained the study would use pseudonyms to mask the participant's identity. Further, I reviewed the consent form the confidentiality section and I explained that if the father was uncomfortable at any point during the interview he could stop and

discontinue the interview process without any problems. The son explained that he was not comfortable asking his NRAAF about his absence.

Later, I was contacted by a NRAAF, a former business owner with a daughter outside of his marriage. This widower, wanted to participate in the study. Although the individual was a NRAAF with an interest in the study he did not meet the study criteria. After a brief discussion this NRAAF explained that most African American males born during his generation, the Baby Boomers who obtained advanced education or prominence in the community with children born outside of marriages may be reluctant to participate in the study. He explained that men who gained social status were often socially forbidden to acknowledge such children, it was a taboo. Moreover, many children of NRAAFs were forbid by mothers from asking of their paternity or the whereabouts of NRAAFs. However, in some instances, covertly NRAAFs provided support for these children, but had limited to no contact with these children and their educational outcome.

Of the NRAAFs who volunteered to participate in the study and met the criteria, all fathers were informed the study was confidential and pseudonyms were used to mask participant's identity (e.g., NRAAF with number). I made sure all interested participants reviewed consent form and I answered all questions related to the study. In addition, participants were informed that if they decided not to participate in the study there was no penalty against them. I informed the Nonresidential African American fathers (NRAAFs) were informed if they participated in the study after the initial interview

interviews were transcribed each participant was able to review his interview for accuracy; make changes and decide if he wanted the interview included in the study.

Collaborative of Participants

The chart includes NRAAF subject profile. Column three “Number of NRAAFs” identifies within three generations of the participants the number of non-generation fathers. This number includes the generation prior to the participant, which includes the father of the participant, the participant, and the son of the participant.

Table 13 Collaborative of Participants

	Nonresidential African American Fathers	Age	Generation	Number of NRAAFs ²	Policy Era	Restrictive Learning	Education Level
1	Andre	43	Generation X	3	some segregation ESEA	Suspension Special Education	Some College
2	Darrell	51	Generation X	3	some segregation ESEA	Suspension Special Education	Some College
3	Lawrence	54	Boomer I	3	some segregation ESEA	Suspension	GED
4	Joshua	30	Generation Y	3	some segregation ESEA, Zero Tolerance, NCLB	Suspension Special Education TYC	GED

² Number of nonresidential African American fathers (NRAAFs) includes three generations. The generation span includes the participant his father and the son of the participant. For example, if number of NRAAF is 3 it includes the three generations, participant his father and the son of the participant. However, if number of NRAAFs is two it may include the participant his father or son of participant, but not all three generations.

Table 13 Continued

	Nonresidential African American Fathers	Age	Generation	Number of NRAAFs ³	Policy Era	Restrictive Learning	Education Level
5	Caleb	66	Boomers I	3	some segregation ESEA	Special Education	Some College
6	Harris	63	Boomers I	3	Segregated	None	Some College
7	Henry	63	Boomer I	3	Segregated	None	Some College
8	Armstrong	58	Boomer I	2	some segregation ESEA	Special Education	Some College
9	Wayne	50	Generation X	2	Some Segregation	None	Masters Degree

Throughout the history of American education politicians and educators have struggled to consistently produce successful life outcomes for African American males. Despite a plethora of education reforms, policies, and practices racial and cultural climates of the time have subdued a need for a multidimensional perspective on education. Although the life experiences of African American males may differ common themes bid this population.

When asked of education experiences from Post-World War II to No Child Left Behind African American males who are nonresidential African American fathers share clandestine narratives of the effects of racial socialization from families to schools. They spoke of experiences as early as first grade. For a number, their school years were from

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Brown v. Board, 347 U.S. 483 (1954) to the start of ESEA. When asked about those years, some shared fond memories. The fondness centered on the cultural cohesiveness of the African American community and family.

Throughout narratives tenets of critical race theory are pronounced as participants reflect on their education as children and critical discourse analysis through macrostructure shows the power of language through social contexts. As adults NRAAFs are now able to understand and apply meaning to events in education.

Timing is Everything

In the 1950s global politics was significant in the mobilization of the American education system. During this period, two world superpowers, the Soviet Union (Communist) and the United States (Democracy) vied to control nations unattached to either power, mainly Asian and African countries. While unrest of race relations in the U.S. was a global fixture, the Soviet Union would fascinate the world with its science and math education programs. The subsequent launch of the Sputnik missile to space was indicative of the advancements of Soviet Union's education programs.

To counter the zeitgeist of its dual education system and a culture of racism, the United States Supreme Court would eclipse the Soviet Union with Brown v. the Board of Education 347 U.S. 483 (1954). The Court's decision in *Brown* would address both education and racial issues. Noted as symbolic, Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954) an abrupt approach without strategies in place to dismantle desegregation and assure integration as viable solutions to social injustice. It is clear to point out the Court's position was based on the eye of the world on democracy. As the world watched,

American would reposition itself as a country synonymous with democracy. Clearly this political stance was based on the maintenance of racial and global supremacy as described in critical race theory.

In these narratives storytelling and counter-narratives disclose the tenets of critical race theory (CRT) through the critical discourse analysis (CDA) of education policy. These fathers explain the power of education policy and how it defines their outcome. As early as elementary school the pedagogical practices set the trajectory for their life outcome. Whether it was repeated school suspension or being tracked to special education their school experience determined how they would fair in society as fathers and possible repeated outcomes of sons being self-sufficient individuals.

In the interviews interest convergence is evident throughout education reform policies. Interest convergence is a principle of CRT which principle reveals “White people or hegemony will support racial justice when they see something in it for them” (Bell, 1995). Further, interest convergence exposes racism which demonstrates that people of color remain marginalized despite the rule of law and the guarantee of equal protection of the law. To understand whether these policies have lived up to its intended purpose all voices under such policies must be heard. Therefore, it is important to consider the multidimensional perspective of children of color on the receiving end of such social and education reforms under integration. When asked of their retrospective view of desegregation and integration NRAAFs often countered society’s depiction of school integration and equality.

Nonresidential African American Fathers

The nonresidential African American fathers who experienced various education policy described inadvertently the discourse of such policies through social systems. Each of the men would start their academic experience with excitement unaware of the education trajectory and outcome. However, across each education policy generation, each man described the learning environment, being retained in grades, instructional neglect, discipline at school, and how school discourse would permeate their life outcome. Consistent of education policy eras, men remembered the presence of an identity struggle as African American boys living in poverty, racial discrimination complexities, and for many an absence of a father. Collective, throughout their lives a disconnection formed from academics and who they initially hoped to be to who they would become through the socialization of school.

The voice of each father pronounced, with stories of the experience of racial isolation complicated by written education policy and the interpretation by education agents. Despite the generational differences or the innovation of new school policies their education experiences were nonetheless similar. With each story and counter-story there is redemption through use of their voice. Like little boys during the interviews, they “tell it” or “tattle.” According to Tracy, Robins, and Tangney (2007) to “tell it” or “tattle.” is hardly a negative behavior, but a self-conscious behavior that regulates one’s thoughts and moral behavior (p. 4).

However, as a researcher to “tell it” or “tattle.” is to “shine the light” on a critical issue or phenomena, in this case an issue with generational impact of education policy.

Andre (43) a single father of one son with some with some college education. Andre works as a hall monitor for a school district. During some of his free time he works as a tailor to earn extra money. Darrell (51) a married father of four children with three daughters and one son. Each child has a different mother. Darrell is married, but not to the mothers of his children. Although he pays child support for his son, he struggles to visit with his son due to the interference of the son's mother's and her husband. Darrell works for a governmental agency. Lawrence (54) a married father of five children four daughters and one son. His wife is not mother of any of his child. Lawrence noted that all of his children were reared while he was in prison. With short time spent in the military, during the interview he shares regrets of the past from education to being a father.

Lawrence's background includes a short time in the military 17 years in prison. Like Lawrence, Joshua (30) would spend several years in state prison. A single father of three children, two daughters and one son, Joshua would discover less than a year prior to this interview that Lawrence is his biological father. Currently, Joshua is unemployed and seeking work. During the interview he explains that he believes his past experience in school and with the penal system plays a significant role in not obtaining employment.

Caleb (66) is a divorced father with one daughter and a son, a retired state worker and a transplant to the community. The education brought him to the community where he attended one of the flagship universities in the state. As a former Black Panther member during the 1960s he gained a reputation as a civil rights advocate as some silent community members would describe him as a "trouble maker." While a student at the

university, community members would note college students would skip classes to listen to his rhetoric of race relations. As a community member he is noted as the founder of the free breakfast program in the city. During the interview, he gives in-depth detail of historical events during segregation and integration. I felt during the interview he spoke with candor and unapologetic discourse of events he believes have stifled the African American trajectory. Although Caleb is fiery, I noticed some of the most conservative members of various racial backgrounds in the community would stop to speak with him.

Harris (63) is married with two sons, but does not share any children with his current wife. As a community outreach worker each son was fathered by a former wife. Although he attended some college he shares some regret of not completing his education. Throughout the interview he would meticulously navigate negative historical events from the past. Unlike Caleb, a well scripted interview I felt that Harris has learned to “play the game,” conditioned to speak only of certain events as not to disturb community boundaries. Like Caleb, he has a strong social presence in the community.

Henry (63) is a married father of seven children, three daughters and four sons. He shares two sons with his current wife. Initially during the interview Henry spoke of fond memories of childhood and school, but would later share regrets of inadequate education and resources. As a retired member of the community and a community advocate he explains that he has regrets in what has occurred with African American youth and community. During the interview I felt that Henry was relieved to openly share events and his thought of past events as an African American man and father.

Armstrong (58) a retired civil service worker with three children, two sons and one daughter. Like some of the other he has some college, but shares that his education included intentional gaps due to racial discriminative practices in schools. Although retired he has returned to work but in a different field. Armstrong advocates on the importance of African American men in families with the ability to raise their sons. During the interview I often felt that Armstrong was speaking of regrets as well the powerlessness of not finding his biological father. Currently, Armstrong mentors young boys in schools and advocates for boys of color to take advantage of education opportunities.

Of all of the participants Wayne (50) is the only nonresidential father who has had his biological father in the home while growing up. A married father of two, one daughter and a son he is a retired educator with a military background. Like the other participants Wayne spoke of the importance of fathers in schools and a father's role in a son's education. However, unlike the other Wayne is a retired educator with more of an in-depth understanding of how education policy processes students through school and afterwards. Like others, he was candid of the hardships that many African American students face in school, especially African American boys.

As much as there are differences among participants there are similarities. All participants acknowledge having a strong spiritual faith. All explain that their spiritual faith was developed during childhood. Each father explains that throughout their lives they have relied on their faith. During his interview, Darrell mentions an experience where he hears knocking on the door and when he goes to answer the door he sees his

deceased grandfather. Darrell explains that it is this experience that he often remembers while growing up. He notes that this experience and the church saved his life.

According to Maurizio (1995) individuals with such an experience are described as “seers.” A “seer” is an individual with spiritual possession. This is a spiritual occurrence noted as part of African spirituality (p.72).

Their Voices

When asked about their education during desegregation or the Elementary Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA), nonresidential African American fathers shared similar narratives, often with negative self-descriptions. They spoke of experiences as early as first grade. For the majority, their elementary years were after *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954) and before the Elementary Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA). When asked about those years, some shared fond memories. The fondness centered on the cultural cohesiveness of the African American community and family. As children living in segregation many men were insulated from the external forces of covert racial practices experienced by African American adults, but not from stereotype threats formed by the power of language constructed through society, family, school, community, and self-identity. Darrell (51) described the protection felt as a child from racial violence due to the presence and protection of African American men,

I didn't experience racism as a child. I was protected by the community and family, but one day my uncles were riding in the car with my mother and a some White boys tried to run us off the road. They would have if it was not for

the fact that my uncles and the others men in the family drove up in their truck and the White boys drove off. I was so glad that they came up. I felt protected by the Black men in my family. That was my first experience with racism.

Lawrence (54) says,

I grew up in a middle class African American community with both parents. As the only boy my mother did her best to get me through school. When we had family get together it included the men, my father and uncles.

Harris (63)

Well, back then when things in the Black school were needed, the Black community would raise the money and then make the changes to the school. My grandfather and other men in the community kept the Black school going. They did this instead of waiting to get money from the Caucasian community. Back then it was segregated and the problem was they (whites) wouldn't give money to black schools. Money for schools went to the Caucasian schools. Although my high school had everything the community (black) raised the money to support the school. Don't get me wrong, we got state money, but the community really supported the black school. A lot of stuff we got for the school came from the alumni of the black school and that kept the school going.

Henry (63) said,

Our community was different; we had people of mixed races, so we didn't really experience any racism. I didn't experience prejudice until I got to Texas.

As children in elementary school, the racial and political issues of the time played a pivotal role in how the men view themselves as student scholars and viable contributors to society, even today. As kids, they were unaware of how external social messages were constructing their identity. According to Claude Steele (1995) the presence of the negative language of stereotypes in society whether through images or practices would influence can predict group student is. Andres (43) reflect on the struggles as a young African American boy on self-identity due to skin color, educational skills, and the presence of a residential father in the home,

As a child I was troubled. I had no idea who I was.

In elementary...being a dark skinned kid...I was hard on myself.

My cousin was light skinned very likable, and he had pretty hand writing. He had a dad at home.

Darrell (51) describes retrospectively the mental models and language influence of an Identity,

As for my self-esteem my mother always called me ugly (I am dark). She said that I looked like my daddy. She always called me ugly, and I withdrew from the family. My mother worked three jobs and my father was in the army and was an alcoholic. Until this day I always thought that me and my mother was the reason

that my father left. Until today I feel that way. My mother would tell me that I would never amount to anything. Until today it is still that way.

Lawrence (54) described,

As the only boy I had to fight. The men in the family had the boys fight each other. I had to protect my sisters. This defined manhood. I was always in trouble.

Joshua (30) says,

We lived basically awful. Some fixed incomes and in my school we had no Whites. We just had Blacks and Hispanics in the majority of the schools I attended and basically in my neighborhood. Where I lived it was go for what you know. What we know was drug houses on every corner you know... it was a poor neighborhood [I'll] put it like that... I liked school. To me it was fine. I passed classes and I was a troublemaker...well a class clown. I was also different than other kids at school. I didn't have the name brands clothes. I didn't wear Jordan's on my feet, didn't have nice pair of pants or shirt half the time you know. Like I could barely get my haircut and all things like that.

Henry (63) said,

Even though we didn't live with our parents and had a good life, I always wanted my parents, especially my father, I was bad.

Each man describes their childhood as if they were back in that space, telling the story as boys. In each narrative, the men expressed emotions as they reflected on their childhood and described themselves as boys. Some looked down or away, which I interpreted as an attempt to hide the emotions conveyed on their faces added a different perspective to their school experiences. Caleb (66) described school as a time of social change and although the school was segregated with African American educators the social discourse was that of White schools,

School, I didn't value it. Yeah, the principal modified my classes. Every day was in the principal's office. I was a discipline problem not in the sense that I was a troublemaker, but I was considered an agitator around social things...I was into the civil rights movement.

All participants except one were students during the civil rights movement, which involved a great public awareness of the economic and educational inequities that existed among African Americans and other groups of color in the United States. During that period, race relations in the U.S. were a focal point across the world especially in Asian and African countries.

As a demonstration of good will to its comment to democracy the United States Court ended segregation in education and expanded its comment against the War on Poverty through the adoption of the Elementary Secondary Education Act 1965 (ESEA) developed to provide education opportunity for disadvantage students and low-income communities.

However, a large body of research documented that deplorable educational and living conditions of poor children, their communities, and the negative consequences of these environments had on the life span of these children (Kozol, 2005; Giroux, 2009). Through the support of President Johnson, the U.S. Congress established a more significant federal role in schools. This role would include the establishment of the Elementary Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA). As an education reform policy, the original intent of ESEA was to address the education gaps of disadvantaged students and their communities.

Some of the poorest community members were unaware of the programs designed to assist disadvantaged children and low-income communities because a majority of the school districts remained controlled by White majority school boards (Kluger, 2011). Participants recalled the hardship of those times, but were not aware of the policies that targeted their communities. And yet, after ESEA many communities of color remained enmeshed in poverty as well as schools which held to the critical discourse of inequity that marginalized their schools and communities through discriminative practices established prior to integration.

Andre (43) described the living conditions of the Black community growing up during the era of “the war on poverty.”

The house had no doors... six or five families lived in a two bedroom house.

I don't remember anything about policies to help us.

Darrell (51) reflected on the living conditions despite the era of social change,

We lived at grandmother's house. It was a rough up-bringing...three different families lived in one house.

Joshua (30) said,

I was not aware of ESEA, but during elementary I had all Black teachers. As a child my grandmother and great-grandmother raised me. As I said we were in a poor area. I was a class clown so others would not tease me about my clothes and being poor. I had Black teachers at the time and they treated me like I was their kid.

Caleb (66) says,

I don't remember anything about ESEA, because information was never distributed publicly to African-Americans. It was always given to some organization and it could be the principals at the school who knew about it and it could be it was handled through churches. It wasn't until everybody started watching TV programs and things [that] Black folks even know about those programs. That has been one of the crippling things about education, it is never introduced...to the Black family.

Armstrong (58) reflected,

I was adopted...I lived in a rural area...adoptive parents were well off. My

school had Black kids. The Latino kids got to go to white schools unless they got expelled from the White school then they were sent to the black school. At the Black school first and second grade was in the same room and third and fourth was in the same room. First graders were taught first, then the second graders. The teachers would then give assignments and move to the next grades.

Wayne (50) says,

Our school did not integrate until early 70s. They waited until they were able to erase a lot of the signs of segregation. They were trying to make sure that people embraced the new schools (integration), so they were renaming the schools. The black high school and both white high school were to have new names. But when they tried to change to rename the black high school people were upset. So, the white high school kept the same name. This mad the Black community upset. At my high school the black high school they refuse to give up their name. So that black high school became the middle school. My father worked in the sugar and citrus fields, and my mother stayed at home, because she had a disability. Like many of the black kids I went to school with, we lived in the projects (public housing).

A number of African American community organizations continued to support African American schools and students through their own efforts. Some suggest a person or a group's social capital may be related to education attainment (Loury, 1977). Further, others suggested that within the context of social capital a person's contribution

of resources may be based on racial composition. With the allocation of ESEA funds to communities not originally earmarked for the funds, African American communities used its traditional resources.

Caleb (66) says,

If these funds were given to the black community, it was to churches or select black preachers, but we didn't know about it at that time.

Harris (63) describes,

I lived in a community with Caucasians and blacks. It was a crazy thing, the white school was in the black part of town and the black school was in the white part of town. That was kind of funny to me. I lived with my grandparents my grandfather looked Caucasian and he had some power in the community. We didn't see color, Every Sunday we attended church, even there some of the black people looked white. At the school if we needed something the church would get it for us.

Henry (63) reflects,

We lived in a small town in a state southeast of Texas...the people who went to the same school went to the same church. It was a small community. Both churches Baptists and Catholics centered on our principal...also our first pastor...he was also a professor he was the principal. The school just flourished in the town. Everybody knew he got what he wanted...the church was always doing something...the church was a part of the school.

Wayne (50) said,

Church taught protocol we learned to respect things, people. We were required to be there. The church you were required to be there. My dad never went. My parents required us go to church especially since my mother was active in church.

The Black church was a major institution in the African American community. Many African American congregants identified the church as the context of critical enlightenment. It was where strategies and questions were devised between how Blacks viewed the social structure and how to navigate the oppressive culture of power while still abiding by the fundamental principles of Christianity. The church especially in small communities was a social network for benevolence.

Henry (63) said,

Now mind you we had a lot of the kids at the school. The Catholic Church and the black church both worked in the school. It didn't matter what religion you were, we never went without the church. The church ma[de] sure we never went without.

Harris (63) said,

We spent a lot of time in church it was a part of everything we did in our Community.

Armstrong (58) says,

Even though we didn't go to church every Sunday, we were there every Christmas, Easter, and Mother's Day.

Wayne (50) describes,

Church was an extended family-church was we're you learned different theme like social skills you also learned how to speak in front of people. Churches where we were created did a lot of reading in church. In church when the kids graduated from school the church would give them a gift and in Boston Bible with their name on it. I still have that bible today. My church was A.M.E. I still have that Bible today and I still pay my tithes to that same church. Now during the summer at the white church we went to vacation Bible school. At the white church if you learned [sic] all of the books of the Bible you got a chance to go on a helicopter ride. The other thing about the white church was that they always had a lot of food. Now this was a total different experience from the black church, because the black church didn't have all of those resources but we did a lot of learning at the black church.

More than a faith-based house of worship, churches were philanthropic organizations that facilitated financial and educational support. Black churches were also involved in organizing and training individuals from communities in civil and human rights activism. As a major institution in the African American community, churches

served as training facilities such as Freedom Schools during the civil rights movement of the 1960s. It would play a role in your life span of NRAAFs.

Caleb (66) said,

I was raised up in a missionary Baptist Church. My family was real active in the church and all of that. I was not a big church person. I was an activist. I liked Martin Luther King and I was with him out there [at] demonstrations and stuff...but no[t] for religious reasons. I was out there for social reasons. Freedom schools or the church it affected everything. It gave me a sense of believing in something I was really interested in sacrifice.

William (43) says,

As a kid you are forced to go to church...then you go back as an adult- I was always spiritual.

Darrell (51) described a spiritual encounter as a child that would leave an imprint

throughout life,

As a kid religion does not play a factor in your life until I saw many things (e.g., drugs, death, spiritual experiences) – one morning someone was knocking at the door - I answered it and it was my grandfather the only thing is, he died a while back, he was at the door.

School Daze Education Reform Policies

The American education system is the structure of the American social, political, and economic systems which contributes to the inequalities in schools. Largely these structures serve to replicate the system in place. In addition there are ongoing debates over educational strategies that best serve all students and policymakers disagree about which level of government (federal, state or local) is best suited to achieve school reform. Nonetheless, of those advocates with differing theories, many obscured the fact that privilege and hegemony blindsided their knowledge and understanding of how best to educate the poor and children of color.

Elementary Secondary School Act (ESEA)

More importantly, with past historical trends and pedagogical practices many question whether it is possible to close the achievement gap among poor and children of color with an education policy such as ESEA. Although the original intent of ESEA and Title I funds were designed to provide education opportunity to disadvantage students the political process would mitigate the policy's effectiveness. In exchange for a vote to support ESEA, Congressional members would attach amendments to the legislation to receive federal funds for their districts. These actions would stretch ESEA to support a variety of programs that did not meet the bill's original intent.

According to Bell (1980) any advancement that Whites allow people of color to obtain is only because it is more of advancement for them (p. 530). This is referred to as interest convergence. With Desegregation and ESEA additional policies would change

the face of education as well as the experiences of these participants as young boys and later as fathers. Although integration was in place various education policies and racial discriminative practices marginalized students of color, especially African American boys.

Armstrong (58) described how isolated communities remained segregated. In retrospect, education conditions remained unchanged,

We were in a rural area, when my mother took me to register for school...I remember how strange and uncomfortable it felt. Even though I was seven it was something strange about this. My mom said "I'm here to register my son." The white lady said "you people don't go to school here." That was the first time I heard "you people." She continued "You people go to the colored school over by the railroad track by the lime kill." The lime kill was a place where they made a product used in cement is very toxic. Black people lived next to the lime kill. Our school was by the lime plant. The black school was a wooden structure that was probably four to 5000 square feet. I lived near it through 12th grade. When I reflect on the past the education I knew we were integrated, I know that they didn't us in the school they were forced to I think one of the things that that struck me and gave me a bitter taste toward the education system we had a principle at the black school he was the bus driver ball washer the coach he was everything we called him professor. He was demoted to a fourth grade teacher he had a PhD, but they demoted him to a fourth grade teacher he had a doctorate of PhD but they demoted him to a fourth grade teacher even in third of fourth

grade I understood that but I can understand how is it that he could be a principle but then he was demoted to a fourth grade teacher that bothered me during immigration.

Wayne (50) said,

When I reflect back on school and the changes of integration it did not look like there had ever been segregation. In my community there were no discussions about it. Nobody talked about it all. All we knew was we were going to a new school. The only thing that happened was the schools were different. Nobody talked about it that's what integration look like for me as a kid. I would've never known that integration was going on and until I was an adult and start having those conversations and thoughts and looking back at history. Now I understand what was going on.

IDEA

After legalized segregation in public schools, the federal government implemented the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) of 1975. The intent of IDEA was to ensure Free Appropriate Public Education (FAPE) to students with disabilities in the United States, a guarantee protection under the Rehabilitation Act of 1975 (IDEA).and . Like ESEA a funding component is attached. For children identified with disabilities federal, state, and local education entities received funding.

For a number of African American children their school experience would include an external transition where they were moved from one school, their predominately African American school, to a new integrated school environment a

White school. The second transition included an internal form of segregation within the school. This form of segregation was invisible, designed to help children, but would have for a large number of students of color a more sinister impact on African American children, especially males.

The concept of schools creating holding places in special education for African American males is echoed to prisons holding places for African American males (Robinson, 2013). Although *Brown v Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954) declared segregation illegal a seamless form of segregation under the education policy and language of equal education would resemble racial segregation. This form of education was under special education or IDEA. Special education a new form of racial discrimination more subtle and consisted of interest convergence, but what was compelling about the program it was attached to Title I funding. Schools receive various forms of local, state, and federal funding based on the special education population.

Under special education students were identified as performing under one or more disability categories such as mental retardation (MR), specific learning disabilities (SLD), and emotional disturbance (ED). This form of segregation placed African American children in two segregated holding places identified as classroom and denied equal education opportunities through the learning process. Such misplacement would have lingering effects throughout the life span of a student.

The men describe their school learning experiences during relevant education reform policies. Andre (43) reflected on the first school restrictive learning experience, after being identified with a learning disability,

I was put in the special education class in 4th grade...for reading. I was in special education from middle to through high school.

Darrell (51) describes the school learning environment during childhood,

It was a different time we were limited to things... In elementary I was ignored...I pretended in elementary. They said that we were getting a proper education but we didn't. My education background was special education. I was not taught what other the kids were taught. I didn't want to be left behind.

Joshua (30) described,

The silent social conditions in schools Middle school was three years six through eighth grade year. Going to a school in my neighborhood you had certain troublemakers. In the 6th grade, like being a freshmen. They had a thing called six grade jack-up. On Fridays if you had something they (the older students) wanted. They would hem you up on the wall and take your stuff (i.e., shoes, money, shirt). Like for me personally, I was not with that. When they did the jack-up on me I'd start fighting. I start fighting heavy. Once you fight somebody and they feel like they loss the fight, every time they see you they wanted to fight you. So I stayed in trouble in my sixth grade year. I was then placed in special education and identified with emotional disturbance (ED). I did not change classes I stayed in the one room I just stayed in that one room I had the same teacher.

Caleb (66) described,

The segregated school experiences in a restrictive learning space as a boy. I was placed in a special program for speech, but other than that I was in gifted classes. A majority of the teachers in the schools were my relatives. They were teachers and principals. I lived in a black community.

Henry (63) described

I was not in special education, but I struggled in reading and other classes.

Armstrong (58) says,

I think once we integrated, we integrated in the fourth grade. Along with another Black boy we were the only two black kids in the class. Since we were not welcomed in the white school we were seated in the back of the classroom. I had a Black kid in my class, a black boy. We were put in the back of the classroom. I don't understand why we were both in the back of my class, because the teacher seated us in alphabetical order. Based on our last names we should have been in the front of the class...well I did not like reading and down the white schools white teachers didn't put a lot of energy into you so I spent my time daydreaming I just was disconnected. They did encourage me or engage me or" give me tutoring. Give me the. So I tell a lot of the teachers that I've met that I got my formal education up to third grade and after that but education stopped. Once I

was called to the counselor's office at that point I was placed in special education.

However, many would suggest as interest convergence would reveal that in an effort to ensure funding and maintain the status quo of segregation many schools used special education programs as a way to secure additional funding and segregate classrooms.

Andre (43) says,

I was put in special education class in 4th grade and I was in there until I graduated from high school. I struggled with reading. Once we integrated to the white school a lot of the white kids already know what we Black kids were just starting to learn. In school during integration a lot of white kids use to help use learn.

Darrell (51) said,

Since I was in special education I was put in a Big Brother's program at the university. It was a different time we were limited to things. In elementary I was ignored, so I pretended in elementary that I could read. They said that we were getting a proper education, but we didn't. Based on our education, all I remember is special education – I remember taking Ritalin, not sure why. In special education you didn't learn. I was not taught what other the kids were taught. In special education I was always in time out or suspended. Trying to fit

in...I wanted to learn, I pretended that I could write. I wanted something different for my family when I grew up. Depending on how your background it was hard. I wanted fit in with other children. I saw myself different because I was neglected. I don't feel I was not given a chance in school. When I look back I was not given that one on one teacher to student I needed.

Lawrence (54) described school experiences after returning to school from out of school

Suspension:

I was not in special education, but I was retained a couple of times. I was suspended from school until I just fell behind in my work. When I did get behind no teachers were there to assist me. When I was behind I turned in incomplete papers I turn in half papers not teacher identified my deficient in learning.

Joshua (30) says,

I was in special education from middle school, 6th grade until I dropped out from high school. I head a big brother I got him when I was in juvenile (facility). I was then put on probation, and my probation officer at the big brother program up for me. I feel like because I was so young (when suspension began) still kid, I think they felt that they had a chance the teachers felt like they had a chance to make a difference.

Armstrong (58) said,

I grew up in an abusive home environment. My adoptive mother didn't have my best interest in mind. She was very abusive physically and emotionally to me. She really tried to brainwash me. If it wasn't emotionally it was physically. I remember in junior high I was called to the counselors. It was torment setting there with the counselors they were sitting there asking me what's going on at home. I refuse to give them information because I thought how these white people going to help me with what was going on at home, they can't help me. I just sat there quite, so they labeled me as crazy. It was in seventh grade they put me in special education. I was not placed in special education because of academic performance, but my psyche. My academic performance had nothing to do my psyche. I remember thinking I don't care for white folks. I didn't see how they could hate me and want to help me. I hated that we had to leave the black school I resented them it was not a good mix.

Of the large number of students placed in special education, the question becomes, how does the school environmental conditions influenced or contributed to the behavior of students placed in special education? The events prior to a child being placed in special education may present insight into a student's school outcome. This critical lens may offer alternative approaches on how to address education achievement.

Although the study criteria did not include participants with a special education background, majority of the participants were placed in restrictive learning

environments, which includes education experiences in special education. The majority of NRAAFs in this study were placed in special education in school. The notion of whether poverty or an African American boy not having a father in the home was a strong indicator of a male being placed in special education was not the case. What is determined, as a number of social programs increased the number of nonresidential African American fathers.

Based on the limited knowledge held by policy innovators on African American boys' ability to learn in school, when education reform policies were implemented the policies were like "placebos." What was observed in new education reforms were not new concepts in action, but long held racial ideologies (institutional racism in education) held by each racial group.

According to Corrington and Fairchild (2012) "whether overt or subtle, intentional or unintentional, school systems are tools for maintaining the status quo, which systematically relegates people of African descent to a subordinate group status" (p. 7).

Moreover, it's the effects of such actions solidify the structure of the nonresidential African American father phenomena coupled with such discourse as the Moynihan Report schools would fall short in addressing the complexities and the depths of racial inequities. The fathers in the study suggest forms of education reform policies guided by behaviors of racial inequities and socioeconomic stressors initiated the process of generations of African American men pipelined through public education with an inability to become self-sufficient.

Zero Tolerance Policy

A number of scholars assert special education similar discipline programs represented a disproportionate number of African American males later tracked in the school to prison pipeline, which began a “push out” process (Blanchett, Mumford, & Beachum, 2005). Based on studies from "Breaking schools' rules (2011) and the Center for Justice Report (2014) Texas is noted for some of the most harsh school discipline policies than other states. The Justice Center (2014) reports African American males represent 16 percent of Texas student enrollment with 42 percent sanctioned with out of school suspension. Similar results are noted with African American students in preschool. African American preschoolers represent 18 percent of the total enrollment with 48 percent receiving out of suspension (US Dept. Civil Rights, 2000).

This is the highest out of school suspension rate which includes alternative justice facilities and educational facilities (Justice Center, 2011; Robinson, 2013). Students involved in school disciplinary actions, averaged eight suspensions or expulsions during their middle and high school years (Justice Center, 2011; Robinson, 2013).

Studies suggest zero tolerance policies punish students towards the school prison pipeline (Robinson, 2013). Zero tolerance policy sanctions students harshly for minor school misbehaviors and contributes to a significant increase in suspensions and expulsions of students with disabilities which further leads to an economic breakdown in the social structure and African American families (Becker, 1992). In addition, few educators realize how special education, zero tolerance, and NRAAFs contribute to the

criminalization of African American boys (Ladson-Billings, p. 7). Moreover, the miseducation of African American boys in school is not isolated to White educators, but a shared culture in the education system.

Some suggest since teachers of color refer African American boys for school discipline just as much as white teachers discipline has taken a “colorblind” approach (Pollock, 2009). This process would result in a large number of African American male students being removed from the general learning setting for discipline reasons and subsequently dropping out from school due to a series of discipline events across their school career.

Andre (43) describes,

I was a problem child. I started getting in trouble in school when I was in elementary school. I was first suspended in the 3rd grade. In school teachers didn't ask about my father, well expect one time. in 5th grade beautiful white teacher I was swinging my hands and I hit the butt of that 5th grade teacher and I was suspended. Then the school called my mother and father both showed up. Before this one ever asked me about my father.

Similar to special education programs, zero tolerance policy would create a climate of segregation in schools. Often related to as the policy that leads to chronic unemployment and prison pipeline, African American boys' school trajectory often includes some form of restrictive learning. Of the men interviewed in this study all had some form of discipline during grades K-12 as well as encounters with law enforcement.

The youngest NRAAF, Joshua, attended school under three of the four policies NCLB, IDEA, and zero tolerance.

Joshua (30) describes,

At the end of six grade. I got kicked out of school I was sent to an alternative school. What they call it, third-party. I got sent to an alternative school. When school started back in my seventh grade year the first five days I got into a fight and so they sent me back to the alternative school for the rest of the year. And so my eighth grade year the same thing. In school there were just obstacles. It made me feel like I didn't have nothing [sic], but the streets. I didn't feel like that until I got middle school. I used to like going to school I used to look at my big brother and my cousins getting ready for school getting your pants their clothes starched getting fly. I used to love going to school. I wanted to be right there with them, but they didn't have the trouble I had. I dropped out of school in the 10th grade. Before I went to high school I had got into some trouble (fighting) and they sent me to this place for juveniles called TYC I spent 18 months. I got into a fight with this guy in my neighborhood at the club and a boy ended up getting hurt. They tried to charge me with a big charge (as an adult). They said it was attempted murder, and then they tried to say it was aggravated robbery. They charged me with aggravated assault. In my mind they were just trying to find something to get to give me on. They finally got me on aggravated assault and

they sent me away. When I got out I was old enough to enroll myself back in school.

Wayne (50) said,

I was not in school during zero tolerance, but when we integrated it was not much difference in how things were today. The other thing is, the black teacher, he was forced to discipline us they made him the bad guy that made him whip us. I don't know if he spanked the white kids. He was the only male in teaching.

Existing institutional structural racism is embedded within the educational system; subtle in the placement of African American boys into special education, with high discipline rates leading to unemployment as adults. These experiences occur for African American males from specific communities. A number of scholars highlight the links between neighborhood characteristics and student school failure. Findings have shown that, economic vulnerability, community factors, and poor environmental conditions contribute to educational disability (Coutinho & Oswald, 1999; Coutinho & Oswald, 2000). Several scholars have pointed to the inequalities are inherent in the America education system and recommended systemic change (Coutinho & Oswald, 1999; Coutinho & Oswald, 2000; Robinson, 2013).

How education reform contributes to the African American family structure is through a fusion of conditions such as culturally incorrect images in curricula and pedagogy. In addition, inadequate teacher preparation with an absence of checks and balances in discipline by teachers creates inequity and result in disproportionality in select groups of

students (Blanchett, 2006). Moreover, there is a disregard for African American boys trapped in legal systemic bias and discrimination in the education system which creates a punitive cycle of educational inequality (Fuller, 1969). Once a student is identified with the special education and discipline label their school trajectory spirals downward. Joshua (30) describes school culture as a student attending school under the aforementioned education reform policies, without a father or any other advocate:

When I got back to school I was put me in this black teacher's class. I don't remember the dude's name, but he used to be a track star. You know how you talk in the black community how when you say to your friends "Hey my nigga" you know? So that's how you talk to your friends. I said that and he kind of got mad. But you know he was black! He was trying to send me to the office because I said nigga. And I say a man I'm not fixin to go to the office for saying the word "nigga." He went to try to make me go to the office instead of going to get the principal. He jacked me up and was trying to drag me down the hallway. I was little then nothing but about maybe 5 feet tall. I said "man don't grab me," cause I got a little man's complex, this is after I've been to TYC. But he started grabbing on me anyway and I swung at him. I hit him and he wrapped his arms around me...the principal was look out of the door the whole time. I put my foot against the door and so we both (teacher) fail in the hallway...so before the police came the principal and I were arguing. He was cussing at me I'm cussing at him, so "we going down that way." So I ended up leaving before the police

came. I stayed out the rest of that year. When I returned back the new school year, I enrolled myself back in school again, and so I'm stuck back in that same teacher's class all day. So I'm sitting in class me and my partner we're talking again and I didn't say anything out of character he (teacher) just jumped up and start talking crazy to me. He is still in his feelings from what happened last year. He wants to fight (me) now. I know I can't get into more trouble, because I just got back in school and am doing good. I know what they (schools) are going to try to do is send me to jail, so, I don't want to go to jail. Then the principal and two teachers were trying to have an altercation with me.

During the interview Joshua spoke as if he finally had an opportunity to "tell it," his story with his voice, in details chronicling events that would mark the rest of his life.

Joshua (30) says,

So the black teacher looks at me and he grabs me he picked me up and slammed me right there in the office. And so when he slammed me it ain't that much of room between mail boxes and the mail counter and the front desk thing where you put the mail so when he slammed me he hit his head and he let go so I hurry up and then jumped up so I got up I started running he grabbed the hood of my jacket, so I got out of the jacket I took off running the white teaching the black teacher chased me down the hallway I went across the street I called my Granny and I told my Granny that these people trip and they been slamming me and they grabbed me. And so the whole time that I'm on the phone with my Granny the law pulls up behind me. My Granny hug up [the phone]. And so I am

still acting like I am talking to my Granny on the phone. So behind me the law comes up and slams me into the phone thang and put the handcuffs on me. He study asking me “Where is the gun and I said “what, gun?” And so now I am thinking they have done set me up. So, the law took me back to the campus. And so one of my friends said the principal and black teacher told him to say that I had a gun and that if he did not say that then he would be charged as a third-party. The black teacher said that I pointed it at him (the teacher) and said a cuss word. I don’t know if I can say this?

Throughout the interview this father would refer to his prison experience as he reflected on education. I mentioned to Joshua that I noticed that outside of elementary school he often reflects on prison. His replied that the majority of his life was spent in some form of lock-up like state prison, and he was 32 years of age. As the interview progressed I asked, what events lead him to stay in school or not stay in school? He mentioned that he wanted to stay in school, but life circumstances made it hard. For example, he asked if he could explain an incident that occurred in school. I replied “Yes.” The participant looked at me and gestured with his shoulders [raised] and asked for permission to use the profanity term the teacher accused him of using. I replied yes, only if he felt comfortable, he replied that he did.

Joshua (30) says,

He (teacher) said that I said a cuss word and that I came into the classroom pointed a gun at him and said “Bitch I will blow your head off.” I said “Man I

didn't say that." My homeboy study trying to tell him that I did not do that or say that, but the teacher got these two students to say I did. The said that the teacher said that he would pay them. My partner ended up getting third-party because he had a fight with the two students who lied on me and said that I had a gun on me. So they ended up taking me to jail for terroristic threat. And that was the last time I went to school. Since this time I have gone to prison twice. Since being out of prison it's hard to find work. The way things happened to me in school I don't want that to happen to my kids. I'm not stable now. I need a job to take care of my family.

No Child Left Behind

Generally, the participants agreed what occurred in school was an indicator of their life position beyond school. The interpretation of an education policy was based on the value of the student to the school. They unanimously agreed education was always second and sports were first for a majority of African American males and without a knowledgeable education advocate such as mother, coach, and a father the school process was cumbersome. For African American boys without a father in the home identity was shaped by educators and circumstances in the school.

In retrospect, all fathers agreed "you had to run fast or play ball" or get left behind in school for "black boys." School success for these men tilted toward sports where school policy interpretations were skewed, and based on their athletic prowess.

The message to African American boys in school at the secondary level seem to be more about athletics and less about them being educated and productive citizens.

Andre (30) said,

As a kid you do things for acceptance you don't know this then. In sports you think that you are winning because teachers and principals allow you to get away with a lot, but you are not. I got away with murder it was like run nigga run.

Darrell (54) says,

At 13 or 14 I started to realize that I needed to change something. So I started studying. Coaches said – if you don't pass you don't play. I always thought I was nothing, but I remember thinking if I am going to break this way I have to change [8th grade]. I started reminiscing of my father watching me playing football in the street. That is what caused you to stay in school.

Lawrence (54) says,

In high schools I got into sports – social life developed (Never suspended in High school I played sports. As long as I was in sports I never go into trouble. I eventually dropped out when my girlfriend got pregnant.

Joshua (30)

In school they wanted me to run track, but all through middle school I was

in an alternative school and in high school I was in and out of Texas Youth Commission (TYC). No matter what kind of trouble I was in I took the TAAS.

Harris (63)

I ran track I school and I got a scholarship to college, but I struggled in school because I didn't speak regular English well.

The message sent to these nonresidential African American fathers in school was to development a mechanism of survival through athletics. All reiterated regardless of the racial context there was some form of alienation from education, whether through the family context or society their ability to expand and develop a cohesive transgenerational outcome appeared devalued. Many studies suggest that education policies and implementation have a substantial role in disengaging African American students, especially boys. Conversely, to reduce the negative effect of stereotypes about African American male students, NRAAFs are the missing link to policymakers, educators, and classroom instruction in an effort to treat education as an equalizer for all students.

During the interview one of the participants would offer a poignant point. His insight also offers value to the significance of multicultural pedagogy, not only related to racial and ethnical differences, but in gender.

Wayne (50) said,

All during the life of girls they are taught to be wives and mothers. They play with dolls, tea sets, and other types of toys as way to prepare them for motherhood. You see it in school, and in the homes, but those types of things are not part of the tradition of teaching boys. No one really instills how to be a father and stay in the home.

Extra

Scholars suggest that much of what is valued in society is imparted through schools. Where education policy dictates pedagogy and cultural ideology defines how pedagogy is applied to various student groups. Through a critical race theory (CRT) lens, despite economic backgrounds there is an alienation and isolation of African American males beginning as early as elementary schools.

It is important to remember that desegregation was not instituted as a result of social consciousness, but as a result of political and global competitiveness brought on by two world superpowers, the United States and Russia. Limited foresight was given to how to effectively construct desegregation as well a model that would be used to ensure an affected implementation. Despite the development of racial desegregation in schools the responsibility of ensuring a quality and safe transition for students of color in their communities.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to explore the impact of education reforms Elementary Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA), IDEA, Zero Tolerance, and No Child Left Behind (NCLB), and the long term impacts. This research through the voices of NRAAFs is critical because it counters the belief of many who viewed these education reforms as panaceas against inequities and racial discriminative practices in education systems. The notion that all students would have access to education opportunity was myopic, due to a limited perspective of the intersectionalities not taken into account of African American boys in grades K-12. Life experiences of NRAAFs as boys, which contributed to their life experiences and their transgenerational outcome (Harper & Fine, 2006).

This retrospective study provides insight into these reforms through the voices of these nonresidential African American fathers (NRAAF). Elementary Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA), IDEA, Zero Tolerance, and No Child Left Behind (NCLB), are education reform policies that captured the attention of many as panaceas against inequities and racial discriminative practices in education systems. The notion that all students would have access to education opportunity was myopic, due to a limited perspective of the intersectionalities not taken into account of African American boys in grades K-12.

The life narratives of nine non-residential African American fathers' education experiences are embedded in relics of the pre *Brown* era framed in education reform.

Seldom are education reforms viewed as tools of discrimination, because of the power language of “reform,” which prevents a critical lens from exploring the depth of a policy and its application towards various populations of children.

This chapter describes the path of education reforms and the making of nonresidential African American fathers across generations from the perspective of nine nonresidential African American fathers (NRAAFs). With an overview, a diagram illustrates how intersectionalities infuse CRT based on CDA in education policy reform across generations from Baby Boomers to Generation Y. The chapter includes six sections which explore the layers of complexities that embody race and education. The first section presents an overview of each participant’s generational group, and school profile which includes how participants experienced education reforms as children as well as the how the reform effected participants’ life outcome. Secondly, a discussion begins with an historical overview of the NRAAF phenomena through findings. 1) The power of language in education reforms and 2) the discourse of school images that influence African American boys’. Such influences shape 3) identities through educational policies from ESEA to NCLB, 4) trace the language trajectory across each macrosystem. Thirdly, analyses of how culture shapes policy or policy shape culture. Fourthly, the researcher discusses the historical and critical existence of African American males (NRAAFs) in education combined with the education policy reforms based on the democratic and economic ideology set forth in a free society. The Fifth section sets forth recommendations by the researcher to address this problematic issue. The final section includes a conclusion by pulling it all together.

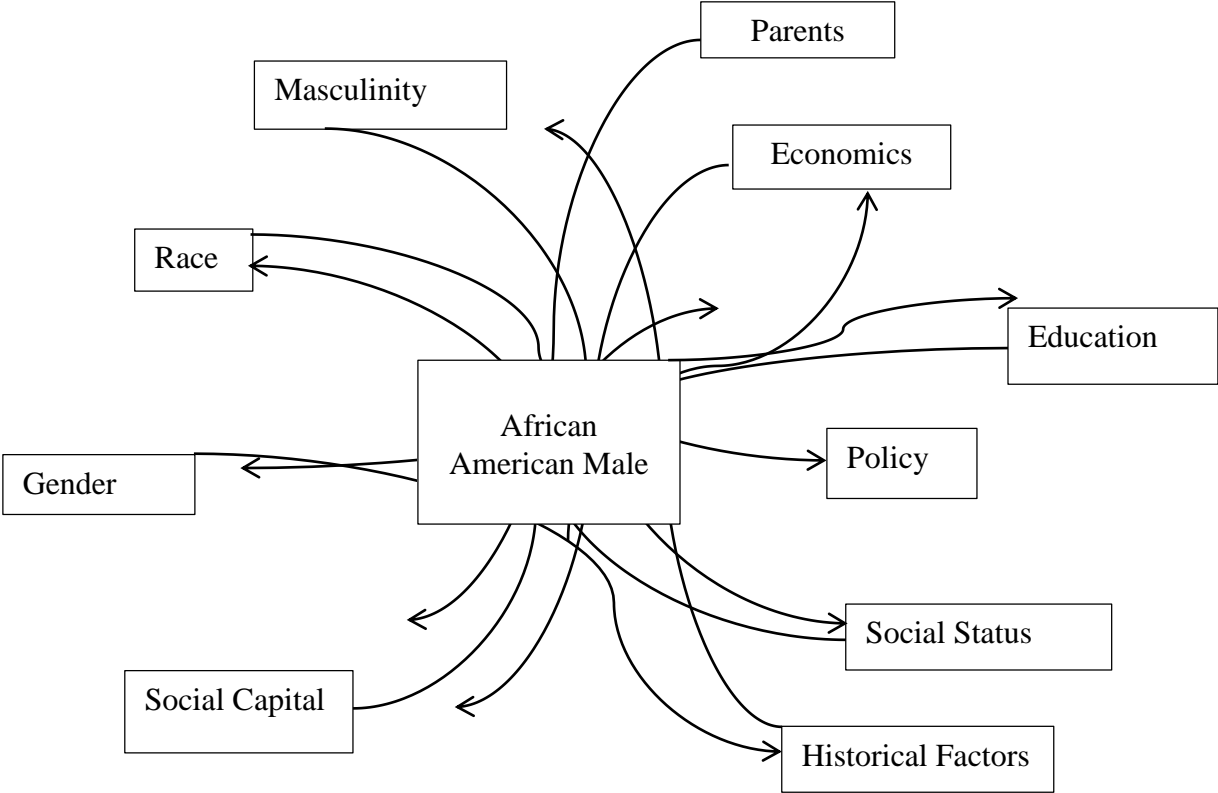
Nonresidential African American Father Intersectionalities

The Nonresidential African American Father Intersectionality⁴ Strand model consists of intersectionalities, strands of external conditions that affect the life of an African American male. Such strands play a specific role in how an individual responds in society due to CRT. Additionally, such strands create an invisible maze in the educational trajectory for African American males. Moreover, CRT is combined with CDA which pulls into focus knowledge and meaning that presents understanding of this NRAAF phenomenon. As researcher, I can use this model to draw an analysis from various individuals groups (i.e., African Americans, children, Latinos, noncitizen, disabled, gender, single mother). In this case, NRAAFs of specific generations share narratives of educational experiences across education policy eras. Each strand intersects other strands.

⁴ Kimberle Crenshaw (1991) intersectionalities denotes the ways Race, gender, & other eternal dynamics shape social experiences (p.1244).

Figure 1

Nonresidential African American Father Intersectionality Strands



Discussion

The narratives of this study are retrospective, centered in CRT with a focus on CDA through analysis of nine NRAAFs perspectives of education reform. Of the nine NRAAFs in this study four men are Baby Boomers 1946 – 1965 born within the Boom Generation and Hippie sub-generations; between 1966-1976 four men are of Generation X with four born during the Baby Busters, MTV, and Boomerang sub-generations; and one born during 1977 – 1994 from Generation Y a member of the Echo Boomers or Millennials sub-generations (Fry, 2014; Schroer, 2004). These NRAAFs voice the effects of education reform and transgenerational effects.

In a number of instances, as boys in school six men account multiple suspensions from school; five placed in special education, and all identify gaps in “gatekeeper” courses such as math and science. Based on the transition of school integration and intra-school segregation a majority of the men claim inadequate education and a disconnection from school. All of the men explained that participating in athletics prevented harsh school discipline and offered a segue to college. Two of the men would experience the school to prison pipeline, both would dropout from school in the same grades and serve a combination of 25 years in prison, the two would later discover they are father and son.

Of the men who graduated high school five were under restrictive learning or a form of remedial education, two received general education diplomas (GEDs), and one graduated under a general high school diploma. All of the men are NRAAFs who spoke of the importance of African American fathers to their sons in school, and in retrospect a

majority experienced past school reforms as limitations to their life outcomes. All explain that past education reform policies have a different meaning for African American boys than other non-African American males.

The Power of Discourse in Education Reforms

Throughout the interviews NRAAFs described the CDA of education reforms from ESEA to NCLB. Based on the interpretation of an education agent, such reforms bring learning deficits and discipline practices to children. This was experienced as early as third grade by NRAAFs in this research study. According to all participants the most common form of discipline was exclusion from classroom instruction. Such exclusion would include special education where continued deficient of instruction continued via Individual Education Plan (IEP). An IEP is a written education plan developed by education agents who determine a student's learning path. Students with this learning instrument may have one or more of the subsequent labels learning disabled, physically disable, emotionally disturbed, or mental retardation. Prior to 1975, many individuals with such labels were placed in state institutions.

Upon the passage of P.L. 94-142, the special education law was to (a) improve how students with disabilities were identified and serviced, (b) evaluate student successful outcome, (c) provided due process protections under the law for students and their families. In addition, the policy outlined the method by which the law would achieve the principles of this law. The policy method authorized financial inducements to assist states and school districts to comply with P.L. 94-142.

Based on the interviews of NRAAFs of the Baby Boomer generation many were placed in special education upon integration and remained throughout their school career. In addition, once P.L. 94-142 was implemented African American children would remain there, especially in integrated and poor schools. Moreover, of the African American boys placed in special education with such labels none would have qualified to be placed in such institutional facilities prior to the P.L. 94-142 policy. Arguably, CDA of such a policy can be interpreted as an economic and racial discriminative incentive to racially marginalize poor and children of color.

While special education programs provides needed services it can be used as a deficit instrument in education to warehouse select groups of students. Socially, it can carry psychological stigmas which may prevent students of color, especially African American males from fully participating in society economically and socially. Traditionally, special education programs are schools within a school. In poor schools the programs often have a distinct sub-culture, a trajectory to a portal of remediation. Schools are “gatekeepers” with cross generational policies and practices that determine life trajectory of children of subsequent generations, especially African American boys, sons of nonresidential African American fathers.

The Zero Tolerance Generation

I want to change the focus from the discourse power of IDEA to that of school discipline. The example chosen is zero tolerance. In school discipline there is an unmistakable link from the school, unemployment to prison pipeline. Specifically, the

study reveals the effects of discourse through power relations in school discipline. Nowhere is this initially observed more than with African American boys' schools. The power of discourse in schools is held by school agents who interpret policies based on various elements. There are elements that influence policy. I will address only three, race, which is a social construct, economics an intangible discourse power which motivates behavior, and gender. Based on the narratives of NRAAFs across generations, how many policies have been interpreted is problematic, especially zero tolerance.

Many critics of zero tolerance assert the policy is myopic, absent of student rights that examine the long-term effects of such policies. For NRAAFs in this research study who spoke of their education experiences none have identified a reform policy as beneficial to their life outcome. Incidentally, a NRAAF spoke of how being in special education and under the zero tolerance became a school to prison pipeline for him. For many students charged under zero tolerance are of low socioeconomic status, of color, male, and in households without fathers (Fork & Spector, 2002). The narrative of NRAAF4 gives an example of power discourse of school agents.

Joshua (30) says,

He said that I said a cuss word and that I came into the classroom pointed a gun at him and said "Bitch I will blow your head off." I said "Man I did not say that!" My homeboy study trying to tell him that I did not do that or say that, but the teacher got these two students to say I did and that he would pay them. My partner ended up getting third-party because he had a fight with the two students who lied on me by saying I had a gun on me. So they ended up taking me to jail

for terroristic threat. And that was the last time I went to school. I went to prison after that.

Language through School Images

Education reforms were essentially for children of color and those living in poverty to obtain better education if schools received more funding and resources. Such resources and funding were based on remedial education (tracking) and school discipline therefore, to address the educational needs of African American boys required segregation and school punishment. Such discourse would construct images and realities for these men as children (Hammond, Caldwell, Brooks, and Bell, 2011). For NRAAF3 his narrative unfolds the power of discourse and the images it produced of other African American boys in school. The nonverbal power of language shows how, images suggest reality which forms identity. The discourse experienced by this participant suggests socialization with peers what only occur within a restricted context:

Lawrence (54) says,

Back then if you were suspended for the school year you had to repeat that grade the next year. I was always suspended for fighting, but I was never suspended in high school as an athlete. You see my father had 12 brothers who each had about five sons, my father was the only one who a lot of daughters and one son. In my family when we got together they (fathers) would have us (their sons) to fight each other. Fighting was a way you proved your manhood (strength). In school I

hung around the Black boys, but the black boys were always in trouble. That's what I saw.

Harris (63) described,

Those new programs like ESEA we didn't see anything. I know exactly what you're talking about. We had rules, but not things like special programs or special education there was no extra money if you needed extra money you just work on the shrimp boats or go to work in a restaurants. Teachers didn't try to kick you out of school. In school we had different kids, Native Americans Chitimacha, Choctaw, Blacks, and Creoles. The Caucasian kids went to a different school. Those teachers at the black school meant busy. If they black school needed something the black community would raise the money, make the changes to the school. Now it was still segregated the big problem was they (Whites) wouldn't give money to black schools. We didn't have the stuff they have now like special education. If you needed extra help the teacher would come to your house or have you stay after school. You didn't feel bad because you didn't know something in school. I saw the men in our community doing things and so as a man I wanted to help. I feel good when I am able to help somebody go to college or something like that. Yeah, I like that.

The discourse shared by Harris and Henry exposes how ideologies of school agents of education policies and guidelines constructed images and social relationships in various systems based on social capital. This narrative explains how language in an

education context constructs meaning through the power of policy interpretation whether verbal, nonverbal, or images. Scholars have argued that the meaning of quality education is determined by social capital, for who the policy is interpreted (Bourdieu, 1977). Others argue that capital alone has an impact on education (Harris & Scott, 2010). Based on how policies are construed meaning and norms are established. The participants further added that what was experienced in school would define life experiences through various micro and macro systems (Van Dijk, 1980).

Certain actions and behaviors in micro and macro systems receive a certain response. Moreover, the responses of such actions and behaviors are based on the image or racial characteristics of an individual or group in a micro and macro system. Therefore, past paradigms of what is believed about certain racial groups define how leadership in any microsystem interprets a policy based on the actions or academic performance of an individual student or group.

Observation of school agents are consistently regardless of any change the CDA presents success or failure for an individual or group, as shared in this research study. To add the balance of objectivity to such discourse requires critical narratives. For example, as researcher, the narratives of nonresidential African American fathers (NRAAFs) in this study allow both education policy reforms, and the narratives of participants to be critically explored. Consequently, the subset of discourse CNA emphasizes the meaning of language in education and how certain groups experience the power of such language and images in education settings (Fairclough, 2003; Van Dijk, 2002, page 95).

Rooted in the context of schools are pedagogical access based on a student's value system. The value system is centered on varied differences of a student. These differences are based a student's access to social capital (Bourdieu, 1997) resources and norms which define what students are valued. To understand how a student is valued is based on how that student's group is categorized. The categorization of an individual's group is based on race, gender, is includes one's economic and physical characteristics. Such students are measured to how close they are to White student counterparts. What is believed of these students are constructed social ideologies incorporated into education systems and experienced by many students?

What is transferred to students in schools is an exercise of power is the propensities of a school's culture and norms. As researcher, NRAAFs narratives shared how a school perceives an individual or student group grounded in racial stereotypes becomes ones reality. Based on educational discourse and narrative analysis, NRAAFs assert that racial discriminative practices were acceptable practices repeated and socially adopted as norms for schools, communities, families, and students themselves. This notion holds the traditionally marginalized responsible for their social conditions. Such perspective root cause frames in the strata of victimization, which is a repeated practice. Nowhere is this observed more than in the application of education policy practiced through a cultural deficit model (Irizarry, 1969; Valencia, 1997).

Identity Shaped by Educational Policies from ESEA to NCLB

Parents of color, particularly nonresidential African American fathers are often viewed as not having an interest or answers to education problems in schools. As nonresidential fathers it does not mean that these fathers do not have an idea at all on how school reforms have worked in schools or not. Nonresidential African American fathers may vary in their ideas about education strategies, but the insight of former students educated under various reforms can be helpful to future works in pedagogical practices and policymaking.

The storytelling by NRAAFs describes how the structural frame of policy discourse shaped their identities. While the intent of such policies are noble the challenges overall are daunting. Unknowingly, reforms such as ESEA, IDEA, Zero Tolerance, and NCLB designed to close gaps in education have differing effects on African American boys than other student groups. Despite the well intent of reforms African-American boys experience challenges of intersectionalities (Crenshaw, 2012). Such dynamics shape African American boys racial and gendered position starting in school, thus their identity (Bush & Bush, 2013; Ladson-Billings, 2011; Polite & Davies, 1999).⁵

Throughout the study NRAAFs narratives describe education experiences through education reforms. Narratives describe neglect in schools, severe discipline in

⁵ See the diagram which describes how education reform influences micro and macro structures in society starting in schools (Fletcher, 2015).

schools that pipelined to the prison system, and how spirituality would give hope to rebuild their sense of self.

Armstrong (58) says,

So once again with the grace of God, He put people in my life. They surrounded me and showed me how to take academic notes for learning (Respondent becomes emotional). They (co-workers) taught me how to study, they encouraged me. I needed that support to become successful I didn't have it in school. Sometimes I get a little emotional. You know when I tell my story, I get emotional when I think of it, man - I was not supposed to be so successful. They labeled me! I have learned based on my education experience don't label people, appreciate kids don't label, because for many years I wore those labels from school. They called described my education neglect as laziness, because it was easier to blame me.

With each participant I traced their narratives starting with educational policies which were designed to improve their life outcome. However, the ideologies of school agents shaped policy interpretations and students' trajectory. The experiences of each NRAAF are indicative of the power educational discourse, what occurred in school under policies from ESEA to NCLB would track these men throughout micro and macro systems.

As researcher I traced the start of the impact on NRAAFs identity starting with schools. The narrative identifies the start of education discourse in schools with a list of

education policies. The effects of these policies are manifested in communities through children where through group socialization:

Joshua (30) says,

The streets are where I learned to be a man. When I could not make a living and provide for my family after not learning, TYC, and prison I started back doing whatever I could to put food on the table and paying the bills. I couldn't find work. I got caught writing checks and went back to prison. This was the second time.

From school a socializing agent through the discourse of inequities, special education, and discipline education policies reproduce school exclusions in communities. What is discovered is the habitus in school is transferred to communities, identity formation, society, and family systems (i.e., micro, macro social systems). These micro systems are dependent on the other and as variations occur in one system such as schools shifts occur in other social systems. For example, when schools produce a disproportionate number of unskilled workers communities are forced to absorb these individuals through menial labor markets or through the criminal justice system.

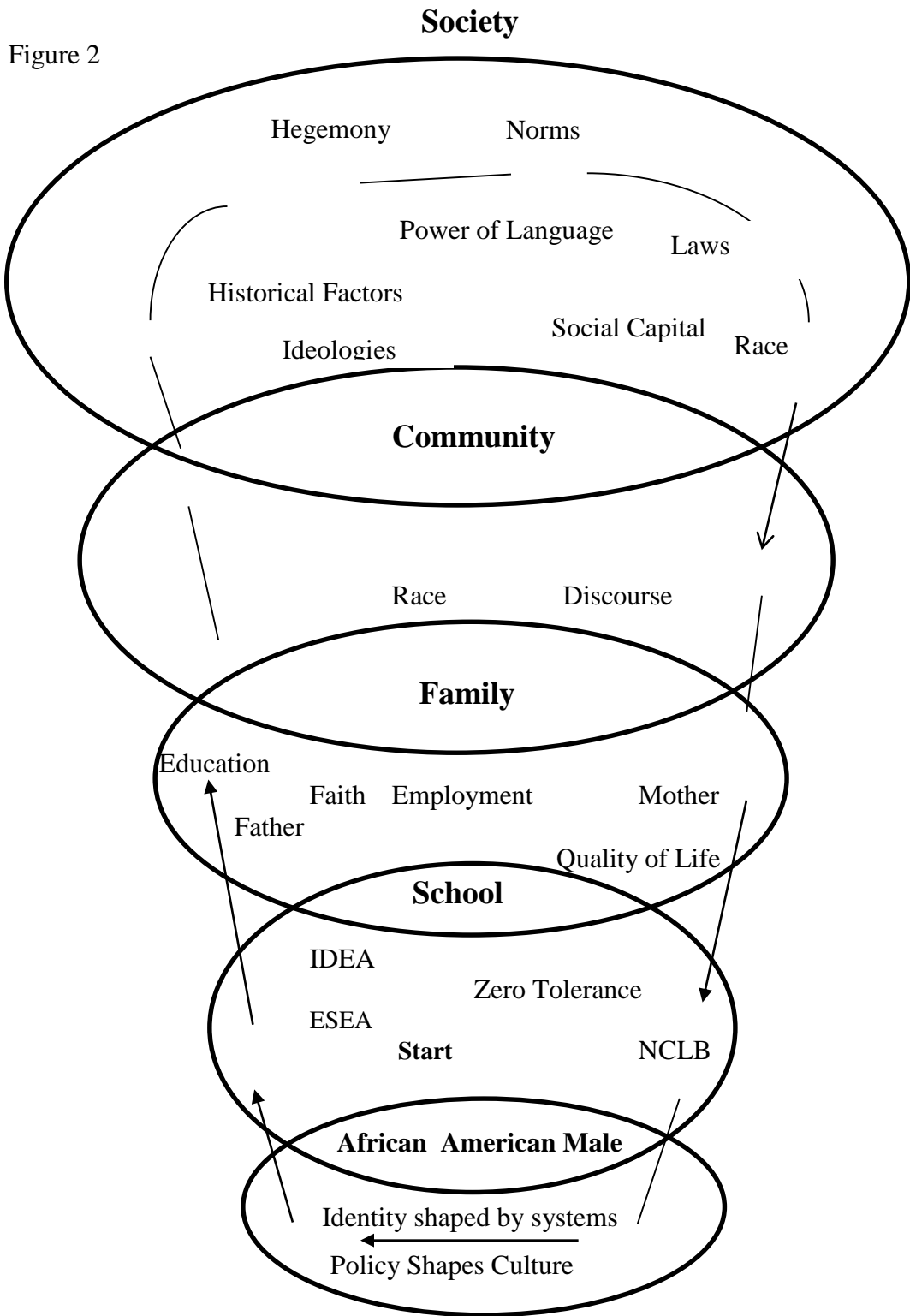
With an overabundance or lack of such individuals in these systems policies are constructed to adhere to the social shifts. Education is identified as a macro system to move people. The below figure illustrates the power of education reform policy discourse as it shifts through the five areas of micro and macro systems. Based on the narratives of NRAAFs each system through the aforementioned policies played a role in

how each man's life outcome. The actions of education policies implemented in schools do not operate in a vacuum. For example, Joshua (30) as an African American boy the discourse in education set in motion a repetitive cycle which led to the school to prison pipeline. As a result, the powerful discourse policies such as special education, which creates social limitations for African American males. For example, Joshua (30) narrative shows the discourse beginning with education policy a repetitive discourse through contexts:

“...the first time I was suspended was in the fourth grade...I was placed in special education in the sixth grade...I was in an alternative school for discipline...I was in a contained unit in school...they sent me to this place for juveniles called TYC I spent 18 months there...I dropped out of school in the 10th grade...went to prison...prison is full of Black men...hard to find a job...went back to prison...currently unemployed.”

The power of language, as illustrated in Figure 2 takes a circular motion through and responds to a child based on the individual's school experiences. What emerges are outcomes based on school contexts, as well as within community political and economic context. Like schools across society different actors produce the discourses that align with the discourse of education policy.

The Power of Language through Macro Systems.



To speak of the phenomena of NRAAFs and education policy reform outcomes without the voices of NRAAFs provides inadequate knowledge. Through the use of their voices NRAAFs provides critical knowledge of why various education policies helped or hindered in providing education equity in schools. The power of language model illustrates how policy discourse and cultural ideologies in schools systems are reproduced throughout social structures.

The diagram presents five epistemic structures society, community, family, school, and Black man identity. Each structure is identified as a macro system influenced by education policies. First, in the diagram schools are identified as a starting point where education reform policies introduced and practiced on students. School ideologies based on the discourse of the dominant culture are part of the socializing forces that contribute to formulating a child's identity. Second, the Black man identity structure introduces the formulation of identity based on school experiences:

Andre (43) reflects,

I didn't know but I learned differently. I started getting suspended in 3rd grade then put in special ed class in 4th grade. I was always playing around. As a kid you don't know this but you do things for acceptance. Sometimes I guess I stayed in special education for a long time until I was afraid to be moved from special education to regular class. You start knowing what you are able to do. And what you're not. Because I felt that I would be behind I wanted more, but didn't know how to find it. It's not something you are able to teach. Maybe that was why I spent a lot of time by self.

Lawrence (54) says,

was never made college ready – I could have done college.

This was never anything I could have considered.

Henry (63) described,

Although I graduated high school I didn't finish college. Some of the work in college was hard. I ran track that helped I school, but didn't finish. Since it was hard in school I do things to help kids. That makes me feel good about myself as a man.

Third, the family structure presents socially shared knowledge within the context of a small group. Although family ideologies are socially embedded within the group, children family members are influenced by policy discourse through school socialization. In addition, school discourse impacts family dynamics. For example, schools determine socially accepted roles and behavior for individuals in groups (Van Dijk, 1985). Fourth, communities present images on a micro level of the roles of individuals and groups in society. The roles of all members are reinforced through education. With each structure mental models are constructed based on knowledge.

Knowledge is in the mind education policy eras knowledge for socially shared based on mental models in the mind the power construct represents a schema of how this course the reproduction processing of discourse education policy discourse to society. Fifth, in society education policy functions throughout society, it is the official knowledge of the discourse of education reform policies. Who determines what is true

about education policy is knowledge that is socially shared through belief systems mental models and ideology.

The arrows throughout the diagram illustrate how the power of policy language moves across social structures, and shapes individual life outcome. This is exhibited in such policies as IDEA reform policy designed to provide additional services and resources to students with educational and physical disabilities (Schiele, 2005). Students who are placed in special education, especially African American boys often experience limited life opportunities. Moreover, special education is used as a tool to segregate and marginalize children by creating inequitable educational opportunities. Such pedagogical practices in schools practiced on a child reproduced limited life opportunities for throughout life structures.

Policy Shapes Culture and Culture Shapes Policy

As a result of the retrospective study a number of findings were established related to education policy across generations. Through the study narratives unveil how education policies shaped their identity through culture as children. In Chapter II literature support the researcher's theory through the narratives of research study with participants' outcome shaped by policy and ideologies of school agents. With social changes occur so does shifts in schools and society due to policy designed to address the needs of a shift in society. As researcher, I analyzed reform policies and determined how social conditions responded to the two. Here we see an intersection of policy interpretation and social change.

Based on the integration of various policy and cultural dynamics transformations occurred with social shifts. Such vicissitudes were among cultural groups and their trajectory which some describe as punctuated equilibrium. Punctuated equilibrium in a social context involves the evolution of a radical change, which may outwardly manifest due to discourse in a macro system (Givel, & Glantz, 2001). In this instance, education policy was constructed and interpreted based on the influence of the “War on Drugs.”

Without a doubt schools became a stronger socializing agent with policies as mechanisms for change. Such change was supported by narratives of NRAAFs who assert that reforms during the IDEA period and Zero Tolerance presented radical change in which a larger number of African American boys were “pushed out” of school due to a merges of special education labels and zero tolerance discipline. These shifts were under the notion of safer schools and Free and Appropriate Public Education (FAPE). The two policies came to existence during a crisis period in education with the intersection of created an increase in the structure of each social system due to change in the education system (Gersick, 1991).

Nowhere would these policies manifest than in urban schools among the poor, especially African American boys. The perspectives of participants in this study described their experiences under various education policies, school tracking, and their outcome resulting in a lack economic stability as a father.

The overall view of fathers must be taken into account in order to understand the significant increase of nonresidential fathers across racial groups. In the United States children living in single family homes have increased with Native Americans at 52

percent, Asian or Pacific Islander 16 percent, Latino 42 percent, White non-Latino 25 percent, and African American 67 percent. In Texas, overall single parent families are 36 percent (U.S. Census Bureau, Census, Supplementary Survey, 2013). A number of factors contribute to single family households or absent fathers which result in a shift in various dynamics of a family.

Due to this shift, a number of individuals are forced to migrate to communities more sound with economic and social stability, especially for African American men. Data from the United States Census asserts that the area of study has experienced an increase in the number of African American children living without fathers declined in this area of Texas. (U.S. Census, 2010).

Even with NRAAFs who did not attend school in the area their school experiences under various education reforms were similar. These characteristics such as low employment to unemployment African American population is declining at a “double digit rate” with scholars identifying the area as a “statistical outlier” due to an double-digit rate of general population growth, which coincide with double-digit decrease in the African American population (Tang & Ren, 2014). The number of African Americans is so significant until in order to gather sufficient numbers of African American children without fathers the data had to expand beyond county A.

The Critical Existence of African American Fathers

Based on the shift in the African American population due to education policies by school agents and the school to prison pipeline, African Americans will face a dismal future. Nowhere more is this seen than in the study area of this research study. This

data includes children with NRAAFs who would have attended school through the aforementioned education reforms.

Number and percent boys age 5 to 18 who do not live with their father by race/Hispanic origin, in Travis, Williamson and Hays counties TX 2009-2013⁶⁷

Table 14 Demographics of Boys not Living with Fathers

Travis, Williamson, and Hays counties	#	%
Non-Hispanic white	10,395	16.0
	+/-2,828	+/-4.0
Hispanic	21,511	34.6
	+/-2,465	+/-5.3
Black/African American	6,795	53.0
	+/-2,229	+/-12.3

Lee, J. (2015) copyright

The number and percent African American boys age 5 to 18 who do not live with their father, County A, County B and County C counties TX 2009-2013.⁸

Table 15 African American Boys not Living with Fathers

	#	%
Travis, Williamson, and Hays counties	6,795	53.0
	+/-2,229	+/-12.3

⁶ Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2009-2013 American Community Survey, Public Use Microsample (PUMS) data.

⁷ Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2009-2013 American Community Survey, Public Use Microsample (PUMS) data obtained by researcher (Lee, J, 2015).

The number and percent African American children age 5 to 18 who do not live with their father, County A, County B and County C counties TX 2009-2013(Lee, J, 2015).

Table 16 African American Boys Across Counties Living Without Fathers

	#	%
Travis, Williamson and Hays counties	13,424	54.7
	+/-3,041	+/-8.9

Lee, J. (2015) copyright

The research findings have led to concerns of critical unforeseen implications which have led to the increase of NRAAFs through the reforms (i.e., of ESEA, IDEA, Zero Tolerance, and NCLB). Although these policies were designed to address educational and social deficiencies among children of color and their communities, the results have had adverse effects. For example, based on the area of study the impact of such policies along with political, cultural, and economic obstacles the number of African American males have decreased at a rapid rate until additional areas were needed to determine the numbers of NRAAFs.

Economics the Other Side of NRAAFs

A divided family is more than a cliché in American culture for many groups and a way of life. Despite the circumstances the conditions contribute to significant numbers of outcomes related to the principles of CRT. Nowhere is this seen than with African

American families, more specifically nonresidential African American fathers' (NRAAFs) education outcome.

This phenomenon impact spreads beyond CRT, which allows a starting point where policy makers, scholars, and educators can begin discussions on improving education outcomes that connects all students. Beyond education CRT gives a look into how NRAAFs impact economics. The impact of NRAAFs extends from the school house but domestically and globally.

Based on data, approximately 12 million single families exist in this country (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014).⁹ The number of single mother households in the U.S. reports over 80 percent. What presents a global legitimate perspective on this issue is the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)¹⁰, global forum that works to improve economic and social conditions globally through policy. Primarily, OECD's lens funnels from macro to micro perspective to look at the daily lives of individuals and groups to determine what drives economies and future social conditions, which expands to a global outcome (Becker, 1992).

According to the OECD of the 26 countries surveyed in the Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization (2015) single black families will increase as black fathers become invisible in society, thereby increasing an inequality dimension in the growth narrative of specific skills necessary and key to realigning growth targets with people in a countries economic growth (p.13).

⁹ U.S. Census Bureau tables (2014)

<http://www.census.gov/hhes/families/data/cps2014FG.html>

¹⁰ Source: secretary-general's report to ministers 2015 - OECD

<http://www.oecd.org/about/secretary-general/SG-Annual-Report-to-Ministers-2015.pdf>

Findings

This study found that NRAAFs as children educated under education reforms ESEA, IDEA, Zero Tolerance, and NCLB did not significantly benefit policies designed to close educational and social gaps of poor and children of color during aforementioned policies. Participants' narratives suggested that African American boys educated under such policies had significant challenges as a result of pedagogical experiences in school. Such school experiences resulted in social and economic challenges. School leaders could address factors in education that create systemic disadvantages (e.g., unemployment, penal system, high mortality, family instability) for NRAAF in society. Additional research must explore procedures and ideological practices similar during present and past reforms.

The study found that schools took a myopic absent from both parents in ensuring the successful education of the child. The study findings also suggest no solutions were in place to partner with NRAAFs to insure the academic and social success of their children bonds with students and their families.

Recommendations

Over several decades, studies have documented the academic and social outcomes of African American males in grades Kindergarten through twelfth. Despite *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) decision and educational policy reforms from the Elementary Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1968 to No Child Left Behind (NCLB) 2001 no holistic study has had an in-depth review of why education reforms have not produced successful outcomes for African American males. Perhaps a critical lens is

needed to explore a look at nonresidential African American fathers who as boys were educated under education reforms ESEA, IDEA, Zero Tolerance, and NCLB. Each policy has shown limited improvements in the academic outcome for this group and an increase number of nonresidential African American fathers.

Further research study is necessary to explore the lived experiences of nonresidential African-American fathers' involvement in the education profession, especially with their children. The purpose of this research study is to gain knowledge of the generational impact of educational policy throughout the African American community. With various types of research, more data could be gathered, analyzed, and utilized to understand education across contexts (e.g. communities, churches, job market, etc.).

The qualitative research study that is recommended is participatory research or action research. According to Geertz (1983) action research allows the researcher as an instrument to experience "thick description" grounded in "local realities." This approach is useful, inclusive of the community members to share experiences, role and voice in the research study. Through narratives of NRAAFs there are critical elements relating to policy and pedagogical practices. Retrospective thinking adds critical insight to help policymaking and education practices to progress in areas with oversight or lack action. Such action would include a longitudinal research study to further investigate the effects of policy reforms on African American boys' life outcomes.

Recommendations: A Qualitative Longitudinal Research Study

As identified in the discourse context model (see diagram 2) which illustrates how discourse from education policies travels across macro systems understanding gained. By implementing action research using this model, education practitioners can understand how the power of language constructs environments. Therefore, it is about devising research questions in each macro system to address uncomfortable social issues related to the education of African American boys. According to Glenn (2006) the understanding of epistemology associated with social variables such as race, culture, socioeconomics, etc., researchers are able to interpret the meaning of a phenomenon with critical reflections. Through the interpretation of occurrences researchers think critically of social justice strategies, and obtain transformative outcomes (Herr & Anderson, 2014).

Such outcomes related to policy discourse involve understanding settings. Regardless, the initial approach includes the six primary steps to action research. The six steps include observations, data collection coding, data analysis, rigor and relevance. Through observations, interviews, and other data sources are gathered from the researcher (i.e., physical expression, emotions, gestures). Including perspectives from NRAAFs viewpoints on topics from mothers of their children to issues related to their thoughts as black men. Ideally, action research takes into account ideologies and perceptions as it pertains to the role of African-American males in schools, communities, families, and society.

Many agree observations are a rich form of data collection, with the researcher as the human instrument in direct observation and experiencing the phenomenon in a natural context (Herr & Anderson, 2014). With the researcher grounded in the setting direct observation allows contextual data from contexts, interactions, and individuals. Without a doubt, direct observation in action research lends itself to cross-checking information (Davis, 2013). Cross-checking provides the researcher a chance to note differences across forms of data collection (Adler & Adler, 1994). Action research presents a space of authenticity for participants to voice their perspectives. Additionally, longitudinal studies allow the researcher to examine the long-term effects education policy. This includes understanding the important role NRAAFs have in their son's education, which adds future knowledge and practice to action research.

The NRAAFs in this study spoke of the importance of fathers while going through their education, especially experiencing special education and school discipline. The findings were unified in that change in any one of the following, (a) recruitment of African American male educators, (b) multicultural instructional practices, or (c) community based programs that partner with schools in effort to child students circumvent the school to prison pipeline, and (d) allows major institutions (e.g. churches, lodge, sororities, fraternities) to partner. In the findings NRAAFs involvement with their sons found the involvement helped fathers and sons with work through social challenges and build positive social skills that provide answers to how policies and practices can better facilitate learning.

Reflections

Education policy is embedded in the profession and shapes the future of society. Educators are the gatekeepers of educational portals to trajectories that help or hinder a child's life outcome. All parents, especially nonresidential African American fathers have the responsibility and duty to partner with the managing conservators (e.g. mothers, grandparents, legal guardian) of their children and educators to exemplify moral behavior and values that reproduce an upright society. The education agent have the ability to lead and influence students, peers, parents, and the community and should utilize this position of power to uplift education. The educational environment is definitely a large platform for educators to mold students in both academic and life sustaining ways.

Through retrospective study NRAAFs shared narratives of educational experiences under education policies. The truth of nonresidential African American fathers educated under various educational policies is obvious. Until the educational needs and outcome of African-American males in education are specifically discussed, the low and poor performances are very clear. African-American males who perform poorly due to the interpretation of policy (a) the power language of discourse, (b) lack of eligible African American males teachers in the profession (content areas), (c) the isolation of African American fathers from education, and (d) the tracking of African American males to restrictive education settings. Through the findings of the research study, nonresidential African-American fathers provided a perspective to the educational world that requires action that includes partnerships with NRAAFs. Such actions includes (a) additional research (b) partner with churches, (c) promote the recruitment of African American males to education with financial stipends to retain them in education, and (d) community support.

To eliminate the problem of nonresidential African-American fathers disconnected from the education will consist of an innovative, aggressive policies and practices to form an inclusive partnership with the African American community.

Limitations

The findings infer that if education reforms for children are to work educators must adhere to pragmatic forms of research with data-based decisions specifically inclusive of multiculturalism. Based on the number of participants from which data was collected, this retrospective study yielded restricted data. Although the study addressed issues of inequity in education, it was limited in the, need for African American teachers, economic impact of NRAAFs, African American daughters, and policy on mothers who block fathers' participation with biological children.

There may be questions on how NRAAFs may have answered interview questions if the gender of the researcher were male. Gender may or may not contribute to how research participants respond during research interviews.

Some argue it is impossible to pinpoint outcomes in areas of excessive need since policy often lacks input of experts from these communities (Fultz, & Fultz, 2008). In addition, this would include action research community capacity building was excluded from the process. It is possible that with the inclusion of individuals in the innovation process, controversy is lessened in communities. Moreover, geographical context was not considered (e.g., southern states, demographics, political unrest). Each state was left to implement and apply the policy based on their political ideology.

Of the reforms all were absent of teacher recruitment practices that would enable administrators to have a more diverse perspective of a changing student population. Based on the findings, as integration evolved throughout schools the number of African American teachers decreased.

These reforms lacked visibility and feedback from the communities it was intended to serve. According to Hess (1999) a moralistic policy requires intercut diffusion, buy-in from the grass-roots level up, as well as clarity of policy outcomes. Although NRAAFs were children during most reforms eras a majority would have similar outcomes. Without a guide, distributive policy can be ineffective in highly charged political climates, such as those with mandated integration. Even with mandates, it was not clear what alternative policy instruments or mechanisms could ensure the intended outcome without stakeholders understanding their roles (McDonnell & Elmore, 1987).

Complex problems in education require action research and policy with involvement from all interest groups (e.g., communities of color, education leaders, policy entrepreneurs, site-base management groups, economically disadvantage) and to charge individuals with setting the agenda (p.139). In addition, education policy must be a scaffold to address effectiveness within processes (Hess, 1999).

The scaffolding process includes understanding how communities respond to a policy and individual outcomes. For example, site-base management groups, which include community members, are able to monitor and assess policy effectiveness on the ground. Site-base management groups allow individuals on the receiving end of a policy

to voice policy impact. Therefore, a policy like ESEA has more than one interpretation, one for those who construct such policy, another for those who will interpret the policy, and finally, those who on the receiving end of the policy.

Conclusions

The intent of Chapter V is to learn from the retrospective research study is insight into the world of nonresidential African American fathers educated under education reforms ESEA, IDEA, Zero Tolerance, and NCLB. The narratives of these fathers inform new research of the impact of education policies and their interpretation of education policy reform cross generational reach. The nine NRAAFs as experts conveyed the power of discourse, and the flexibility of a school agent to interpret policy meaning.

The group of fathers eagerly shared their educational experiences as boys under various education policies. As a number of fathers expressed no one had ever asked their perspectives on education as African American males in the education system. Through reflections the fathers shared words of advice to future African American fathers, policy makers, and boys in school about their experiences fathers

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APPENDIX A

Narrative of Joshua (NRAAF) Narrative Joshua (NRAAF)

Joshua (pseudonym)

Researcher: Where were you born?

Joshua: I want to say I was born in 1984

Researcher: Describe the demographics of your home, community, and school?

Joshua: Well, I grew up in a neighborhood a majority of blacks and Hispanics. Well, we lived basically awful. Some fixed incomes and in my school we had no whites. We just had blacks and Hispanics in the majority of the schools. I attended school in my neighborhood. Where I lived it was go for what you know. (Sigh) What we knew was drug houses on every corner, you know? It was a poor neighborhood [I'll] put it like that (silence) I liked school. To me it was fine. I passed classes. But, I was a troublemaker (chewing on a straw and looking down). Well I was the class clown. I was also different than other kids at school. I didn't have the name brands clothes. I didn't wear Jordan's on my feet, didn't have nice pair of pants or shirt. (Sigh) Half the time you know, like I could barely get my haircut and all things like that. Yeah, we lived basically awful (repeated how he lived and stared in space reflecting on that time).

Researcher: Where did you grow up in your neighborhood?

Joshua: I grew up in Fort Worth (Texas).

Researcher: What were your experiences in elementary up to 5th or 6th grade?

I liked school to me it was fine. I pass, classes, but I was a troublemaker I stayed suspended. Anytime I would do my work. I would hurry up and finish it and get a hall

pass. I would get my work and finish it then get a hall pass to leave. I was subject not to go back.

Researcher: When was the first time you were suspended?

Joshua: I think I was in the fourth grade?

Researcher: Why were you suspended?

Joshua: - For fighting

Researcher Why were you fighting?

Joshua: I was different from the other kids at school. I didn't have the name brand clothes that were out. I didn't have Jordan's on my feet, nice pair of pants or shirt. Half of the time, you know I could barely get a haircut and stuff like that.

Researcher: So kids picked on you because you were poor

Joshua: Yes

Researcher: were you ever retained or held back in a grade while in school?

Joshua: Yea, once in 5th grade

Researcher: How have your experienced education as a student during ESEA or NCLB influenced or not influenced your education outcome? For example were you or were you not in special education?

Joshua: Yes

Researcher: What grade were you in when you were first placed in special education?

Joshua: 6th I was in the 6th grade when I was place in special education.

Researcher: Tell me about that, why did they put you in special education

Joshua: They called it "big" back then.

Researcher: Do you mean BIP (behavior improvement plan) so were they saying that you were emotionally disturbed?

Joshua: Yelp

Researcher: Was reading hard for you or not? What was learning like for you as a child?

Joshua: math was my favorite subject I love the Reading was kinda hard for me but I learned how to get it either how to read like in the third grade

Researcher: what were your teachers white black

Joshua: black I was attending school Carol Peak Elementary all the teachers were black.

Researcher: What were your experiences in elementary up to 5th or 6th grade? For example, was the work difficult?

Joshua: The work wasn't hard not really to me. To me I felt like the school I was attending gave me a lot of information so that I could pass. you notice an cost once you get up to like the other grade I had a lot of black teachers they stayed only as if I was one of their own key it as they claim most of the troublemakers. I really was a troublemaker I was I was a class clown I select to make both slaves

Researcher: do you feel they really helped you

Joshua: Yeah

Researcher: What was happening when you said that you were placed in special education.

Researcher: What was happening all the way up to six grade that you were identified in 6th grade?

Joshua: I think it is called jump off when you get up to six grade. In middle school they (kids) jump on you. Middle school was three years six through eighth grade year.

Going to a school in my neighborhood it's and more than just certain troublemakers I see it is you know went to the school they got this thing call six grade jack up. It's like, like freshman when you get to the school on Friday if you had something they wanted. They would hem you up on the wall and take your stuff. Like for me personally I was not with that. I'd start fighting. I start fighting heavy. Once you fight somebody they feel like they loss, every time they see you they want to fight you. So I stayed getting in trouble in my sixth grade year. At the end of six grade I got kicked out of school I got to go to an alternative school. What they call it, third-party. I got sent to and alternative school. When school started back in my seventh grade year the first five days I got into a fight and so they sent me back to the alternative school. And so my eighth grade year the same thing

Researcher: so you basically spent middle school in an alternative school

Answer - Yelp

Researcher: the teachers in your middle school were they black or white

Joshua: They were quite.

Researcher: did you have any black teachers and middle school

a space now the teachers I hated will white I did not change classes I stayed in the one room I just stayed in that one room I had the same teacher.

Researcher: how did school involve your community?

I don't know

Researcher: Elementary was fine you said is that teachers were supported most of my

Joshua: Teachers and middle school they took the time to help me and middle school they were so quick to send me into the office or suspension me for something. I was in that one class all day.

Researcher: What did teachers do to involve your biological was there ever any mention of your biological father in schools?

Joshua: No most of my teachers knew that I grew up with my grandmother

Researcher: You grew up with your grandmother

Joshua: - Yes

Researcher: Did anybody ever ask where your daddy is?

Joshua: Well yes, back then they use to paddle you in school. They asked and in middle school they would ask about him. They asked for that dude (*Throughout the interview Joshua would never use the name of the man that denied him as a son*). Well he did not even claim me as his son. It was just somebody my mama told me was my daddy. I never, I didn't never know where he was except half the time, I never knew where he was.

You know before they can paddle you they have to call your parents or guardian then they ask for my daddy. That's the only time I ever heard them mention my father. All I knew was my grandmother.

Researcher: How have your experiences growing up influenced your outcome do you think your education allowed you to be successful in your life

Joshua: Well no, as I got older once I got into high school they stuck me back right back into that one class all day long, all day long.

Researcher: You grow up under No Child left behind how has your education influenced allowed you an opportunity to be successful in your life.

Researcher: How did you feel about that

Joshua: I didn't like it, you know I don't like it, I wanted to be out there with the other students but I guess, well I guess they felt they couldn't put me out there.

Researcher: Was your school mixed

Joshua: Yes it was mixed

Joshua: I dropped out in the 10th grade.

Before I went to high school I had got into some trouble and they sent me to this place for juveniles called TYC I spent 18 months there.

Researcher: So this was after ninth-grade you went to TYC, why

Joshua: I got into a fight with this guy a boy from the neighborhood at the club and a boy ended up getting hurt. So they ended up sending me off. I don't, I can't remember what it was. He was messing with me, and he ended up getting hit in the face with a bottle. They tried to charge me with a big charge. And they said it was attempted murder, then they tried to say it was aggravated robbery, it then went to aggravated assault. In my mind they were just trying to find something to get to give me on. They

finally got me all aggravated assault and they sent me away on that. I spent 18 months there in TYC. So when I got out I was old enough to enroll myself back in school.

Researcher: Okay, so you went in after the 9th grade. Were you were retained in school?

Joshua: Yes

Researcher: How old were you when you went in to TYC

Joshua: Well I was 16 going on 17. When I got out I was 17 almost 18. Yea before I went to high school they sent me to TYC, well the summer after my ninth grade year.

Joshua: When I got back to school I was put me in this black teacher's class. I don't remember the dude's name, but he used to be a track star you know how you talk in the black community how when you are talking to your friends you say something like "Hey my nigger" you know? So that's how you talk to your friends. I said that and he kind of got mad. But you know he was black! He was trying to send me to the office because I said nigger. And I say a man I'm not fixin to go to the office for saying the word "nigger." He went to try to make me go to the office instead of going to get the principle.

Researcher: How was he trying to make you go to the office?

Joshua: He jacked me up and was start trying to dragging me down the hallway. I was little then nothing but about maybe 5 feet tall. I said man don't grab me cause I got a little man's complex. But he started grabbing know me anyway and I swung at him. I hit him and he wrapped his arms around me the principal was look out of the door the whole time.

Researcher: Now, this is after you go out of TYC?

Joshua: Yeah

Joshua: He didn't say nothing (referring to the principal who was looking through the door) so when he called himself trying to take me out of the classroom I put my foot against the door and so we both fall in the hallway, and so this was toward the end of the school year.

When we got up I went on to the office and there were two black principals I knew they was fixing to call the police. And so before the police came the principal and I were having an argument he cussing at me I'm cussing at him, so "we going down that way." So I ended up leaving before the police came. So I stayed out the rest of that year all of the summer and I did not go back until the start of the new year.

Researcher: How old were you at that time?

Joshua: I was 18. And I was doing good and everything. So, that same teacher

Researcher: So at 18 years old you reenrolled yourself?

Researcher: They put you back in the same teacher's class, self-contained?

Researcher: What factors caused you to stay or not stay in school?

Joshua: Yeah, the same teacher's class. This is what I don't understand after all of that stuff happened why did they stick me back in that same teacher's class?

Joshua: I enrolled myself back in school again, and so I'm stuck back in that same teacher's class all day. So I'm sitting in class me and my partner were talking again and I didn't say anything out of character he (teacher) just jumped up and start talking crazy to me. He is still in his feelings from what happened last year. He done slid the desk out the way he wants to fight. Now, this is the teacher, he moved the desk jumped up. He wants

to fight now. I know I can get into more trouble because I just got back in school and am doing good. I know what they're going to try to do is send me to jail. So, I don't want to go to jail. So I just say "Hey man look, I am not going to get into it with you." So I just got up I walked out of the classroom to the office.

(mumbles, "This is when I dropped out").

I saw the principal in the office and I was trying to tell him what was happening, but he was not trying to hear that. So I went to the office I called my grandmother. I said "Granny the teachers up here tripping again." She said "Well, come on home." I said "Okay." So by the time I enroll myself out, here come the white teacher. So when I walk out of the office the white teacher is standing at the door. He is locking the door. I'm wondering why he standing at the door, so I got some water and he is staring at me. And then the same teacher in the classroom here he comes. So both teachers are standing at a door so I got a walk past him because the white teacher is at the other door.

When I tried to walk by the white teacher he stood in the way to block me, so I said "Man!" I've got to go the other way now. I am fixing to walk by the other teacher that I had the altercation with the other year, so the white teacher said there he is, right there. So the black teacher looks at me and he grabs me he picked me up and slammed me right there in the office. And so when he slammed me it ain't that much room between the mail boxes and the mail counter and the front desk. You know where you put those things, the mail. So when he slammed me he hit his head and he let go so I hurry up and

then jumped up so I got up I started running he grabbed the hood of my jacket, so I just got out of the jacket. I took off running the white teacher and the black teacher chased me down the hallway I went across the street I called my Granny and I told my Granny that “these people trip and they been slamming me and they grabbed me.” And so the whole time that I’m on the phone with my Granny, the law pulls up behind me. My Granny hung up. And so I am still acting like I am talking to my Granny. So behind me the law comes up behind me and slams me into the phone thang and put the handcuffs on me.

He study asking me “Where is the gun and I said “What, gun?” And so now I am thinking they’ve set me up. So, the law took me back over to the campus. And so one of my friends said the black teacher told him to say that I had a gun, and that if he did not say that then he would be charged as a third-party felony.

So the black teacher told two of the students I never had a problem with to say that they saw me coming into the school that morning with a gun and that I pointed it at him (the teacher) and said a cuss word. I don’t know if I can say this?

Researcher: Yes, you can.

Joshua: He said that I said a cuss word and that I came into the classroom pointed a gun at him and said “Bitch I will blow your head off.” I said “Man I did not say that.” My homeboy study trying to tell him that I did not do that or say that but the teacher got these two students to say ideas and that he pay them. My partner ended up getting third-

party because he had a fight with the two students who lied on me and said that I had a gun on me. So they ended up taking me to jail for terroristic threat. And that was the last time I went to school.

Researcher: So that was in the 10th grade

Joshua: Yeah. I did not go back to enroll myself in school that was the last time I just ended up getting my GED in prison back in 2011. After I dropped out of school I did not do anything but run the streets and do what everybody else was doing.

Researcher: so how is how that has experience influenced how you are raising your children may

Joshua: The way the thing that happened to not to me in my life and my experience that happened in school I don't want my kids to go to way better than I did. I got a 14 year daughter I stay on her case, I want my kids to do better than idea I barely get to see her or anything her people won't allow me to pick her up and let her spend the summer with me things like that.

Researcher: So, you want to spend time with your daughter, but they won't allow you?

Joshua: Yeah, but I am not stable right now I've got a son they just stand with me but I'm going from for a job to job.

Researcher: You have a son?

Joshua: Yeah I have two of them the one with me is one. I have a six-year-old son he doesn't live with me. His people won't let me see him due to the fact of the girl that I am with now. She uses my son against me. She said that if I leave my fiancée alone than I can be in my son's life. The woman I'm with she would allow me to see my son.

Researcher: When you were in school was there any resources available to help you. For example talk to a counselor or mentor?

Joshua: I had a big brother I got him when I was in juvenile I that I put on probation and yeah and so my probation officer at the big brother program up for me.

Researcher: Secondary school from elementary and secondary schools different

Joshua: Well I feel like because I feel like because I was so young because it was still kid is I think they felt that they had a chance the teachers felt like they had a chance to make a difference

Researcher: How has your experience in school created obstacles for you in your life?

Joshua: It made me feel like I didn't have nothing but the streets. I didn't feel like that until I got to middle school. I used to like going to school I used to look at my big brother and my cousins getting ready for school getting your pants their clothes storage getting fly. I used to love going to school. I wanted to be right there with the other kids, but they didn't have the trouble I had.

Researcher: What made you stay in school as long as you did?

Joshua: Well from the start, my grandmother. When I was in high school they were trying to offer me a scholarship to run track they actually told me they didn't care if I didn't even go to class as long as I came to school. I was guaranteed a scholarship if I would run track. I said "What is the use of being in a school if I am not going to learn in there?". Like, I said, I can do my work without a problem.

Researcher: Do you think that your course work prepared you for college?

Joshua: Yeah

Researcher: Was your school work the type of work or not that would have gotten you into college.

Joshua: Yeah.

Researcher: How did the various educational reforms (school programs) improve or not improve your living conditions?

Joshua: Always locked up

Researcher: What would you recommend for a father raising an African American son struggle in school like you did? What would you tell a father who's got a son going through what you went through.

Joshua: What I would tell them learn from your mistakes (make sure you don't make my mistakes. You can see where your mistakes landed me. My mistakes led me to prison twice. Prison is no place for nobody the majority of the prison system is black.

Researcher: What learning challenges did you have you have any problems of reading a map

Joshua: Knowledge now. It was never hard for me to learn it was always something else that goals on the set solve everything. Like when I took my GED, I was in prison. I was the only person in my class that passed it the first time (*smiles with a sense of pride*).

Researcher: So you were in prison when you took the GED test?

Joshua: Yeah, I even helped the others (inmates) with their GED work.

Researcher: How was your education or how would you say that your education as a child is similar to your biological father's?

Joshua: Well, in a way you know, when he told me how his life used to be when he was younger, I can see that our lives are almost the same.

Researcher: so you are saying that you dropped out of school like he did and you went to prison like GED?

Joshua: Yes

Researcher: What similarities do you share with your children are in of your children in special day it

Joshua: Now my oldest girl when she did not get a class credit she cried, because she wanted to graduate with everybody else.

Researcher: So she was held back in a grade?

Joshua: Yeah, fourth going to the fifth grade.

Researcher: How did no child left behind (NCLB) and other education reforms help you to pass tests and get ready for the world were resources available to you and then of course they had zero tolerance when you were in schools that any of those policies

Joshua: The zero tolerance or no child left behind, you stayed kicked out of school, but the no child left behind (NCLD) was all just testing. I guess it is to make sure kids can pass a test. I took the TAAS

Joshua: I took the TAAS. Like when I was in prison there was a dude like 50 years old (*Generation X*) and he could not read or write and I used to have to read his letters to him and write letters for him (*body gestured posture changes a since of pride, smiles*). This was the last time that I went. It wasn't funny he had the reading capacity of a third grader he had to sound out his words. When they (prison education system) would give

him a test, he still had the sound words out. When he got letters from the world, I had to read it to him. I had to write his letters and check your spelling for him on the letters that he sent back to the world.

One time, they gave him a test (prison teachers) it was the easiest one and he could read. It was crazy. I actually tried to help a couple of dudes in there get their GED.

I feel like prison gave me better opportunities. In prison it was better than regular school because they had all these programs to help you. They have programs to help you study if you take a pre-test and then they will check to see if you ready to take the GED.

Researcher: You reflect on prison and a lot.

Joshua: Yeah, like I got a friend who has been to prison three times, and like each time he go. You see he got his GED first time and he was taking college classes and he could get out but he didn't leave because he was taking college courses and so he wanted to stay so he could take his college courses. He got 2 degrees he got his associates and another one.

Researcher: So do you think that if you are not in prison you can get those kinds of degrees?

Joshua: Yea, I feel in a regular school no, but in prison they have programs like Everest College and Remington College they broadcast stuff on TV. You got to have a GED or something you know to get in the college. Before I went back to prison I was taking my associates classes. Well, I did never get to finish it because I end up getting locked up a

second time. So when I got out I re-enrolled back in Everest College. I want to be a paralegal.

Researcher: How did your education prepare you as a parent?

Joshua: It didn't prepare me. It has not allowed me to get a job or pay child support. I would say that it did not allow me to work. No, I wouldn't say so.

Researcher: Religion how you say your faith or religion has or has not played in your life. Whether you don't practice or your god is referred to as Allah, how has religion affected you (i.e., education, decision, children).

Joshua: When I was younger my grandmother and my great-grandmother both Christian women kept me in church. Every time there was a church call I had to be ready to go. I was always in church, but as I got older towards the end of my 5th grade, I kinda stop going to church.

Researcher: Where were the men in your family?

Joshua: Well, before I found my biological father I knew another guy my mama told me that was my day, but he always told me that I was not his child. During Christmas time I would to his house and he would not have any presents for me. He would take presents to somebody else's baby, but that was always it. I was always raised around women, my granny, my mama, and my great-grandmother. And all the rest of it (*being a man*) came from the streets

Researcher: So being a man came from the streets

Joshua: You can say that the streets taught me everything I know.

Researcher: Is or anything you'd like to share with me that we haven't already discussed

Joshua: Well about my daddy (*not Junior*) I was about 20 something. He came around to see me. I was sitting in the parking lot at the club on my car. I asked him why he always denied me as a child. He told me "look when you were born it was another guy at the hospital by the name of Junior and I think he's your father."

Joshua: I think I had just come out of prison, just two months earlier. I think then I had just gone down for two months.

Researcher: What did you go to prison for this time?

Joshua: You know I was trying to keep a roof over my head and my kids' head, so I ran across a dude who was doing hot checks. He showed me how to do hot checks, and so I started doing hot checks. Then I had a friend who was like me, he couldn't find a job or take care of his family so I turned to him on all too hot checks. He got caught and so he turned on me and so I end up going back to prison a second time.

Researcher: How do you know that Junior is your biological father?

Joshua: Because the law and data told me.

Joshua: His sister also told me. While on Facebook by somebody look me up. They called me. Junior (biological father) called me he said they (his family) heard of me. I Writing yam government and he said man I'm sure you're my son as a man how you know that how you know the unit of the same ease that I know how you look so you got a picture he put it on the Facebook and he put next to mine and it was just a like a

senator my brother the information that he was tell never my mama I had its way into my twin sister she died at five months for May was the.

Researcher: Where is your mother?

Joshua: She died she died from progressive palsy she moved down from Californian and will get here she died 2012.

Joshua: I just went to prison and when out of prison she got out sick. When I got out she died. She end up catching the flu and when you got palsy it you don't get better it gets worse. She couldn't fight off the flu so she died from it.

Researcher: What about your grandmother?

Joshua: She died when I was in prison.

Researcher: Do you have and questions or would you like to add and other information?

Joshua: No

Note: Joshua read this transcript twice and approved the content. As researcher I met with participant twice. Once for initial interview, two phone calls to aske additional questions, and a final time for participant to review the transcript for accuracy and to ask additional questions. (Triangulation and member-checking).