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GENDER EQUITY IMPLICATIONS OF NONPROFIT YOUTH PROGRAMS: EDUCATION OUTCOMES OF THREE AFRICAN AMERICAN-LED NONPROFITS

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Abstract

GENDER EQUITY IMPLICATIONS OF NONPROFIT YOUTH PROGRAMS: EDUCATION OUTCOMES OF THREE AFRICAN AMERICAN-LED NONPROFITS

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Significant racial and gender differences in school performance have been a great concern in the past decades, and especially the significant differences in education performance between both Black youth and other racial groups and between Black males and Black females. Black males are more likely to lag behind in school performance and less likely to finish high school compared to Black females and other peer racial groups, which can be attributed to many social and personal factors. Nonprofit youth programs are increasingly considered a promising intervention that can effectively improve Black youth development and education outcomes. While there is a growing body of literature evaluating the outcomes of nonprofit youth programs, little is known about gender differences in the outcomes, and specifically whether these nonprofit programs are equally effective for both Black males and females. This study fills this gap by selecting three African American-led nonprofit programs as cases and adopting a mixed methods approach to examine gender disparities in the outcomes of these nonprofit youth programs, using implicit biases and the expectancy theory of motivation as the theoretical framework.

The findings show that nonprofit youth programs did help reduce gender differences between Black females and Black males in education outcomes. Specifically, Black males

demonstrated better education outcomes compared to those who did not participate in any nonprofit programs or other extracurricular activities. Also, Black males who participated in one of the three nonprofit programs showed less statistically significant differences from Black females in many education outcome areas, including motivation, self-regulation, resiliency, and self-esteem. However, there were still significant gender differences in the program outcomes. Black females reported higher satisfaction with the nonprofit programs and had better long-term connections with them compared to Black males. This study provides implications for public administration and policy by highlighting nonprofits' significant role of engagement in governance, the necessity of fostering diversity in the nonprofit and public workforces, and the importance of taking equity into consideration in policy making, program design, service delivery, and outcome evaluations to improve equity and inclusion in public services to serve an increasingly diverse population.

Chapter I. Introduction, Background, and Overview

Introduction

Gender differences in education performance have attracted increasing attention in the past decades, and especially gender differences in the school performance of Black youths (Cook & Ludwig, 1997; Belgrave & Brevard, 2015; Sanders & Herting, 2000; Wood et al., 2011). The literature and national data have shown that Black males, in general, have poorer academic performance than Black females and other peer racial groups (Roderick, 2003; Smerdon, 1999). They disproportionally have higher school dropout rates, lower high school completion rates, lower college enrollment rates, and fewer degrees awarded compared to Black females and other peers (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2016a, 2016b, 2016c), which greatly limits their career and social potential. In addition, Black males are more likely to have limited resources, less parental support, and more negative social labels, all leading to greater difficulties in meeting academic challenges (Roderick & Camburn, 1999; Smerdon; 1999). Black youths are continuously faced with enormous racial and gender differences in school performance as well as future development. All of this evidence suggests there is an urgent need for quality interventions to address the risks facing Black males and the subsequent adverse results caused by these risks (Hanlon et al., 2009).

While schools and homes are important places that can help narrow gender differences in educational performance for Black youths, research has found that increasing gender differences in education outcomes for Black youths can be partly attributed to the different expectations and treatments of Black males and females by families and schools. In some cases, parents and teachers have higher expectations of Black females but lower expectations of Black males (Hill,

1999; Noguera, 2003; Trusty, 2002, etc.). However, the negative impacts of low expectations of Black males can be moderated through interactions between schools and families, as well as interventions by third-party agencies (Hanlon et al., 2009; Wood et al., 2007). For example, the negative impacts when parents have low expectations for Black males' education performance can be magnified by teachers' low expectations at school, but the negative impacts can be reduced and even eliminated if Black males' teachers have high expectations of them (Wood et al., 2007). This suggests the necessity, possibility, and importance of having a third intervention to mitigate and alter the negative impacts of parents' and schoolteachers' expectations of Black males, who disproportionally show deviant behaviors and low school performance (Freedman, 1993; Katz, 1997; Wood et al., 2007). A third intervention can help narrow the gender differences between Black males and Black females, as well as racial differences between Black males and other peer racial groups, in education outcomes.

Nonprofits are often considered the "social workhouses" of local communities, providing services that meet the needs of a wide range of populations, such as youth, the elderly, the disadvantaged, and the homeless (Teegarden, 2004, p. 2). Research indicates that nonprofits, and especially community-based ones, often have strong commitments to improving the well-being of their local communities (Holley, 2003). They usually have representatives from the community as board members and staff, while also sharing a sense of ethnic solidarity and the community culture (Rivera & Erlich, 1998). Community-based nonprofits are in a unique position to serve minority communities and work with minority youth, who disproportionately live in disadvantaged urban communities and can be exposed to higher risks with adverse consequences (Roman & Moore, 2004; Sobeck et al., 2007). In the past decades, nonprofit youth programs have become an increasingly important intervention for underserved youth in local

communities, offering targeted resources and services, improving youth education performance, and teaching other important life skills (Gordon, 2013; Sobeck et al., 2007).

The literature provides strong evidence that nonprofit youth programs can produce positive youth outcomes, such as higher school bonding, higher self-esteem and self-regulation, fewer problem behaviors, better academic performance, and stronger peer relations, through services such as after-school education, youth empowerment programs, and recreational activities (Dotterer et al., 2007; Eccles & Gootman, 2002; Hirsch et al., 2011; Riggs & Greenberg, 2004). In particular, scholars agree that nonprofit programs, and especially community-based programs, are promising initiatives that provide resilience support for minority and underserved youth (Holley, 2003; Riggs, 2006). These programs are effective interventions to help minority males identify their talents, develop positive identities, and improve academic performance, thus changing their own self-expectations about educational performance (Roderick, 2003; Woodland, 2016).

While there is a growing body of literature focusing on program outcomes of nonprofit youth programs (Bialeschki & Conn, 2011; Gooden, Evans, Perkins, et al., 2018; Holley, 2003, etc.), little is known about gender differences in youth outcomes of these nonprofit programs. Specifically, we don't know whether these youth programs are equally effective for both Black males and Black females and whether they can help reduce gender differences in the educational outcomes of Black youths (Woodland, 2016). In filling this gap, this study examines the gender equity implications of three nonprofit youth programs by testing whether the supports and services of these programs could improve the performance of Black males while also narrowing the gender gap in Black youth's education outcomes. The findings of this study will help shape

the roles of nonprofit youth programs in Black youth development and address gender equity, which will inform the future design and practice of these programs.

Research Questions

Nonprofit youth programs are supported by the government and the public because they can improve youth development. High-quality programs are even more important in low-income, minority communities to help youth engage in positive activities, learn important skills, improve their capacity, and reduce drug use, delinquency, and academic failure (Damon, 2004; Larson, 2000). This study focuses on gender differences in the education outcomes of nonprofit youth programs in Black communities. The central questions of this analysis are: Can nonprofit youth programs reduce gender differences in education outcomes and other program outcomes between Black males and Black females? If so, how? Specifically, 1) Do Black youths who participate in nonprofit youth programs have a smaller gender gap in education outcomes and other program outcomes than Black youths who do not participate in any nonprofit programs or other extracurricular activities? 2) Is there any gender difference in the programs' long-term impacts on Black youths (who have participated in one of the target nonprofit youth programs) one year after they graduate from high school?

Statement of the Problem

Gender differences in education: Black youths demonstrate a significant gender gap

Gender difference has been a hot topic in the academic and professional fields for a long time. Feminism is one product of social movements that has a goal of promoting political, economic, and social equality for people of different genders (Hawkesworth, 2006). Early feminism was provoked by unequal educational and professional opportunities for women. Its

goal was to seek protection for women' rights in politics, education, and the workforce and to ensure bodily autonomy (Beasley, 1999). Today, oppression and unfairness to men because of their traditional gender roles have been increasingly recognized and included in feminism's theoretical framework, with a more inclusive aim of ending sexism, sexist exploitation, and oppression (hooks, 2000). In spite of sustained attention to women's inequity in superintendence, payment, economic participation, and political empowerment (Blau & Kahn, 2007; Cockburn, 2016; Dana, & Bourisaw, 2006; Lopez-Claros & Zahidi, 2005), male issues in education have attracted increasing attention in the past decade, especially Black male adolescents' educational performance and gender differences in educational areas (Belgrave & Brevard, 2015; Charles et al., 2006; Tolan et al., 2013).

Data has documented that there is a gender gap in secondary education, where females usually outperform males in academic performance and school graduation rates. Further, these gender disparities are particularly severe among Black youth. For example, according to the NCES (2016a), Black youths have the lowest average freshman graduation rate (AFGR) (69.4 percent) in public schools, followed by Hispanic (78.2 percent), White (85 percent), and Asian/ Pacific islander (94.6 percent). Both Black males and Black females have lower high school AFGRs compared to the other peer groups listed above. In particular, Black males have a lower AFGR and demonstrate a larger racial difference in AFGR compared to Black females. The AFGR for Black females is 74.8 percent, 7.8 percent lower than Hispanics and 13 percent lower than Whites, while the AFGR of Black males is 64.3 percent, 9.8 percent lower than Hispanics and 19.2 percent lower than Whites (NCES, 2016a). In addition, Black youths have the largest gender difference when it comes to graduation rates. The gender disparity in the high school AFGR is the highest among Black youths, at 10.5 percent (74.8 percent of Black females vs.

64.3 percent of Black males). Other groups including Hispanic (8.5 percent), American Indian/Alaska Native (4.9 percent), White (4.3 percent), and Asian/ Pacific islander (4.1 percent) report lower gender disparities in AFGRs (NCES, 2016a). While males do no surpass females with regard to the public high school AFGR in any of these racial groups, Black youths demonstrate the most severe gender difference, which suggests a need to investigate the reasons for the gender gap in order to narrow its effects on educational outcomes.

Moreover, males tend to lag behind females in high school performance, and Black youth are more likely to underperform in schools than other peer groups. Reading scores based on the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) standards provide evidence for the gender difference in school performance between males and females and between White youth and Black youth, but this only scratches the surface (Belgrave & Brevard, 2015). Among 17-year-old youth, 87 percent of White students score at least 250 on their reading scores, meaning they are "able to search for specific information, interrelate ideas, and make generalizations about literature, science, and social studies materials" (NCES, 2013[1]). However, only 70 percent of Black youth score at least 250, which is slightly lower than Hispanic youth (74 percent). Eighty-five percent of females score at least 250, which is 6 percent higher than males (79 percent). The difference between White and Black youth is larger at the advanced level of 300. White youth

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[1] According to the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), students scoring 250 (or higher) are able to search for specific information, interrelate ideas, and make generalizations about literature, science, and social studies materials; and students scoring 300 (or higher) are able to find, understand, summarize, and explain relatively complicated literary and informational material.

still rank at the top, with 47 percent meeting this standard. However, only 22 percent of Black youth scored at least 300, which is less than half of White youth. Females achieved this level 42 percent of the time, which is also 6 percent higher than males (NCES, 2013).

Black youths also have a higher chance of dropping out of school, with a higher dropout rate among 9th-to-12th graders in public schools of 5.5 percent, compared to Hispanic (5 percent), White (2.3 percent), and Asian/ Pacific Islander (1.9 percent) students (NCES, 2016b). Among persons age 16 to 24 years old, Black males tend to have a higher school dropout rate than Black females. For example, the high school dropout rates for this group of Black males was higher than it was for Black females from 2010 to 2013, even though the Black male dropout rate was slightly lower than Black females in 2014 (0.6 percent) (NCES, 2016c). Also, the dropout rates for Black males were higher than White males, with an average of about a 2.6 percent difference from 2010 to 2014.

Moreover, Black youths experience more challenges in school transition. The transition from middle school to high school is one of the important turning points for Black males during secondary education. Research finds that Black males tend to have greater difficulties in following the academic changes and getting used to the new school environment, and they are more likely to demonstrate declining school performance and increasing deviant behaviors (Roderick, 1993; Roderick & Camburn, 1999). Even though this transition has never been easy for anyone, a higher proportion of Black males reported that it was very challenging and that they felt stymied by not having strong enough reading and mathematics academic skills to meet new academic challenges in high school (Easton et al., 2000). It is even more difficult for them to deal with increasing study demands and get used to new teaching styles (Eccles et al., 1991). Other factors, such as the lack of resources and support, stress and complexity from families,

changes in friendship, and expectations from teachers are reported by Black males to contribute to their struggles and underperformance during this transition (Roderick, 2003; Simmons & Blyth, 1987). These frustrations and a sense of failure in school can lead to low school completion rates for Black males, which will further negatively impact their access to future social and economic opportunities (O'Connor et al., 2006).

In addition to the evidence above, the literature also shows that Black males are more likely to experience a decline in motivation and engagement during their high school years compared to their peers; and they can be more easily discouraged by peers from working hard, less likely to do well in school, and the most likely to drop out of school or be suspended from school, all of which lead to poor high school completion rates (Cook & Ludwig, 1997; Meier et al., 1989; Roderick, 2003; Smerdon; 1999). Moreover, Black males have a higher chance of being classified with disabilities and being assigned to special education schools compared to Black females and other racial groups (Milofsky, 1974). They are also underrepresented in advanced-placement and honors courses (Oakes, 1985). These unpleasant school experiences also further dissipate Black males' enthusiasm for learning, which could lead to their low school performance. While Black males' declining motivation and underperformance may also be attributed to structural factors, such as the culture, history, community, school, and implicit biases from other racial groups (e.g., Cole, 1986; Jackson, 1998; Noguera, 2003; O'Connor et al., 2006), research shows that the negative impacts of these external factors on Black males' motivation and performance can be altered by influencing their self-expectations (Hall, 2001; Pollard, 1989; Werner, 1984). A positive intervention could help ignite Black males' enthusiasm for school and improve their school performance.

Negative impacts of Black youths' lag behind

   One of the consequences of school failure and school dropout for Black youth is less chance of going to college, and thus less likelihood of getting a college degree. National data demonstrate wide racial and gender gaps in college enrollment and degree awards for Black youth. Data show that Black males age 18 to 24 had a total college enrollment rate of 36.1 percent in 2015, which was 8.4 percent lower than their White peers (44.5 percent) (NCES, 2017a). While Whites and Hispanics had a significant decrease in the difference in total college enrollment, reducing from 15.8 percent to 8.5 percent from 2010 to 2015, the White-Black gap in college enrollment only demonstrated slight changes, decreasing from 10.3 percent to 8.4 percent during the same period (NCES, 2017a). Among Black 18 to 24 year olds, 41.6 percent of Black females and 30.7 percent of Black males were enrolled in degree-granting institutions in 2015. The gender difference in total college enrollment for Blacks was 10.9 percent, higher than the gender difference in college enrollment among Whites (8.2 percent) and Hispanics (8.5 percent) (NCES, 2017a). The racial and gender gaps are even more striking when it comes to degree awards. For example, in the school year of 2014 to 2015, 58.2 percent of associate degrees were awarded to Whites, but only 13.6 percent were awarded to Blacks (NCES, 2016d). Also, 63.9 percent of bachelor's degrees were conferred to White students, but only 10.2 percent were conferred to Black students (NCES, 2016d). Among the associate degrees awarded to Blacks, 65.6 percent were awarded to females, with a gender gap of 31.3 percent that is much higher than that of Whites (20 percent) and Hispanics (23.3 percent) (NCES, 2016d). Similarly, 64.1 percent of bachelor's degrees for Blacks are awarded to Black females, which is 28.1 percent higher than the percentage awarded to Black males (NCES, 2016e). The gender gap in degree awards is 15.8

percent higher than the White gender gap and 7.8 percent higher than the Hispanic gender gap (NCES, 2016e).

In addition to declining education opportunities, less-educated young Black males are more likely to suffer from other lasting negative impacts on their future life compared to females of the same age, such as declines in employment rates and wages, poor social and psychological well-being, and such deviant behaviors as drug abuse and crimes (Annunziata et al., 2006; Mincy, 2006; Newcomb & Bentler, 1988). For example, Black males have the highest incarceration rate, making up only about 6 percent of the total population but accounting for 34 percent of all male inmates in 2017 (Bronson & Carson, 2019; U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). The imprisonment rate for Black males was 2,336 sentenced state and federal prisoners per 100,000 U.S. residents by the end of 2017, which was about 5.9 times the rate of White males and 2.2 times the rate of Hispanic males (Bronson & Carson, 2019). Furthermore, non-Hispanic Blacks are the most likely to be in residential placement in juvenile incarceration,[2] at a rate of 746 per 100,000 population, which was much higher compared to the juvenile incarceration rates of non-Hispanic American Indian males (384 per 100,000 population) and Hispanic males (237 per 100,000 population) in 2015 (Sickmund et al., 2017).

Apart from these social problems, Black males lag in education, and their subsequent career misfortunes also have negative impacts on Black family life and the personal development of their children (Wood et al., 2007). Blacks with low education levels tend to have low marriage

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[2] Juveniles in residential placement are defined as those under age 18 who were assigned a bed in a juvenile residential custody facility in the United States as of the last Wednesday in October in a given year. Data do not include juveniles in adult facilities or juveniles held exclusively in drug treatment or mental health facilities.

rates, so their children are more likely to live in a single-parent house, suffer from poverty and inequality, and demonstrate deviant behaviors in school (Wilson, 1996). Data shows that Black populations are also overrepresented in the homeless population (Burt & Cohen, 1989; Jones, 2016; Roth, 1985), which is more likely to be Black, more likely to be male, and more likely to be without a high school diploma (Koegel et al., 1995). Specifically, although Blacks comprise only about 12.6 percent of the total U.S. population, they account for an estimated 40.6 percent of the entire U.S. homeless population and 50.1 percent of the homeless people in families with children (Culhane et al., 2017; U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). There is also a disproportionate percentage of Black homeless youth, who made up about 33.9 percent of all the unaccompanied youth in 2017 (Bassuk et al., 2011; Culhane et al., 2017). The vicious cycle continues. Scholars have long recognized Black males' underperformance in school as well as its subsequent adverse consequences, and they have called for more promising interventions, such as youth programs to support Black males and improve their educational outcomes (Gibbs, 1988; Noguera, 2003; Wood et al., 2007, etc.).

The Necessity of Nonprofits Involvement in Achieving Education Equity

Government efforts suggest the need for nonprofits involvement and a gender focus

The development of major public policies in K-12 education indicates the necessity and importance of involving nonprofits in achieving education equity and the need to take gender equity into account in policy making and implementation. Equity has been long imbedded into the culture of United States. As Frederickson (2010, p. 50) stated, "the question of equality is one of the greatest themes in the culture of American public life. In the Declaration of Independence and the Pledge of Allegiance, among other significant expressions of American Philosophy, the

rhetoric of equality permeates our symbols of nationhood." Equity is defined as "fairness," in which "each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive basic liberty compatible with a similar liberty for all" (Rawls, 1971, p. 250). The idea of equity has been brought into public administration and public education since the 1960s to balance the power between the advantaged and the disadvantaged (Frederickson, 1990; Guy & McCandless, 2012). In the realm of public administration, social equity is defined as "the fair, just and equitable management of all institutions serving the public directly or by contract; the fair, just and equitable distribution of public services and implementation of public policy; and the commitment to promote fairness, justice, and equity in the formation of public policy" (National Academy of Public Administration, 2000). This definition demonstrates that public policies are an important tool for governments to achieve equity by ensuring fairness, justice, and equity in the formation and implementation of public policies.

In education, equity specifically means that every person, regardless of gender, race, socioeconomic status, cultural background, age, special needs, sexual orientation, or residence, has equal access to extensive education resources and services to achieve educational potential and acquire a basic minimum level of knowledge and skills (OECD, 2012). The United States government started efforts to ensure an equitable public elementary and secondary education system through legislation beginning in the 1960s (see Table 1). In 1965, Congress passed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), "the first major piece of legislation that addressed inequality of students, specifically those from low-income families" (Frederickson, 2010, p116). The ESEA set high standards of accountability for schools to strengthen and improve the quality of and opportunities for education (Elementary and Secondary Education Act [ESEA], 1965).

Table 1

Major K-12 Education Policies

Policy	Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA)	No Child Left Behind Act (NCLBA)	Every Student Success Act (ESSA)
Year	1965	2002	2015
Definition	Federal legislation providing funding to local education agencies to ensure students, especially low-income students, have equal access to education.	A reauthorization of the 1965 ESEA to improve individual outcomes in education by providing funding and establishing high standards and accountability for schools.	Replacement of the 2002 NCLBA to ensure the high standards and accountability of schools and prepare every student for a successful college experience and fulfilling career.
Government role	Specified federal government's role in K-12 education	Expanded federal government's role in K-12 education	Narrowed federal government's role, leaving more control to the states and districts
Policy goal	Strengthen and improve educational quality and education opportunities in K-12 education	Shorten the achievement gaps between students by making all students proficient in reading and mathematics by 2014	Close the educational achievement gaps and ensure a fair, equitable, and high-quality education
Targeted groups	Students with disabilities, in poverty or transience, left behind in academy, or who need to learn English	Subgroups including racial minorities, students with disabilities, English-language learners, and low-income students	Students including English learners, immigrants, migratory students, Indian, Native Hawaiian and Alaska Native, and the homeless
Major provisions	(1) Providing financial assistance to schools and districts that serve a high percentage of low-income students (Title I) (2) Providing funding to support school library resources, textbooks, and other instructional materials, supplementary educational centers and services, and educational research and	(1) Improving the academic achievement of the disadvantaged (Title I) (2) Preparing, training, and recruiting high quality teachers and principals (Title II) (3) Providing language instruction for students with limited English proficiency and immigrant students (Title III) (4) Promoting informed parental choice and innovation programs (Title V)	(1) Improving basic programs operated by state and local educational agencies (Title I) (2) Preparing, training, and recruiting high quality teachers, principals, or other school leaders (Title II) (3) Ensuring state innovation and local flexibility (Title V)

Policy	Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA)	No Child Left Behind Act (NCLBA)	Every Student Success Act (ESSA)
	training, and to strengthen State Departments of Education (Title II-V)		(4) Improving education for Native Americans, Native Hawaiians, Alaska Natives, and the homeless (Title VI & IX)
Changes	-----	(1) Require schools to have more accountability for students' academic achievements and the quality of teachers (2) All students are subject to the same test assessments, with only a ten percent exception for students with disabilities (3) Require states to reduce bullying incidents on campus	Retain the annual standardized testing requirements of 2001 NCLBA; ESSA modified but did not eliminate the provisions relating the periodic standardized tests for students
Implementation	Provided funding, with priority to agencies and districts with high concentrations of low-income students through Targeted Assistance Program and School-wide Program[1]	Established a standardized test system for schools with flexible achievement standards in different states to examine students' performance in subjects and evaluate schools' capacities	Used a flexible standardized testing system in which states and districts have flexibility to determine their standardized tests and enact countermeasures for low-performing schools with limited oversight of the Department of Education
Evaluation	Financial regulations	Evaluated through Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) by tracking schools and districts based on students' test scores	Evaluated the success of states' plans based on students' performance in standardized tests and school graduation rates
Outcomes	More federal financial support to K-12 education. Minority students, low-income students, bilingual students, and students with disabilities were specifically targeted in this policy	Forced schools and states to be more accountable for the education of poor and minority children. However, many schools failed to meet the proficiency standards	----
Criticism	Excessive federal government involvement in K-12 education and undue authority over local education decision making	Overly reliant on test scores for student and school evaluation and ignored improving schools' success in other areas	----

Note. [1] Title I funds under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act provide two types of assistance: 1) Targeted assistance programs, in which schools identify low-achieving students and provide targeted services to make sure that these students benefit from the program; 2) school-wide programs, in which schools with at least 40% low-income students can use the funds for entire school development and improvement (U.S. Department of Education, 2018).

Specifically, ESEA distributed federal funding, called Title I funds,[3] to local school

districts and schools that had a high percentage of students from low-income families, with a

goal of closing the achievement gap between disadvantaged and advantaged students (ESEA,

1965). Title I funds provided two types of assistance: 1) a targeted assistance program in which

schools identify low-achieving students and provide targeted services to make sure that they

benefit from the program and 2) a school-wide program in which schools with at least 40 percent

low-income students can use the funds for entire school development and improvement (U.S.

Department of Education, 2018). ESEA (1965) also provided funding to support school

resources (e.g., libraries, textbooks, and other instructional materials), supplementary educational

centers, and educational research and training. The Act was amended in 1966 to provide targeted

support to children with disabilities and in 1968 to support bilingual education programs. The

Equal Education Opportunity Act (EEOA) was passed in 1974 as an amendment to the ESEA of

1965. It prohibited any discrimination of students, staff, and faculty in public schools through

intentional segregation because of their race, color, gender, or national origins and ensured that

students have equal educational opportunities in public schools (EEOA, 1974). However, the

ESEA did not successfully eliminate the performance gap between students, and it received

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[3] Title I funds are grants provided by Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 to provide financial support for local education agencies and schools to assist disadvantaged children, including low-achieving children, English learners, children with disabilities, students from low-income families, and other children and families in need. Title I grants include: 1) grants to local educational agencies and 2) grants to specific education agencies. More detailed information is available at Sonnenberg, W. (2016). Allocating grants for Title I. U.S. Department of Education Institute for Education Science, January 2016. https://nces.ed.gov/surveys/AnnualReports/pdf/titleI20160111.pdf

criticism because of the federal government's excessive involvement in local education through

financial distribution (Frederickson, 2010).

The ESEA of 1965 was reauthorized by the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLBA) in 2001.

The NCLBA changed the focus from inputs to outputs and set a goal of making all students

proficient in reading and mathematics by 2014 to minimize the education achievement gaps

between students. In order to meet this goal, the NCLBA increased schools' accountability for

students' academic progress, created a standardized testing system to track the performance of

schools and students, and set high qualification standards for schoolteachers and principals (No

Child Left Behind Act [NCLBA], 2002). The NCLBA (2002) also required schools to provide

language instruction for students with limited English proficiency and promoted informed

parental choice and innovation programs. In a marked departure from the ESEA of 1965, the

NCLBA established a nationwide evaluation system, Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP), to

measure schools' outcomes. Under this system, students in public schools are required to take

annual standardized state tests to evaluate their proficiency in subjects in order to examine

whether schools meet their yearly progress goals. Schools that fail to have adequate test scores

for two consecutive years are required to develop improvement plans and offer students school

transferring options; schools failing for three consecutive years are required to offer free extra

tutoring services to students in need; schools failing for four consecutive years are required to

take corrective actions; and those failing for five consecutive years will be restructured entirely

(NCLBA, 2002). These schools may be taken over by the states, transferred into a charter school,

or have to terminate the principal and staff (NCLBA, 2002). While NCLBA did increase

schools' focus on improving the academic performance of disadvantaged students, the

achievement standards were far from attainable. In 2011, 48 percent of the public schools in the

country did not meet the NCLBA performance standards and were subject to corrective actions (Usher, 2011). That same year, the federal government allowed states that failed to meet the performance standards to apply for waivers from NCLBA requirements. However, in order to qualify for waivers, these states and districts were required to adopt college and career-readiness standards, develop plans to improve school education outcomes in the NCLBA assessment, set their own annual achievement goals, and establish new ways to measure school performance (The Century Foundation, 2015). By May 2015, 43 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico had been approved for the waivers, and a few other states were undergoing the request process (The Century Foundation, 2015). This piece of legislation, which tried to achieve equity by pursuing equitable outcomes, did not successfully improve education quality (Demir & Demir, 2014). Nor did it achieve the goal of equity. It is criticized for its heavy focus on test scores and the expansion of the federal government's control in K-12 education (Klein, 2015; Rich, 2012).

The NCLBA of 2001 was replaced by Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) in 2015. It was established to close education achievement gaps and ensure a fair and high-quality education. In addition to maintaining the high standards and accountability of schools from the NCLBA, the ESSA is also committed to preparing students for successful college experiences and future careers. One of the big differences between the ESSA and the NCLBA is the flexibility of the standardized test system. ESSA gives states more control when it comes to the goals and standards for the tests, allowing them to develop plans to achieve their own goals with limited oversight from the federal government. ESSA maintains the high qualification requirements for teachers, principals, and other school leaders, provides support for basic programs of local education agencies, and offers targeted services to additional disadvantaged

groups,[4] such as Indian, Native Hawaiian, Alaska Native and the homeless. State and school performance is evaluated based on students' performance in standardized tests and school graduation rates (ESSA, 2015). Under the ESSA, a school is considered to be failing if it is in the bottom 5 percent of the assessment scores, has a graduation rate of less than 67 percent (for high schools), or has a consistently underperforming subgroup of students (ESSA, 2015). States can take over failing schools, but there are no specific interventions in this legislation.

These three pieces of legislation and their amendments demonstrate strong governmental efforts to achieve equity in K-12 education through the formation and implementation of public policies. They all have shared goals of improving educational quality and equity by improving the academic performance of disadvantaged students and closing the achievement gaps between disadvantaged and advantaged students. However, none of these policies have achieved these goals. Nevertheless, the shifts and reforms in these polices' focus and their approaches reflect the need for a more cohesive and multi-cooperative approach to achieve education equity. It suggests the importance and necessity of involving other social entities to help achieve equity in education, such as nonprofits.

First, the federal government's involvement in K-12 education is declining, and more flexibility and autonomy has been given to local education agencies and schools. Policy changes suggest that it is difficult or even impossible to heavily rely on governments to achieve educational equity. The federal government's efforts in ensuring educational equity through the

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[4] The group names, such as Indian, Native Hawaiian, and Alaska Native here, are directly from the official policy document.

distribution of financial resources did improve disadvantaged students' access to education resources. However, using one formula for all of the public schools in different states and for the various groups of students was far more practical than trying to meet the diverse needs of student groups in different areas and schools. The federal government's excessive involvement in education without addressing local needs led to limited and even invalid responses to these needs. In order to respond to students' diverse needs, the ESSA weakened the federal government's direct involvement in K-12 education, leaving more control and flexibility to state and local education agencies, as well as schools. It required the engagement of a wide range of stakeholders, such as representatives from state and local education agencies and other service organizations, parents, teachers, and even community members, in the decision-making process. The shift of these policies from being controlled by the federal government to local agencies and the increasing diversity of the stakeholder body imply the necessity of the participation and collaboration of more social entities, including schools, nonprofits, and local governments, to achieve education equity.

Second, approaches to achieve education equity have become more flexible and diverse. Under the ESEA, the federal government tried to achieve education equality through unequal financial support to local states and schools that favored disadvantaged students in an "equal opportunity approach" to make sure that disadvantaged students get nearly equal education resources and services as advantaged students. Later, the federal government shifted its focus from the equal opportunity approach to equal educational outcomes to make sure that every

student got "an equal-sized slice of cake"[5] through the NCLBA. However, neither the universal

equal opportunity approach nor the equal outcome approach achieved the goal of improving

education quality and education equity. The ESSA shifts responsibilities from the federal

government to local education agencies and schools in deciding how to divide the "cake,"

including how much each school deserves. This policy reform shifted from a universal strategy

to a more targeted approach for different states. Local nonprofits that are usually more sensitive

to local needs are important in joining decision-making that will be a more effective targeted

approach that meets the community's needs.

Third, the number of target student groups for these policies is increasing, and the groups

have become more diverse and specific. The ESEA was originally targeted at low-income

students, and then it specifically incorporated students with disabilities and students who are

English learners through amendments. The NCLBA added additional groups, such as racial

minorities, to its target populations. In addition to these groups, the ESSA started focusing on

immigrant students, Indians, and homeless youth. The increasing diversity of the targeted student

bodies suggests the diverse needs of different student groups, and it is impossible to meet these

needs with one universal formula or by one single sector. Even schools and local government

agencies are far from enough to ensure the high-quality educational outcomes and that students

in different groups receive equal educational opportunities and resources. Education inequity is a

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[5] "An equal-sized slice of cake" comes from Stone's analysis (2011) of the dimensions of equality in which she used a story of distributing a chocolate cake in a public policy class to demonstrate distributive conflicts in which equity is the goal. Resource: Stone, D. (2011). *Policy paradox* (3rd edition). New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company.

wicked problem in public administration that cannot be solved by a single social entity, sector, or universal approach (Weber & Khademian, 2008).

Fourth, these policies lack a strong gender focus. While they take various cultural identities or factors of the student population into consideration, such as socioeconomic status, disability, language proficiency, race, nationality, and immigrant status, to ensure fairness and equity in K-12 education, none of these policies has a strong emphasis on gender. The EEOA of 1974, an amendment to the ESEA, did mention that gender should not be a reason for discrimination in schools, but it focused more on race, color, and national origins in practice (EEOA, 1974). Also, these policies did not take gender gaps in school education outcomes into consideration in their policy design and implementation, let alone the intersection of gender and other cultural factors, such as race and disability, and the interactive impacts of these factors on school performance. In fact, an American Association of University Women report emphasized the importance of considering gender equity in education reform as early as 1992, arguing that educational goals ignoring gender equity were "solutions designed to meet everyone's needs" that risked meeting no one's needs (Wellesley College Center for Research on Women, 1992, p. 9). Since the late 20th century, gender gaps in school performance have been a popular topic in academia, and a gender gap has been revealed in various areas, such as math and science, reading, SAT scores, and high school graduation and dropout rates (Coley, 1989; Doll et al., 2013; Flynn & Rahbar, 1994; Jones, 1984; Young & Fisler, 2000). However, these findings and discussions were not effectively reflected in the policy making. For example, neither the NCLBA nor the ESSA focus on the school performance of gender subgroups or have a clear goal of reducing gender gaps in school performance in spite of their inclusion in the increased scope of target student groups (ESSA, 2015; NCLBA, 2002). This suggests the importance of integrating

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gender equity into future policies and evaluating the effectiveness of practices on narrowing gender gaps.

In general, the imbalance of local education resources, the intersection of multiple student groups, and the complexity of local educational needs require greater collaborative efforts from organizations at different levels across sectors and more targeted approaches in the long run to achieve fair and inclusive education (Johnson & Svara, 2011; OECD, 2012). Nonprofits are one of the major social entities that can facilitate educational equity, which will be discussed in detail in the following section. Nonprofits, and especially community-based ones, are usually created based on local needs, represented by the local community, and for the local community (Cortés, 2001; Calzada & Suarez-Balcazar, 2014; Gooden, Perkins, et al., 2018). They are great representatives of the local population (Gaskell, 2008; Kim & Mason, 2018). Their involvement will be helpful in designing and implementing targeted approaches that are responsive to local needs. Nonprofits also help deliver services and implement policies in local communities (Edwards, 2009; Jenkins, 2006; Samuelson, 2013). Having nonprofits serve as stakeholders in education policy making and implementation will help them to understand and interpret policy correctly, thus facilitating policy implementation and improving policy outcomes.

Nonprofits, youth services, and social equity

Nonprofits are tax-exempt and self-governing organizations that pursue public benefits without distributing their income or profits to their stakeholders, staff, and members (Anheier, 2005; Salamon, 2012; Worth, 2016). Nonprofits are increasingly taking up responsibilities from governments (Snyder & Freisthler, 2011). Data from the Center on Nonprofits and Philanthropy shows that there were 1.41 million nonprofit organizations registered with the Internal Revenue

Service (IRS)[6] in 2013, an increase of 2.8 percent since 2003 (McKeever, 2015). Public charities that are classified under 501(c)(3)[7] of the Internal Revenue Code were the largest group in the nonprofit sector, accounting for over 67 percent and growing by 19.5 percent from 2003 to 2013 (McKeever, 2015). The nonprofit sector contributed about 5.4 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP) in the United States in 2013, with 501(c)(3) public charities accounting for over 75 percent of this sector's revenue and expenses and more than 60 percent of the total nonprofit assets (McKeever, 2015). These numbers do not include unregistered organizations that are also operating and making impacts. Nonprofits play an increasingly critical role in the well-being and development of local communities, and they are actively involved in various fields, including welfare, employment, healthcare, education, cultural integration, civil engagement, and public-private partnerships (Anheier, 2005; LeRoux, 2011; Rathgeb Smith, 2006; Snyder & Freisthler, 2011; Sampson & Groves, 1989).

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[6] According to the IRS, nonprofits with gross receipts of $50,000 or less are required to file Form 990-N, Electronic Notice (e-Postcard) for Tax-Exempt Organizations not Required To File Form 990 or 990-EZ; nonprofits with gross receipts of more than $50,000 but less than $200,000 and with total assets less than $500,000 are required to file Form 990 or Form 990-EZ; nonprofits with gross receipts of $200,000 or more or with total assets of $500,000 or more are required to file Form 990; and private foundations regardless of financial status are required to file Form 990-PF. More detailed information is available at "Form 990 series which forms do exempt organizations file filling phase" in Internal Revenue Service, https://www.irs.gov/charities-non-profits/form-990-series-which-forms-do-exempt-organizations-file-filing-phase-in

[7]According to IRS classifications, nonprofits are placed into more than 30 categories based on their tax exemptions. Most nonprofits, including those discussed in this study, are *public charities* and *social welfare organizations* falling under two sections of the Internal Revenue Code: Sections 501(c)(3) and 501(c)(4), respectively. Public charities under Section 501(c)(3) are tax-exempt and also eligible for tax-deductible gifts from donors. Social welfare organizations under Section 501(c)(4) are also tax-exempt but are not tax deductible for donors. Public charities have limitations on political activities, such as lobbying, while social welfare organizations are free to engage in political and legislative activities for civil betterment or advancing social change (Worth, 2016). More detailed information about the classifications is available at the IRS website: https://www.irs.gov/charities-non-profits/types-of-tax-exempt-organizations. Source: Worth, M. J. (2016). *Nonprofit management: Principles and practice* (4th edition). Los Angeles, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.

In particular, community-based nonprofits are increasingly considered effective in delivering goods and services to meet the diverse needs of local communities, and especially communities of underrepresented and marginalized populations who are underserved by governments and the market (Gaskell, 2008; Guo & Musso, 2007; Kim & Mason, 2018; Jenkins, 1981; Power & Kenny, 2011). A study of human service-oriented nonprofits in Philadelphia found that African American-led nonprofits, typically located in low-income neighborhoods, predominantly serve African Americans, youth, and low-income populations who may not be well supported by other agencies (Branch Associates, 2016). These community-based nonprofits are usually formed in response to unmet needs of local communities. They represent the cultural, racial, and ethnical diversities of local communities in their leadership teams, stay attuned to the dynamics of local needs, and adopt strategic approaches that facilitate program effectiveness and reduce disparities in service delivery (Branch Associates, 2016; Cortés, 2001; Calzada & Suarez-Balcazar, 2014; Gooden, Perkins, et al., 2018; Vu et al., 2017, etc.).

In addition, nonprofits are brokers that build bridges between local communities and governments as well as other service providers to ensure access to and quality of services for the communities (Samuelson, 2013). Nonprofits educate communities about service systems and policies while helping governments learn about the cultures and needs of local communities, informing policy makers, suggesting policy solutions, and/or organizing other advocacy activities (Ainsworth & Sened, 1993; Edwards, 2009; Jenkins, 2006; Samuelson, 2013). Leaders and staff in these organizations are considered "street-level bureaucrats" who directly impact the delivery of policy and services to communities (Lipsky, 2010). They are an indispensable part of the public service system. By filling service gaps in underserved communities and tailoring program design and implementation to be responsive to community culture and needs, nonprofits

ensure that underserved communities are not excluded from the service system and have equal

access to and effectively utilize the resources and services, like other communities. By ensuring

people in different communities are treated the same,[8] nonprofits facilitate fairness and equality

in social services, including education, healthcare, and other welfare services (Johnson & Svara,

2011; Lu, 2015).

The United States has an increasingly diverse youth population and is predicted to

become a minority-dominant nation in the middle of the 21st century (Keating & Karklis, 2016).

According to the Annie E. Casey Foundation (2018a), Black and Hispanic youth made up about

80 percent of all the minority youth ages 5 to 17 in 2017. The number of youths age 5 to 11 and

12 to 17 were about 28.65 million and 25.06 million, respectively, in 2017. Minority youth made

up about half of the population, of which non-Hispanic Black youth accounted for 14 percent,

respectively, of the youths age 5 to 11 and age 12 to 17, while Hispanic youth accounted for 26

percent and 24 percent, respectively, of these two age groups (The Annie E. Casey Foundation,

2018a). Nonprofits play an increasingly important role in youth education and empowerment,

and especially in minority communities, where such minority youth as African Americans

proportionally lag in school performance and therefore may engage in such behaviors as property

damage, graffiti, and increased drug and alcohol use (Aud et al., 2012; Gooden, Evans, Perkins,

et al., 2018; Holley, 2003; Pinkney, 2000; Theodore & Martin, 2007).

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[8] There are two approaches to social equity action, according to Johnson and Svara (2011). One is treating people the same (no discrimination) to promote fairness and equality, and the other is treating people differently (reduce disparity) to provide justice. Source: Johnson, N. J., & Svara, J. H. (2011). Social equity in American society and public administration, In Johnson, N. J., Svara, J. H. (Eds.), *Justice for all: Promoting social equity in public administration* (pp. 3-25). Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.

While there is no specific number of nonprofits providing services to youth, data from the Center for Civil Society Studies shows that the percentage of nonprofit employment in education is 15.6 percent, ranking second to employment in the health arena (54.3 percent) (Salamon, 2018). Also, there are roughly 59,324 nonprofits providing services for elementary and secondary education and research, and 36,900 providing youth development services (GuideStar, 2018). A national mentoring program survey also shows that nonprofits account for 79 percent of the youth mentoring agencies surveyed, including 1,271 mentoring agencies and 1,451 distinct mentoring programs that provide services to 413,237 youths (Garringer et al., 2017). Black youths are overrepresented in these mentoring programs, making up most of the mentee population (33 percent), followed by White (24 percent) and Hispanic (20 percent), and over 50 percent of these youth are from low-income families (Garringer et al., 2017). The needs continue to grow. Over 50 percent of these nonprofit programs reported an increased number of youths receiving their services, while about 35 percent reported the number of youths that they serve has stayed the same (Garringer et al., 2017). All of these figures provide evidence for the importance of nonprofits in youth development, and especially for minority youth. Nonprofit programs are evidenced to be effective in improving youth academic performance, reducing youth deviance, facilitating civil engagement, boosting self-confidence, and building skills in research, public speaking, and other important life skills to empower youths (Gooden, Evans, & Pang, 2018; Holley, 2003; Jackson, 2009, etc.).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to examine the gender equity of Black youth in educational outcomes of nonprofit youth programs in an effort to understand: a) the roles of nonprofit youth

programs in underserved communities, and especially Black communities, b) the quality and

impacts of these programs on the education and development of minority youth, and c) their

efforts and commitment to equity in their services. This study draws attention to the equity

implications of nonprofit services and helps nonprofit youth programs integrate equity and

inclusion considerations into their program design and service delivery.

Significance of the Study

This study has a number of implications for public policy and nonprofit programs. First,

this study will draw people's attention to the social impacts of nonprofit programs on Black

communities. Today, nonprofits play an increasingly important role in empowering youth

development and providing services to their local communities. However, they still face a lot of

challenges, such as unstable financial sources, a lack of resources, difficulties in recruiting and

retaining volunteers and staff, and challenges in meeting increasing and diverse community

needs (Hung, 2007; Kornhauser,1978; Putnam, 2000; Sobeck et al., 2007, etc.). More supports

are needed from the public and the government to help the nonprofits better fulfill their goals of

improving communities' well-being. Second, the research findings of this study, and specifically

its focus on gender differences in the youth outcomes of nonprofit programs, will help nonprofit

leaders to learn about the effectiveness and equity implications of their program interventions,

since most nonprofits do not have the funding and capacity to evaluate their own program

impacts, including short-term and long-term impacts (Garringer et al., 2017). The research

findings on the long-term impacts of these nonprofit programs, as well as gender differences in

program outcomes, will help them further improve their program design and service delivery.

Third, this study's focus on youth development of the Black community will help reveal the

problems, risks, and adverse situations facing Black youth, including the gender and racial gaps in education outcomes between Black youth and their peers. It will lift the voices of minority communities and suggest the need for more research on and attention to the education and development of Black youth. Finally, this study will make a contribution to the growing literature on nonprofits serving minority populations by evaluating program outcomes from a gender equity perspective. In sum, this study suggests that nonprofit programs are promising interventions to improve the development of Black youth and reduce gender differences in education and personal development. As the United States is going to become minority-majority nation in the mid-21st century, outcome evaluations of nonprofit programs will help them effectively improve the well-being of minority communities and ensure the inclusiveness of the country.

Overview of Chapters

This dissertation is divided into five chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the research background, problem statement, research questions, and goals of the study, describing why it is necessary and important to study gender differences in the education outcomes of nonprofit youth programs. Chapter 2 introduces the theoretical framework, implicit biases, and the expectancy theory of motivation of this study, outlines a brief history of Black education, and provides an overview of the literature about key factors impacting gender differences in education outcomes, as well as contributing factors to high-achieving Black youths' academic success. Examples of the positive roles that public and nonprofit institutions play in Black education and development are also discussed in this chapter to suggest how community-based nonprofit youth programs can improve educational outcomes and youth development for Blacks.

Chapter 3 includes research design strategies, case profiles, data collection methods, study

sample, and data analysis approaches. Chapter 4 presents and interprets the key findings of this

study. Finally, chapter 5 discusses potential factors for gender disparities in program outcomes,

theoretical applications of the research findings, and implications for public administration and

public policy. At the end, the chapter provides recommendations and identifies future research

areas.

Chapter II. Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

This chapter provides the theoretical foundation, literature, and context for gender equity implications on the educational outcomes of nonprofit youth programs. It begins with a discussion of bias towards Black youth based on the social implicit framework and then uses the motivation theory of expectancy as a theoretical foundation to understand why nonprofit programs are necessary, important, and possible for Black youth development and how they help reduce gender differences in the educational outcomes between Black youth and their peers and between Black females and Black males. Following the theoretical framework, the chapter introduces a literature review that outlines a brief history of Black education and discusses factors that contribute to Black males' lag behind and Black youths' gender gap in education performance. This establishes an understanding of the inequities that are nurtured in the culture and history and are further aggravated by internal biases toward Black youth, and especially Black males. The chapter also discusses contributing factors to the success of high-achieving Black youth, providing implications for low-achieving Black youth, their communities, and the public system to better support Black youths' educational needs and improve their educational outcomes and development. At the last, the chapter uses Black churches and Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) as examples to discuss the success of public and nonprofit organizations in educating Black youth and Black young adults, then summarizes the positive impacts of youth service nonprofits on Black youth development, and especially on educational outcomes, and frames the promising outcomes of nonprofit youth programs in addressing the inequities facing Black youth.

Theoretical Framework

This study uses the expectancy theory of motivation as a theoretical framework to understand the on-average lower educational outcomes of Black youth compared to White youth, as well as Black males' average lower school performance compared to Black females (see Figure 1). The framework of implicit biases facilitates an understanding of the prejudice and discrimination directed toward Black youth, and especially Black males. The expectancy theory of motivation further explains how Black youths' self-expectations and motivations to perform well in schools and society could be impacted by differences in expectations or attitudes from their significant others.[9]

Figure 1

Theoretical Framework of This Study

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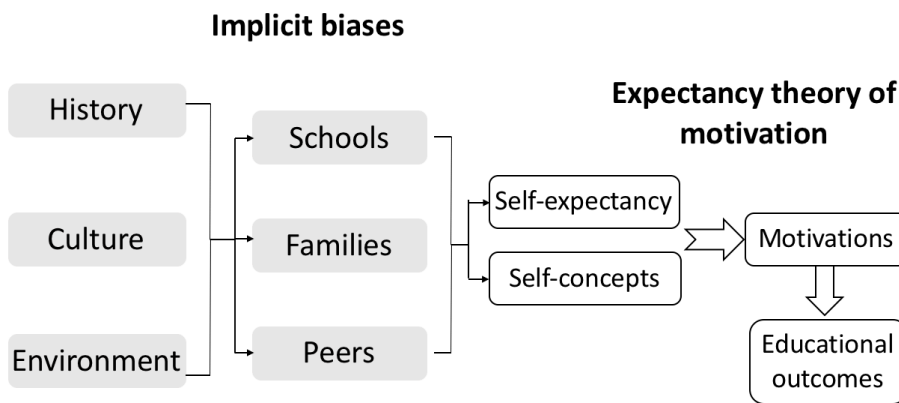
[9] Significant others in this study refer to "those who have an important influence or play a formative role in shaping the behavior of another" (Scott & Marshall, 2009). More information can be found in the online version of the Oxford Dictionary of Sociology: https://www-oxfordreference-com.proxy.library.vcu.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780199533008.001.0001/acref-9780199533008-e-2091

Understanding implicit social biases toward Black youth

      Implicit biases

      Implicit biases, also known as implicit social cognition, and originally discussed in the field of art, refer to perceptions, attitudes, and stereotypes that are out of one's control and awareness and unconsciously impact one's understanding, judgements, and behaviors toward people, products, values, and other subjects (Brownstein, 2015). This study focuses on the implicit biases toward members of social groups. Different from explicit biases that are intentionally formed and can be easily self-reported, monitored, and controlled at a certain level, implicit biases are typically hidden, unintentionally activated, and hard to voluntarily suppress (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Gibson et al., 2017). Explicit biases can also be hidden intentionally if they go against socially desirable beliefs and the holder of the explicit bias wants to behave in an unprejudiced and egalitarian way to reinforce a positive self-image (Sigall & Page, 1971; Weber & Cook, 1972). However, implicit biases are more difficult to change because they are deeply rooted in people's cognition and have formed automatic, habitual reactions (Dovidio et al., 2001). A person's attitudes and behaviors toward an object or a person are influenced by both his/her implicit and explicit biases (Dovidio et al., 2002; Wilson et al., 2000). Research reveals that implicit racial biases are closely related to spontaneous nonverbal behaviors, such as a closed body posture, a backward body lean, and less eye contact caused by discomfort when people met or worked with a Black person instead of a White person. Conversely, explicit biases are predictable in deliberative behaviors, such as lower evaluations for and more negative comments to a Black person than a White person (Dovidio et al., 1997; Wilson et al., 2000). However, a person's implicit biases do not always correspond with his/her explicit biases, and

one's implicit biases can be inconsistent or even conflict with explicit biases (Dovidio & Fazio, 1992; Dovidio et al., 2001; Wilson et al., 2000). For example, a person with an implicit prejudice against minorities may not explicitly discriminate against minorities, and may even fight against prejudice and discrimination (Brownstein & Saul, 2016). This creates even more challenges for people to recognize, control, and change their implicit biases.

Implicit in-group biases and Blacks

Most people possess implicit biases about other people inside or outside their social groups (Brownstein & Saul, 2016). Research has evidenced that people, in general, tend to characterize and evaluate in-group members more positively than out-group members (Brewer, 2007), and this group preference is positively related to in-group identity (Greenwald et al., 2002; Gibson-Wallace et al., 2015). However, people being more likely to rate out-group members below in-group members (Gaertner & McLaughlin, 1983) does not mean that out-group members are always underestimated. For example, people also give positive evaluations to out-group members with positive portrayals in society (Gibson et al., 2017). These group-related implicit biases are influenced by personal factors, such as age (Branch & Newcombe, 1986; Gibson-Wallace et al., 2015), and are also shaped by environmental and other social factors, such as the schools/colleges they attended, the attitudes of significant others, and perceptions from other groups (Gibson et al., 2017; Livingston, 2002). For example, children who are highly identified by their parents tend to absorb both explicit and implicit prejudice from their parents, while children with low parental identification are not impacted by their parents' implicit prejudices at all (Sinclair et al., 2005). Also, discrimination or negative perceptions from other groups can reduce levels of implicit in-group favoritism (Gibson et al., 2017; Livingston, 2002).

For example, Blacks who believe that Whites feel negatively toward Blacks tend to have lower levels of implicit in-group preference than Blacks who believe that most Whites like Blacks (Livingston, 2002). This can help explain the implicit biases toward the Black youth and Black males who are the focus of this study. Even though Black youth may originally have high self-esteem (Crocker & Major, 1989), the negative racial identity associated with them and low expectations from their parents, teachers, and peers, as well as social discriminations stemming from culture and history, could all lead to low implicit in-group favoritism, low self-conceptions, and negative out-group attitudes of Black youth (Allport, 1954; Livingston, 2002; Shrauger & Schoeneman, 1979). This is also why implicit biases are so common in groups that are viewed and stigmatized with social biases (Brownstein & Saul, 2016).

Research demonstrates that implicit biases are more prevalently targeted toward minorities or vulnerable populations who have an attached social stigma, such as Blacks, females, and members of LGBTQ communities (Brownstein, 2015). For example, people are more likely to associate Black males with words like "violent" and "lazy" than White males (Hall, 2001; Howard et al., 2012), give less favorable evaluations to curriculum vitae with stereotypically African American names than identical ones with White names (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004), and pay less to incarcerated Blacks than incarcerated Whites in spite of Whites' poorer health and higher rates of drug addiction (Western & Sirois, 2017). These negative attitudes and behaviors toward Blacks form a climate of miscommunication, misunderstanding, misjudgment, and distrust that could further aggravate the social discrimination and lead to bias in perspectives and expectations toward Black youth (Dovidio et al., 2002).

Expectancy theory of motivation

The expectancy theory of motivation further explains how external factors impact Black youths' intrinsic motivations and thus influence their educational performance. The expectancy theory is one of the process theories of motivation devised by Victor Vroom (Vroom, 1995). Different from content theories (e.g., Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs Theory) that concentrate on individual needs, expectancy theory focuses on psychological activities within an individual, understanding the cognitive processes of how an individual's motivations form and impact his/her behaviors and performance (Parijat & Bagga, 2014; Vroom, 1995). Expectancy theory assumes that people are subjectively rational decision makers who tend to choose an alternative when they believe it is the optimal choice among many alternatives at the time (Vroom, 1995).

According to expectancy theory, expectancy, instrumentality, and valence are the three critical elements of motivation (see Figure 2). Vroom (2005) defined motivation as "the explanation of choices made among different behaviors that are under central or voluntary control" and considers motivation "the process underlying choices that were hypothesized to be influenced by their expected consequences" (p. 247). Expectancy refers to a person's anticipation about the probability that his/her increased effort will lead to better performance; instrumentality is a person's perception of the chance that his/her good performance will lead to desirable outcomes, such as a higher salary, financial bonus, or promotion; and valence refers to the affective orientation, such as desirability, preference, value, or satisfaction, of the outcomes for the individual (Parijat & Bagga, 2014; Vroom, 1995; Van Eerde & Thierry, 1996). Expectancy theory proposes that an individual's behaviors and effort are motivated by their self-expectations of the outcomes and the anticipated value attached to these outcomes (Vroom, 1995). However, this theory does not consider outcomes as the only factor that determines behaviors and the

amount of effort to make (Oliver, 1974). Rather, this theory provides an explanation of a

cognitive process in which an individual evaluates different motivational factors and values that

he/she attaches to possible outcomes and the strength of the links between the effort and the

desired results, decides whether he/she is going to undertake the effort, and then assigns the

amount of effort he/she will take to achieve the results (Chen et al., 2006; Issac et al., 2001).

According to this theory, individuals will not be motivated to exert any effort if they believe that

their extra effort will not lead to the desired performance and/or that their intended performance

will not lead to promising outcomes with anticipated positive valences for them (Liao et al.,

2011). Expressed as a mathematical formula, motivation is the product of expectancy,

instrumentality, and valence.

Figure 2

Vroom's Expectation Theory of Motivation
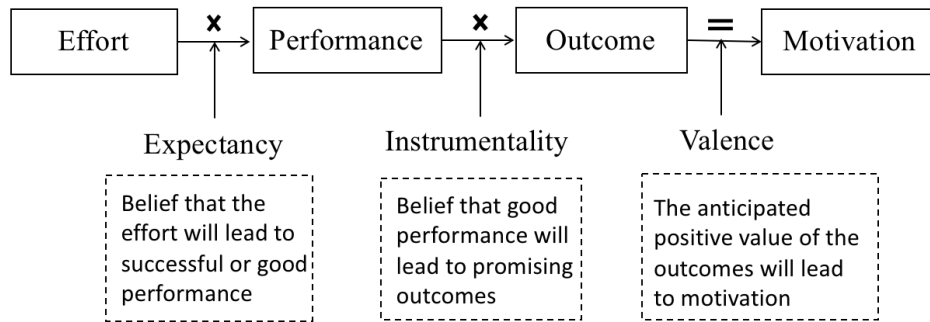
Note. This figure was adapted from http://faculty.css.edu/dswenson/web/ob/vietheory.html.

The expectancy theory of motivation understands an individual's motivation in a more

comprehensive way. It takes such individual differences as personal beliefs, needs, preferences,

and goals into consideration and recognizes that different people may be motivated by different

factors in different ways (Harold & Heinz, 1988; Parijat & Bagga, 2014). This theory was

originally developed to understand work satisfaction and work motivation (Vroom, 1995), and it

has been used frequently in various domains, such as the work motivations and performance of

public servants (Mueller, 1983; Soyoung & Sungchan, 2017), students' motivation to achieve

academic success (Harrell et al., 1985), faculty promotion in higher education (Tien, 2000),

employees' motivation in attending training courses (Abadi et al., 2011), bloggers' motivation

(Liao et al., 2011), and young consumers' motivation to use artificial intelligence tools (Chopra,

2019). However, this theory also receives criticism due to difficulties in accurately measuring

variables related to expectancy, instrumentality, and valence, as well as its idealistic assumption

that people are clear about their goals and always act as rational decision makers (Baron et al.,

2002; Parijat & Bagga, 2014).

Expectancy theory provides a framework to understand the relationships among

expectations, effort, performance, outcomes, and goals, which is helpful in understanding Black

youths' behaviors and educational performance. According to this theory, Black youth would be

motivated to perform well in school if they believe that their effort will lead to good performance

and that their good performance will help them achieve the benefits they anticipate, such as

praise or rewards from parents, recognition from peers, scholarships and awards from school, or

better internship opportunities. However, living in a culture where prejudice, exclusion, and

discriminations frequently affect minority populations (Davis, 2009; Willie & McCord, 1972),

Black youths are more likely to receive low expectations and evaluations from their teachers,

peers, and others (Grant, 1984; Johnson, 2000), leading to their low motivation to achieve good

performance. Also, Black males have a higher chance of receiving lower expectations from their

parents, teachers, and peers than Black females and other peers (e.g., Ferguson, 2001; Fordham

& Ogbu, 1986; Hill, 1999), which contributes to a gender difference in educational performance

between Black males and Black females, as well as racial difference in education outcomes between Black youth and other racial groups. Prior research explains that teachers' expectations could indirectly influence students' behaviors and educational performance by lowering their self-perceptions and expectations of the probability that their efforts will lead to great performance (Good & Brophy, 2007). For example, since teachers usually hold low expectations of Black males and high expectations of Black females, and treat them differently in schools (Noguera, 2001, 2003; Ross & Jackson, 1991; Washington, 1982), Black males and Black females are likely to internalize their teachers' expectations, leading to different self-expectations about the performance resulting from their efforts. This can reduce Black males' effort and lower their motivations for working hard at school, leading to poorer school performance compared to Black females and other peers (Hudley & Graham, 2001).

This theory not only posits a way to explain the school performance of Black youth; it opens the possibility of altering Black males' expectations for education and changing their educational outcomes (Wood et al., 2007). Black males' self-expectations about the links between their efforts and successful performance and between their performance and outcomes are influenced by all the expectations, attitudes, and behaviors from their teachers, peers, parents, friends, and other significant others, even though the impacts can be different from different people. For example, some people's high expectations of Black males can moderate the negative impacts of low expectations from others and even improve Black males' self-expectations of educational performance. This suggests and justifies that interventions from a third organization, the nonprofit youth programs, could be a promising way to improve Black males' educational performance and narrow the achievement gap between White youth and Black youth and between Black males and Black females by reducing or even eliminating the negative impacts of

teacher and parent expectations of Black youths' education outcomes and improving Black youths' self-expectations and motivations for education. Moreover, minority leaders, and especially Black male leaders in nonprofit organizations, could serve as role models for Black youth and also help them see the possibility of being successful in their careers and the value of getting recognition from their communities. This could increase the valence Black males attach to the outcomes of their good performance, which will further motivate them to achieve better educational outcomes.

The rest of this chapter will provide an overview of the history of Black education, discuss the factors impacting Black youths' educational outcomes, and use examples to demonstrate the positive roles that public and nonprofit institutions can play in Black youth development and Black education, suggesting the necessity and possibility of using nonprofit youth programs to improve Black youths' educational outcomes and reduce gender disparities in the outcomes.

A Brief History of Black Education

A picture of Black education will be helpful to understand the school performance of Black youth, and especially the racial gap in educational achievements. Blacks have a long history of battling for educational opportunities and equity (Asamen, 1989). Before 1865, formal education was rarely available for Black children, because it was against laws in most slave-holding states during that time to provide education for Blacks who were enslaved in the U.S. (Asamen, 1989; Woodson, 1915). Education was withheld from Black school-age children to maintain enslavement, and Black youths were widely considered mentally inferior to Whites (Lieberson, 1980). With the end of the slavery, changes occurred slowly. Congress passed a law

to divide school funds to Black students in the District of Columbia in 1864, but it was not well-implemented on the ground, where most school officials ignored the policy or schools were built only for White children rather than Black children, even though funds were allocated to Black students (Asamen, 1989). The discrimination and inequity continued. In the 1870s, Jim Crow laws enforced racial segregation in the education system, and especially in schools in the South (Fremon, 2000). Black students attended separate, inferior "Black schools" that were usually short of funding, teachers, and facilities and where they were also subjected to physical violence and threats (Asamen, 1989; Weinberg, 1991). Some White educators even labeled Black colleges as an "academic disaster area" in late 1960s (Jencks & Riesman, 1967, p. 26). However, researchers later found that Black students attending Black colleges and universities do as well as or even better in academic achievement and graduation than their peers attending White colleges and universities (Kim, 2002; Kim & Conrad, 2006; Toldson, 2018; Wenglinsky, 1996).

In the 1950s, the rise of the civil rights movement became an engine for educational reforms that fought against segregation and institutional and individual racism across all areas of schooling, from teaching practice to staff employment (Weinberg, 1991). Later, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited discrimination on the grounds of race, color, religion, or national origin (The Library of Congress, n.d.). The federal government was committed to the educational needs of Black youth and took responsibility for overseeing desegregation and educational equity efforts (Orfield, 1978). The whole country experienced "the period of peak action toward large-scale and substantial school desegregation" from 1966 to 1976 (Dentler, 1991, p.33). During the 1972-73 school year, 22 percent (about 9.8 million) of national public-school enrollment was comprised of minority students, of which 33 percent were enrolled in unsegregated public schools (Dentler, 1991). However, education reform did not achieve educational equity due to

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widespread ineffective implementation of the policy (Weinberg, 1991). Black youths were still

the most likely to be enrolled in segregated schools (Orfield, 1978). In 1974, about 40 percent of

Black students and 30 percent of Latino students were enrolled in predominantly minority

schools (Orfield, 1978, p.56, footnote 48). Because of long-standing racial segregation in

education, it was also difficult for Black youth to integrate into school communities when they

were enrolled in predominantly White schools, where they had a high probability of being

isolated from the White majorities, who were often prejudiced against Blacks (Willie & McCord,

1972). It was not until the early 1970s that both Black and White students age 5 to 19 shared

similar enrollment rates, increasing to about 90 percent, even though most Blacks were still in

resource-starved and racially isolated schools (Dentler, 1991; Snyder, 1993). The following brief

historical overview provides a context to better understand the contemporary academic standings

of Black youth.

The colonial era and enslavement (1619-1860): Self-help and sporadic school education

    Historical context

    Many settlers came to the United States in the 1660s. The earliest reported African

colonists in the United States were twenty involuntarily indentured servants[10] sold by a Dutch

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[10] Indentured servants were laborers with a contracted service term of a few (usually four to seven) years
(Rodriguez, 2007). They were unpaid during their indenture, but they received properties (e.g., land, room, corn)
and freedom dues after completing their term of service. They were released and allowed to participate in civil fairs
(Rodriguez, 2007). Also, their servant status did not pass to their children. However, during their indenture, servants
were completely under the authority of their masters, which was very similar to slavery (Kolchin,1993). Their
masters could punish them, force them to marry, sell them, and even extend a servant's contract if the servant broke
a law, such as escaping, disobedience, or childbearing (Kolchin,1993). Most of these early African indentured
servants were not released and became lifelong servants because slavery was legalized in many colonies soon after
they arrived (Rodriguez, 2007).

captain in Jamestown, Virginia in 1619 (Grizzard & Smith, 2007). In 1626, pirates sold sixteen Blacks to the Dutch West India Company in the New Netherlands, a Dutch colony consisting of the parts of the states New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Connecticut, and Delaware. These migrants, joined by several Black women who arrived two years later, created a free Black community in New Amsterdam (present-day New York City) after they were emancipated (Hodges, 1999). Later, more Black slaves were brought to the colonies, including New Amsterdam, Virginia, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maryland, Louisiana, and Delaware, to meet the growing demand for labor (Hodges, 1999; Rodriguez, 2007). By the end of 1690s, almost every colony had slaves. An estimated 81 percent of slaves lived in Southern colonies, and 19 percent lived in the Northern colonies in America by 1700 (Rodriguez, 2007). They were the dominant labor force in these colonies.

Beginning in the 1640s, colonies passed a spate of laws to regulate the growing Black slave population (Kolchin, 1993). Massachusetts was the first colony to legalize slavery in 1641, giving statutory recognition to the slave trade and the enslavement of Blacks and other minority people (Rodriguez, 2007). One year later, Virginia passed a law that specified fines for people who harbor runaways. Connecticut legally recognized the institution of slavery in 1650 and later enacted a statute that banned Blacks from serving in the militia in 1660. One year later, Virginia legally recognized slavery in a statute, suggesting the transformation of indentured servant status into enslavement in the colony. In 1662, another law was passed in Virginia declaring that children should inherit the status of their mothers (free or bound) only. Shortly after, other colonies, such as Maryland, New York, and New Jersey, also passed statutes to legislate slavery (Rodriguez, 2007). By the end of 18th century, the institution of slavery had received wide legal recognition across the colonies in the Americas. In general, these statutes stipulated the

permanent status and lifelong service of slaves, the hereditary of slavery from parents (mostly mothers) to children, limited rights and freedoms for slaves (e.g., in many cases slaves were forbidden from voting, leaving home without permission, attending public gatherings, suing/testifying against Whites, entering into interracial marriage, and obtaining education), the prohibition of carrying weapons as a slave, discouragement of freeing slaves, and severe punishment for slaves who challenged White authority (Kolchin, 1993; Stroud, 1856).

The impacts on Black education

The institution of slavery created great barriers for Blacks, and especially Black slaves, to receive education. In fact, most slave-holding states legally withheld education from Blacks and other non-White inhabitants during the antebellum period (Jackson, 2001). Literacy was considered a symbol of resistance to slavery because White elites were concerned that Black literacy would break the power relationship between owners and slaves and give slaves a path to freedom (Williams, 2005). As early as 1740, South Carolina passed a statute that prohibited anyone from directly or indirectly teaching slaves to write and hiring or using slaves to write after the Stono Rebellion, in which slaves killed over twenty Whites in an escape attempt (Brevard, 1814; Williams, 2005). Later, South Carolina further banned any assemblies attended by slaves and free Blacks for mental instruction in any places in 1800 and subjected each slave or free Black to up to 20 lashes for breaking this law (McCord, 1840; Stroud, 1856). In 1834, teaching or assisting free Black people, including slaves, to read and write was considered illegal in South Carolina, and lawbreakers could be subjected to fine, imprisonment, and/or corporal punishment based on their social status (McCord, 1840). Other states passed similar statutes during this period. Beginning in 1770, Georgia enacted statutes to prevent any instruction on

writing and reading for slaves, Negroes, or free Black people and even the use or employment of these people to assist business through writing (Cobb, 1851). Alabama banned instruction on spelling, reading, and writing for slaves and free Black persons in 1832 (Clay, 1843); Virginia placed prohibitions on teaching Negroes to read and write in 1849 (The General Assembly of Virginia, 1849); and North Carolina not only forbade free persons from teaching slaves to read and write but also made it illegal to give or sell any books or pamphlets to a slave (*The Revised Statutes*, 1837). In general, many states spared no effort to control Black literacy and Blacks' access to information and knowledge about anti-slavery efforts in order to reduce the risk of slaves subverting the system (Williams, 2005). These repressive actions resulted in a sharp decline in Black literacy, which fell from 25 percent in the late 1820s to about 2 percent in 1860 (Wilson, 1977). Acquiring literacy became extremely difficult for Blacks, and especially enslaved communities.

However, in spite of strict legislative constraints and great challenges, there were still some groups, such as the Puritans and the Quakers, who educated enslaved and free Black people. These groups promoted the education and equality of Blacks in colonies by teaching Black children and adults to read and write, providing places for religious instruction, and sponsoring and even opening schools for Blacks (Harrison, 1893; Morgan, 1995). For example, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), founded by the Puritans in 1661, established hundreds of schools that encouraged Black students to attend, and Puritan leaders also appealed to slave owners in the South to provide books so their slaves could learn how to read (Cornelius, 1991; Harrison, 1893). In the 1700s, with the support from the SPG in Foreign Parts and organized by the Church of England, Elias Neau (1662-1722) started the first school for Blacks in New York City. Neau started offering religious instruction to Black slaves house-

by-house at night when slaves completed their work in 1704 (Hewitt, 2000). One year later, he was able to gather slaves together at Trinity Church for instruction, and he later moved instruction to his house due to the growth of the student population (Woodson, 1915). In October 1705, there were 28 female and 18 male slaves in Neau's class (Hewitt, 2000). By 1708, the total number of students had increased to 200 (Woodson, 1915). However, Neau's school faced great public outcry and postponed instruction due to a slave uprising in 1712 (Morgan, 1995). The Whites blamed the school for filling Blacks' minds with inflammatory ideas (Hewitt, 2000). Nevertheless, the school soon reopened after no connection was found between the school and the uprising, and it was operated until 1770 by another eight ministers (Morgan, 1995). Even though Neau was not an abolitionist, he and his school made great contributions to both slave education and racial justice in New York City (Hewitt, 2000).

The Quakers, a Christian group that opposed the slavery system, opened and sponsored schools for poor children and were active and persistent in advocating for emancipation and equity for Blacks (Cazden, 2013). The Quakers established societies, such as the "Society for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage" and the "Manumission Society," to organize abolitionist activities and advocate for education for Blacks (Cazden, 2013). They also sponsored schools for minority children in areas such as Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Baltimore, Boston, and New York City (Reef, 2009). The African Free School, founded by members of the Manumission Society in 1787, provided education for slaves and free Black people in New York City (Rury, 1983). It gained a reputation for its success in cultivating many famous graduates, who later became leaders in Black and White communities and continued fighting against slavery in different fields (Morgan, 1995).

A growing number of free Black people and even Whites also contributed to Black education during slavery (Hewitt, 2000; Morgan, 1995; Reef, 2009). For example, Christopher McPherson (1763-1817), born a slave but freed by his owner in 1792, founded a night school for free Blacks and slaves in Richmond, Virginia in 1811 (Morgan, 1995). The school started with 25 students and covered such subjects as geography, astronomy, arithmetic, and English. Satisfied with early education outcomes, McPherson advertised in a Richmond newspaper to recruit more students and recommended similar schools for Blacks across the country, which greatly annoyed local White residents (McPherson, 1855). The advertisement was withdrawn, and McPherson was sent to jail (McPherson, 1855). Daniel Alexander Payne (1811-1893), a man of African, European, and Native American descent, was self-taught after finishing early grades in schools and became an educator for Blacks. Payne opened his first school in South Carolina in 1829, starting with three free Black children and three adult slaves (Morgan, 1995). He closed the school at the end of the year due to the modest payment, but the school was reopened in 1830, and the number of students quickly increased to 60 (Morgan, 1995). It soon became a popular school for minority people and continued to operate until 1835, when a law was enforced to prohibit education for slaves and free Black people in South Carolina (Payne, 1888). Payne became a bishop in the African Methodist Church in 1852 and persuaded the church to purchase Wilberforce University to expand Black higher education (Morgan, 1995). In 1863, Payne became the president of Wilberforce University, the first African American-led, private, and historically Black university in the United States; Payne was known as the first Black president of a predominantly Black university in the country (Arnett & Mitchell, 1885). Prudence Crandall (1803-1890) was a White woman who opened a female school for Whites in Connecticut in 1831 (Reef, 2009). She admitted a Black, nonresident woman in her school in 1832, which led to the

withdrawal of many White students (Reef, 2009). The school was temporarily closed in 1832 and

reopened in 1833 as a new school for Black girls, which ignited greater anger and hostility from

local White people (Strane, 1990). Crandall was arrested for violating a law passed in 1833 that

banned schools from teaching Black students in Connecticut. The school was finally closed in

1834, after an angry mob destroyed the school facilities and threated students' safety (Strane,

1990). Other individuals, such as Charles A. Avery (1784-1858), John Jay (1745-1829),

Benjamin Rush (1746-1813), Anthony Benezet (1713-1784), and Abiel Smith (1746-1815), also

made significant contributions to Black education (Jeynes, 2007; Morgan, 1995).

In addition to these efforts, slaves also found their own ways to learn, including by

secretly listening to and memorizing their owners' conversations, other people's discussions, and

White people's reading aloud (Williams, 2005). Some slaves also shared information in prayer

meetings and taught each other in secret gatherings (Reef, 2009; Woodson, 1915). Some read

discarded newspapers at night to learn about updated news and taught children secretly at home

(Williams, 2005). Also, some slaves (e.g., Frederick Douglass, Christopher McPherson) received

instruction from their White owners and/or learned from the White children for whom they were

caretakers (Reef, 2009; Wilson, 1977). Slaves tried different ways to educate themselves in spite

of opposition.

Progress in Black education

In general, many Blacks, and especially those who were enslaved in the South, relied on

self-help, informal tutoring, and/or sporadic school education to obtain education during this

period. Only a small portion of Blacks were able to attend school and go to college. Usually, free

Blacks had more opportunities for formal school instruction and high-quality education than

slaves during the colonial period, and the education of Black children was more sporadic and less reliable after 1800, especially in most slave-holding states, which legally opposed Black education, compared to free states in the north (Morgan, 1995). However, some Blacks who received education in the North, such as Josiah Bishop (1750-1824), Lemuel Haynes (1753-1833), and Richard Allen (1760-1831), made remarkable achievements in their fields, not only challenging Whites' negative stereotypes of Blacks but also greatly inspiring Blacks' desire and determination for freedom (Jeynes, 2007).

Civil War and Reconstruction (1861-1877): Turbulence, suspension, and opposition in education

Historical context

The long-standing dispute about slavery between the Northern and Southern states led to the outbreak of the American Civil War in 1861, following an increase of escape attempts and rebellions by slaves (Keegan, 2011). In 1860, Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865) was elected as the president of the United States. Because Lincoln's Republication Party proclaimed support for the abolishment of slavery across the country, Lincoln's inauguration ignited great anger among the Southern states, which fought to maintain the institution of slavery. In February 1861, the seven slave-holding states of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Texas declared their secession from the Union and formed the Confederate States of America (Confederacy) (McPherson, 1988). In April 1861, the Confederate forces bombarded Fort Sumter, a fort in Charleston, South Carolina. This battle ended with the surrender and evacuation of the Union Army and opened the four-year American Civil War (McPherson, 1988).

Following the first battle in Fort Sumter, both the Confederacy and Union spared no effort to recruit volunteers to bolster their military forces. Lincoln issued a proclamation, calling for 75,000 volunteers in 90 days, to recapture the fort and protect the Union (McPherson, 1988). The mass militia recruitment received quick responses in some states but encountered resistance in some other states that were unsupportive of the call. Four slave-holding states, Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia, even seceded from the Union and joined the Confederacy (Eicher, 2001). In 1862, the Union Army invaded Richmond in an attempt to capture the capital of Confederacy and end the war (Burton, 2007). However, the Union troops were defeated in the Seven Days Battles, which led to a full-scale war to overturn the Confederacy and reconstruct the Union (Burton, 2007; McPherson, 1988). The Union called for more troops to speedily defeat the rebellion (McPherson, 1988). Because not many young men were willing to volunteer for a three-year enlistment after heavy casualties in earlier battles, the government offered incentives and enacted laws to recruit militiamen. In particular, the new war policy allowed the president to enroll Black people for war services (Statutes at Large, 1862). In January 1863, Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, which declared freedom for all slaves in rebellious sections and accepted the enrollment of Blacks into the Union Army and Navy (Olsen, 2006). This proclamation greatly increased Blacks' enthusiasm for freedom. Over the course of the war, about 199,000 Black men served as solders for the Union and fought for freedom; 40,000 died in the war (Schamel & West, 1992).

In April 1865, the Civil War ended with the surrender of all Confederate forces, suggesting a great victory in ending the institution of slavery. While the Civil War made a great contribution in freeing slaves, it was considered one of the bloodiest and most ferocious wars in the history of United States (Keegan, 2011). The war cost about 5.2 billion dollars in total and

caused over 1.198 million casualties, including deaths in battles; wounds, diseases, and accidents; desertions; and discharges over four years (Livermore, 1990). A lot of families lost their homes, farms, crops, labor, and family members, and some suffered from starvation (Olsen, 2006).

The era of Reconstruction began right after the end of the Civil War in 1865. After Lincoln was assassinated, Andrew Johnson (1808-1875), the previous Vice President, assumed the Presidency and released plans for Reconstruction in May 1865 that required all Southern states to embrace the abolishment of slavery before being readmitted to the Union (Rodriguez, 2007). However, President Johnson's power was greatly weakened by Congress due to disagreements about Reconstruction policy (Rodriguez, 2007). In December 1865, Congress passed the Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution, legally prohibiting slavery and involuntary servitude in the United States (U.S. Congress, 1865). Next, Congress passed a series of bills, many of which were passed over the veto of President Johnson, to protect the rights of newly freed African Americans. The Civil Rights Act was passed in 1866 despite the president's veto, declaring that all people born in the United States were citizens and enjoyed equal rights. In 1868, Congress implemented the Fourteenth Amendment to mandate equal protection of the laws for all citizens, and in 1870, it approved the Fifteenth Amendment to guarantee the voting rights of all citizens, including African Americans (Olsen, 2006). In 1875, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1875, which outlawed racial discrimination in public places and facilities (Donald, 1970). However, these bills did not achieve their desired goals, and some were later weakened or even declared unconstitutional in a series of U.S. Supreme Court decisions, such as *Slaughter-House Cases* (1873) and *Civil Rights Cases* (1883) (Rodriguez, 2007). The era of Reconstruction ended in 1877, which also signaled an end to efforts to protect the civil and political rights of

African Americans (Olsen, 2006). Ending slavery turned out to be a national effort without clear goals and strategies (Rodriguez, 2007). Freedom was an unrealized promise for freed slaves, who received freedom but did not get the necessities to support their transition from former slaves to independent farmers (Donald, 1970; Rodriguez, 2007). A large number of free slaves died of malnutrition, starvation, disease, homelessness, and revenge killings in their migrations during the postwar period (Downs, 2012; Rodriguez, 2007).

The impacts on Black education

The Civil War greatly disrupted the education system for both Whites and Blacks across the country, and especially in the South. Many schools were forced to close or suspend operations due to modest student enrollment, limited teacher availability, and a serious shortage of funding (Reef, 2009). A large number of students and teachers joined the armies during the war, and school attendance was interrupted by battles, disease, family financial crises, and the need for children to work to support families in a time of economic depression. In addition, soldiers sometimes occupied schools and used them as shelters for food, clothes, and supplies, which interrupted their operation (Reef, 2009). Despite these interruptions in education, there were some positive efforts in both the South and North to improve education. The Confederacy criticized and revised the textbooks published in the North and produced 93 new textbooks and 25 revised editions before the end of the war (Clausen, 1977). In the Union, President Lincoln signed the Morrill Act of 1862, which donated Federal land to several states so they could sell and use land grants to fund colleges to provide agricultural and technical education (Lee & Keys, 2013). By 1994, a total of 104 institutions had joined the land grant system, including such flagship institutions as Cornell University, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and the

University of Florida (Cross, 1999). The first Black land grant college, Alcorn State University, was founded in 1871 in Mississippi. In 1872, Virginia established the second Black land grant college, Hampton University (Cross, 1999; Eddy, 1956). By 1997, land-grant colleges had educated about 20 million students, including more than 700,000 who graduated from 17 predominantly Black land grant institutions (Cross, 1999).

There were also positive efforts to improve Black education during this time. During the war, numerous slaves fled and sought protection from Union forces stationed in the South (Reef, 2009). These Southern slaves worked for Union forces, reestablished families, built churches, started small trades, and had a particularly strong desire to learn (Butchart, 2010). To meet the great demand for schools by freed slaves and prepare them to be citizens, the army, charitable groups, and missionaries, both Black and White, joined hands to create a public school system for Black students, including formerly enslaved and free Blacks, in the South (Cross, 1999; Reef, 2009). In 1865, there were an estimated 1,400 teachers (most White) instructing Black students in 975 schools in the South (Reef, 2009). The freed Blacks also built their own schools and taught Black students. Prior to support from missionary societies and freedmen's aid groups, Black teachers opened private schools for Black students in Washington and Baltimore, and they later opened free schools in Virginia and South Carolina (Butchart, 2010). The number of Southern Black teachers actively involved in Black school instruction and expansion increased from about 40 in 1861 to over 280 in 1867 (Butchart, 2010). It is estimated that there were at least 500 schools that were built exclusively by ex-slaves throughout the South by 1866 (Alvord, 1866).

Missionary groups, such as The American Missionary Association (AMA), made great contributions to Black education during this time. The AMA missionaries opened the first two

schools for Blacks in Norfolk, Virginia in 1863, followed by large and fast-growing enrollments (Reef, 2009). One of these schools received 550 enrollments for day school only three days after its opening, and the number of day school enrollments increased to 700 one month later, which did not count an additional estimated 1,100 enrollments for night classes (Reef, 2009). The AMA continued to open schools and recruit more teachers for Black students. In 1862, it commissioned 15 teachers and a few other missionaries in Virginia and South Carolina; one year later, the AMA had 83 teachers and more than 20 other missionaries across eight states, and the number of teachers and missionaries increased to 250 between 1864 and 1865 (De Boer, 1973). The AMA also trained future Black teachers through normal schools and colleges. It had chartered seven institutions of higher learning by the end of 1869, and it opened 14 non-chartered normal and high schools by 1876 (Johnson & Harter, n.d.). Between 1861 and 1871, the AMA commissioned a total of 3,470 teachers and missionaries, who taught over 160,000 students at 343 day schools and over 150,000 students in night and Sunday schools (De Boer, 1973). By 1888, the AMA schools had provided trainings to 7,000 teachers (Johnson & Harter, n.d.).

Another organization that worked closely with the AMA to build schools for freed Blacks was the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, known as Freedmen's Bureau (Cimbala & Miller, 1999). The Freedmen's Bureau was established by Congress in 1865 to support the transformation of former Black slaves and refugees from slavery to freedom in the South after the Civil War (Rodriguez, 2007). It offered supports to needy people, including food, clothing, temporary camps, medicine, education, legal support, employment, and assistance in racial confrontations. In particular, the Freedmen's Bureau built a large number of schools for freed people (Reef, 2009; Wilson, 1977). Within five years of its establishment, the Bureau had opened 4,239 separate schools and employed 9,307 teachers who taught 247,333 students in the

South (Wilson, 1977). In 1865, Black enrollment in the Bureau's schools was 71,000; only three years later, the enrollment increased by 60.6 percent, reaching 114,000 in 1869 (Reef, 2009). From 1865 to 1870, the Bureau invested a total of 5 million dollars in school buildings for freed people, which accounted for over half of all recorded investments in freed people's education in the same period (Cimbala & Miller, 1999). These schools provided courses on reading, writing, geography, and virtue. The Bureau also provided industrial training for students who wanted to become manual laborers (Reef, 2009). In addition to schools that offered secondary or industrial education, the Bureau also founded colleges for higher education, such as Atlanta University, Fisk University, Howard University, and Morehouse College, to train teachers for the freed men (Cimbala & Miller, 1999; Wilson, 1977). The Bureau was closed in 1872 due to insufficient institutional resources, White opposition, and the limitations of Reconstruction policy and practice (Cimbala, 1997; Cimbala & Miller, 1999). However, this does not detract from the Bureau's great contributions toward building the public education system in the South and facilitating freedom and equality.

In spite of these great efforts, Black people and their supporters faced great opposition from local Whites when it came to teaching freed Blacks during this era. Teachers and founders of Black schools faced great hostility and discrimination from White supremacists (Butchart, 2010; Jeynes, 2007; Vaughn, 1974, etc.). For example, a White resident in North Carolina had to close his school for freed people after six weeks due to public outrage toward his work in early 1866 (Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands [The Freedmen's Bureau], 1867). Another White couple in the same state also faced outrage and threatening words from their neighbors because they founded a Black school for former slaves (The Freedmen's Bureau, 1867). Also, teachers who had worked in a Black school usually found it difficult to find a job in

a White school, and they often faced different forms of contempt and discrimination from the local community (Daniel, 1968; General Services Administration [GSA], 1969). They were often insulted, harassed, and/or isolated by White opponents (Butchart, 2010; GSA, 1969; The Freedmen's Bureau, 1867, etc.). Sometimes White opponents even broke into teachers' houses, fired shots through open doors, threw bricks or stones at their windows, and threatened their lives (Butchart, 2010). Opponents of Black education also destroyed Black schools and Black churches that offered spaces for Black education, refused to board teachers or sell buildings for classrooms, denied students' access to classrooms, or attacked and terrorized Black students to discourage them from going to school (Butchart, 2010; Gregory, 1976; Nixon et al., 1973; Vaughn, 1974, etc.).

The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) is a well-known, aggressive hate group that also resisted Black education during this time (Jeynes, 2007). The KKK sent threatening letters to teachers in Black schools and published threatening notes in magazines, claiming they would kill the teachers if they continued teaching freed Blacks (Anderson, 1988; Swint, 1967). The KKK also attacked teachers in freed schools through flogging, driving them out of the county and using other methods of violence and intimidation. Critically, members of the KKK, in their day-to-day capacities, could and did refuse to rent buildings for educating Blacks. Under cover, they often burned down schools for Blacks (Butchart, 2010; Swint, 1967). For example, the KKK broke up a school in Clarksville, Texas established by Charles Goldberg in 1867, forcing Goldberg to flee to Arkansas for safety (Nixon et al., 1973). In Franklin County, Tennessee, a school for freed Blacks was burned down eight days after its establishment in 1869 (The Freedmen's Bureau, 1869). Some teachers, such as Richard Burke and Benjamin F. Randolph, were even killed by Whites for educating Blacks (Butchart, 2010).

In the 1860s and 1870s, opponents of Black education burned or tore down hundreds of Black schoolhouses. In 1865 alone, twelve Black schools, four Black churches, and more than ninety Black homes were destroyed in Memphis, Tennessee (Butchart, 2010). In July 1869, 37 Black school buildings were burned down by White opponents in Tennessee (Vaughn, 1974). Incendiarism become a potent means for White supremacists to protest Black education, and many Northern teachers left their schools or were forced to give up teaching Black students after receiving frequent threats from White opponents (Butchart, 2010). An end to slavery brought great opportunities for Black students to access education, but Reconstruction was also full of fire, violence, and resistance.

Progress in Black education

In general, thousands of schools were established in the South to provide education for Black people between the Civil War and the Reconstruction era. Blacks' burgeoning demand for literacy caused continually increasing school enrollment in the first decade of freedom, with instances of over 100 students in each class for one single teacher (Butchart, 2010). Some schools even had to temporarily close the door to new students because they did not have enough space or resources to accommodate more pupils (Butchart, 2010). Within a single decade, Black school enrollment increased dramatically, from less than 2 percent on the eve of the American Civil War to about 10 percent by 1870, and the enrollment would have been even higher if the schools had had enough teachers and funds to support more students (Bond, 1934; Butchart, 2010; U.S. Office of Education, 1882). Between 1861 and 1876, the Freedmen's Teacher Project identified a total of 11,672 teachers (56.4 percent were Southern) staffed in schools for freed people, of which about 35.5 percent were Black, 40.3 percent were White, and 24.2 percent were

of unknown race (Butchart, 2010). By the end of the Civil War, the literacy of African

Americans was estimated to be about 3 percent in the South (Reef, 2009), which was still very

low compared to the literacy rates of most Northern cities (ranging from 64 percent to 97

percent) fifteen years before the war in 1850 (Bergman & Bergman, 1969). In 1900, African

Americans had improved their literacy rate by over 400 percent compared to the Black literacy

level at the end of the Civil War (Butchart, 2010).

Racial segregation (1878-1940s): separate but unequal education

Historical context

The end of Reconstruction and the weakening impacts of Reconstruction policies led to

another wave of White supremacist restrictions on, and deprival of, Black citizens' civil rights

(Rodriguez, 2007). In 1883, the U.S. Supreme Court concluded that the Civil Rights Act of 1875

was unconstitutional in five civil rights cases (*The Civil Rights Cases*, 1883), which spurred

increased racial discrimination across the country. In 1896, Homer Plessy, a freeman who had

seven-eighths White and one-eighth African blood, sat in a Whites-only car on a train and was

arrested after he refused to move to the African American car (*Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896).

Plessy's attorney argued that racial segregation on railroad cars was in conflict with the U.S.

Constitution. However, the U.S. Supreme Court concluded that no discrimination was found in

the Louisiana Separate Car Act, and that separate accommodations do not mean different and

unequal accommodations for Whites and Blacks (*Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896). The "Separate but

Equal" doctrine, upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court, led to an increasingly serious racial caste

system, which was ruled by Jim Crow laws in the South (Groves, 1951; Tyack, 1967). Some

Southern states adopted provisions, such as poll taxes, literacy tests, and record-keeping

requirements, to limit Black citizens' right to vote. Others cut back on school expenditures, and especially for Black schools, resulting in unequal educational resources and facilities between Black schools and White schools (Tyack, 1967). Racial discriminations arose in various areas, such as education, public accommodation, employment, voting, and housing, in both the South and North (Alexander, 2012; Tyack, 1967).

In the South, Black political participation was greatly restricted under Jim Crow laws (Alexander, 2012; Pildes, 2000; Tyack, 1967, etc.). The Southern states adopted such tactics as manipulating ballots, gerrymandering election districts based on race, using dilutive structural devices, and producing legislation to limit suffrage, which reduced the voting participation of both Blacks and poor Whites (Pildes, 2000). Mississippi passed a constitution in November 1890 that required literacy tests and poll taxes for voting (Miss. Const. art. XII, § 243, 244). The Constitution of 1890 also mandated separate schools for White children and minority children (Miss. Const. art. VIII, § 207). Soon after, other Southern states successively instituted similar voter-suppression statutes to prevent African Americans from voting, including South Carolina (convention, 1895), Louisiana (convention, 1898), North Carolina (amendment, 1900), Alabama (convention, 1901), Virginia (convention, 1902), Texas (amendment, 1902), Georgia (amendment, 1908), and more (Pildes, 2000). These disenfranchising statutes dramatically reduced the number of Black voters. In Louisiana, the number of Black voters dropped from 130,334 (about the same as White voters) in 1896, to 5,320 in 1900 (Franklin & Moss, 1988; Tyack, 1967), to 730 in 1910, accounting for less than 0.5 percent of all eligible Black men (Pildes, 2000). In Alabama, only 3,000 Black males were registered to vote after the adoption of the new convention in 1901, compared to the 181,471 Black men who were eligible to vote in 1900 (Franklin & Moss, 1988). In other states, such as Virginia and North Carolina, Black voters

were eliminated from Presidential elections after the new statutes went into effect (Pildes, 2000). During the Reconstruction era, there were about 2,000 Black people working in political offices of different levels, varying from Supreme Courts down to county governments (Foner, 1966; Pildes, 2000). However, the number of Black officers dropped dramatically by 1880 because of violence and intimidation from White supremacists (Pildes, 2000). The disenfranchisement of Black political power led to more serious discrimination against Black people in other areas.

Racial violence also frequently broke out during this time, especially in the Progressive Era (1890-1920). "The Great Migration" from South to North in the United States caused increasing racial tensions (Tyack, 1967). Between April and November of 1919, there were 27 major race riots and lynchings across the United States (e.g., in Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Illinois, etc.). Among these, the Chicago race riot of 1919 was considered the worst (McWhirter, 2011). In July 1919, a Black boy was pelted and drowned after swimming across the segregation line of a beach reserved by the Whites, which triggered a thirteen-day racial riot between White Americans and African Americans (Tyack, 1967). In this racial violence, 38 people died (23 Blacks and 15 Whites), 537 were injured, and more than 1,000 people (most Black) lost their homes (Tuttle, 1996). Between 1882 and 1964, more than 3,000 African Americans were killed by lynching, according to official records, and the unofficial number is estimated to be over 10,000 (Johnson, 2003). In addition, Southern states enacted racially biased laws that defined behaviors such as "mischief" and "insulting gestures" as crimes (Johnson, 2003). Most former Confederate states, except Tennessee and Arkansas, also enacted the Vagrancy Act in 1865 and 1866, wherein free Blacks and mulattos over eighteen were considered criminals if they did not have a labor contract (Blackmon, 2008; Johnson, 2003). Tens of thousands of Blacks were sent to prison under these laws, and many of them were sold to

private contractors to pay off court costs and fines through hard labor (Alexander, 2012). In some states, Blacks made up 80 to 90 percent of all prisoners, and the majority of them were leased to factories and mines (Johnson, 2003). A large number of these Black prisoners were killed due to overwork, injuries, diseases, punishments, and deplorable working conditions (Blackmon, 2008).

The impacts on Black education

Reconstruction had established a universal, public education system in the South (Anderson, 1988), and there were a large number of Black schools built by philanthropic foundations during the Jim Crow era in spite of White hostility (Fleishman, 2007; Pincham, 2005). The proportion of young people ages 5 to 19 enrolled in school increased from about 57.8 percent in 1880 to 74.8 percent in 1940 (Snyder, 1993). Nevertheless, public education in the South generally lagged behind the North during this period (Margo, 1982). In 1890, the length of the school year was 62 days less in the South (92 days) than the North (154 days), and the difference was still 43 days (128 days in the South as opposed to 171 days in the North) in 1910 (U.S. Office of Education, 1890, 1911). In addition, the expenditures per pupil enrolled in the North were about 2.3 times of the expenditures in the South in 1890 (U.S. Office of Education, 1890). Racial inequality in education that had been taking form since 19th century also existed in the North (Walters, 2001). For example, New York State started separate schools for Blacks and Whites as early as in colonial times (Mabee, 1979). Even though Governor Theodore Roosevelt made separate schools in New York illegal in 1900, Black schools still existed in rural areas of New York for more than 30 years, and a large number of Blacks were still enrolled in separate

Black schools by the end of 1940s (Mabee, 1979). In these Black schools, teachers were generally less prepared and trained, compared to those in White schools (Mabee, 1979).

In the South, racial inequality in education was even worse due to the implementation of Jim Crow laws. The disenfranchisement of Blacks' political and economic power led to Whites' substantial control over public education (Anderson, 1988; Link, 2000). Black education was marked by segregation, discrimination, and ignorance (Link, 2000). The separate school systems, endorsed by the U.S. Supreme Court, did not provide education of equal quality to both Black and White students, instead resulting in severe discrimination and inferior education for Blacks and other minority students (Morgan, 1995; Reese, 2007; Tyack, 1967, etc.). There were significant disparities in the number and quality of schools and teachers for Black students and White students. The *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Virginia* (1915) documented the disproportionate distribution of schools for White students and Black students in every district in Henrico County, Virginia. In the Varina district, which had 610 White students and 594 Black students, there were eleven White schools with eleven teachers but only six Black schools with six teachers.

Segregated Black schools were usually underfunded, under-furnished, and short of qualified teachers (Pincham, 2005; Reese, 2007). Du Bois (1901) presented a typical example of a Black school's condition in the South during this time. The Black school was a small house with one door, one table, two chairs, twenty desks, and three blackboards where two teachers were teaching 89 students; and these two teachers were both home girls with very limited education. In another county, two teachers were teaching 135 students in one Black school; and most Black schools in Southern states did not even have a schoolhouse and generally taught students in churches (Du Bois, 1901). Even in early 20th century, there was still a large

proportion of Black schools that were rural and one-or-two-teacher facilities. For example, more than 90 percent of Black schools in fourteen Southern states in 1925 were rural schools, of which about 63.8 percent had only one teacher and 18.8 percent had only two teachers (Fultz, 1995).

Additionally, teachers with limited training and education were common in Black schools in the South (Fultz, 1995; Johnson, 1930). Most minority teachers in public elementary schools did not even finish an education equivalent to six elementary grades (Morgan, 1995). According to a county superintendents' report, among the total 50 Black teachers in a county in Florida, 8 percent (4) finished college; 20 percent (10) finished normal and high schools; and 72 percent (36) only graduated from grammar schools in 1901 (Du Bois, 1901). Even in 1931, 22.5 percent of Black elementary teachers in 16 Southern states did not go beyond high school, compared to only 5.7 percent of White teachers; and 55.7 percent of Black teachers had six weeks to two years of college, while 66.7 percent of White teachers met this standard (Blose & Caliver, 1936). The discrepancy in education between Black teachers and White teachers was even more glaring in isolated rural areas, where 35.8 percent of Black teachers did not go beyond high school, compared to only 4.5 percent of White teachers (Caliver, 1933).

Moreover, teachers in schools for minority students received discriminatory salaries (Fultz, 1995; Morgan, 1995). In Southern states, the payments for teachers in schools for minority students were less than one fourth of the payments for teachers in White schools (Morgan, 1995). The differences in teacher salaries between Black schools and White schools increased over time. For example, the difference in the expenditures on teacher salaries between Black schools and White Schools was $4.79 in 1890 in Florida, which increased to $8.47 in 1910. Similarly, this difference increased from $2.15 in 1890 to $7.49 in 1910 in Virginia

(Margo, 1982). School reform and expansion in the early 20th century had little impact on rural Black schools in the South (Harlan, 2011).

Student investments and funds were also distributed favorably to Whites. The average spending on a Black student in the public schools in the South was $14.95, but it was $45.63 for a White student. A county in South Carolina showed an even more significant difference in its expenditures in 1932, spending $8 for each Black student but $178 for each White student (Tyack, 1967). Some states distributed most of their public-school funds to White schools, leaving only a small portion for Black schools. For example, a county in Mississippi where Black students made up about 80 percent of the enrollment distributed only $.18 to each Black student but $25 to each White student (Tyack, 1967). The neglect of Black education and the inferior conditions and quality of the segregated schools in the South caused great concerns among the Black population in the South, as well as Northern philanthropists (Fultz, 1995; Fleishman, 2007).

Starting in the late 19th century, Black leaders, such as Booker T. Washington (1856-1915), and philanthropists in the North initiated programs to improve Black education in the South (Aamidor, 2006; Fultz, 1995; Fleishman, 2007, etc.). The reform of Black education in the South started with the concept of industrial education, which was endorsed by most Northern and Southern Whites, who supported only minimal Black schooling (Aamidor, 2006). Samuel Chapman Armstrong (1839-1893) was one of the leading supporters of industrial education for Blacks (Talbot, 1904). He founded the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, also called Hampton Institute, in 1868 to provide post-secondary education to prepare Black students to be teachers and skilled industrial workers (Talbot, 1904). Over 80 percent of the 723 graduates from the first twenty classes from the Hampton Institute became teachers at schools across the country

(Talbot, 1904). Booker T. Washington was a Hampton Institute graduate who embraced the model of industrial education to improve Black education (Link, 2000). In 1881, Washington was selected to be the president of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, also known as the Tuskegee Institute, which provided vocational skills for Southern Blacks (Link, 2000). Both the Hampton Institute and Tuskegee Institute received great support from Northern philanthropists, such as John D. Rockefeller and Anna T. Jeanes (Link, 2000).

In addition to the Tuskegee Institute, Washington also mobilized Northern philanthropists to advance Black education in the South (Aaronson & Mazumder, 2011; Pincham, 2005). In 1907, Washington helped Anna T. Jeanes (1822-1907), a philanthropist, establish the Jeanes Fund to train teachers for elementary and secondary Black schools (Aaronson & Mazumder, 2011). In 1937, the Jeanes Fund and several other educational funds merged into the Southern Education Foundation to expand the work of training teachers for Black schools in the South, and these efforts were later extended to schools in impoverished communities outside the United States, including Africa, South America, and Asia by the end of 1920s (Pincham, 2005). Another well-known philanthropic organization that also trained Black teachers in industrial education was the General Education Board (GEB), founded by John D. Rockefeller in 1902 (Pincham, 2005). The GEB sponsored 306 country training schools with 11,810 enrollments by 1929, and it contributed about $40 million in total to Black schools from 1902 to 1937 (General Education Board, 1929; Link, 2000).

Julius Rosenwald (1862-1932), the president of Sears, Roebuck & Co., was another philanthropist inspired by Booker T. Washington to develop a strong interest in supporting Black schools (Aamidor, 2006; Fleishman, 2007). Rosenwald donated $25,000 to support the expansion of the Tuskegee Institute in 1912, and she approved Washington's idea of using the

remaining $2,100 of the donation to build six small schools for Black students in the rural South (Fleishman, 2007). Pleased with the success of the six pilot schools, Rosenwald gave an additional $30,000 to build 100 similar schools in rural Alabama in 1914 and founded the Rosenwald Fund to administer the rural school-building initiative in 1920 (Fleishman, 2007). In 1928, the Rosenwald schools made up about 20 percent of all Black schools and enrolled about 30 percent of Black students in the South (Fleishman, 2007). By 1932, when the school-building initiative closed, the Rosenwald Fund had helped construct 5,357 new, modern schools for Black students across the rural South (Aamidor, 2006). At one time, there was at least one Rosenwald school in 76 percent of counties where rural Black children resided (Aaronson & Mazumder, 2011).

In addition to secondary education, Black colleges grew quickly in this era. In 1881, two teachers, Harriet E. Giles and Sophia B. Packard, founded Spelman College in a church basement in Atlanta, Georgia, starting with 11 students (Lefever, 2005). The enrollment increased to over 600 students by 1884, with 16 faculty in 4 departments (Lefever, 2005). Today, Spelman is recognized as the oldest historically Black liberal arts college for women in the United States. The Tuskegee Institute, now Tuskegee University, established by Booker T. Washington in the same year, later became one of the leading higher education institutes for African Americans and received great international recognition for the agricultural advancements made by George Washington Carver while he was there at the end of 19th century (Harlan, 1972). In 1890, Congress passed the second Morrill Act of 1890, which granted an annual appropriation of $15,000 to each state to expand the land-grant college system (Reef, 2009). States could use this funding to support existing land-grant colleges or create a new land-grant college to educate minority people in agriculture and mechanic arts (Morrill Act, 1890).

However, the act denied any racially based admissions to colleges that received these funds (Morrill Act, 1890). A total of 17 land-grant institutions, such as Alabama A&M University, Tuskegee University (the only private institution), the University of Arkansas, and Delaware State University, were established for African Americans under this act (National Research Council, 1995). These institutions are part of the over 100 Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) in the United States. HBCUs, making up only one fifth of all the African American college enrollment, produced more than one-third of all the African Americans with a college degree in 1990s (Jackson, 2001). By 1991, about 70 percent of college-educated African Americans had been awarded a bachelor's degree from an HBCU. In 1994, the enrollment in HBCUs was estimated at 280,000, an increase of 26 percent compared to the enrollment in 1976 (Jackson, 2001).

Progress in Black education

There were significant disparities in the school enrollment and educational attainment between White students and minority students due to the separate but unequal education system during the racial segregation era. The proportion of minority students age 5 to 19 enrolled in schools was 33.8 percent in 1880 and 53.5 percent in 1920, respectively, while the proportion of White people of the same age enrolled in schools was 62.0 percent in 1880 and 65.7 in 1920 (Snyder, 1993). The percentage of males age 25 and over finishing elementary school was 22.4 for Whites but only 11.3 for minority students; the percentage finishing high school was 19.3 for Whites but only 7.5 for minority students; and the percentage completing four years and over of college was 7.9 for Whites but only 2.1 for minority students (Snyder, 1993). Similarly, among females in the same age range, the difference in school completion between White and minority

students was 8.6 percent for elementary school (21.1 percent vs. 12.5 percent); 15.4 percent for high school (24.6 percent vs. 9.2 percent); and 3 percent for completing four years or more in college (5.4 percent vs. 2.4 percent) in 1950 (Snyder, 1993). Research found that an estimated 37 percent of the differences in student achievement between Black schools and White schools in Maryland can be explained by the gap in school quality in the same period (Orazem, 1987).

Regardless of these disparities, Black schools and students made great progress in the early 20th century with support from various stakeholders. Black literacy reached 50 percent in 1910, which was about five times the level in 1880 (10 percent) (Higgs, 1977). Also, the differences between White and minority enrollment rates for people age 5 to 19 reduced from 28.2 to 12.2 percent from 1880 to 1920 (Snyder, 1993). In the 17 Southern states and the District of Columbia, the percentage of the school-age Black population (5-17 years old) enrolled in schools increased from 68.6 percent of the total Black population in 1918 to 82 percent in 1932 (Blose & Caliver, 1936). However, there were still over 550,000 Black students out of school every day, and the school enrollment at the time indicated a significant gender disparity. About 53.4 percent more Black girls were enrolled in the first year of high school and 74 percent more Black girls were enrolled in the fourth year of high schools compared to Black boys in the 1931-32 school year (Blose & Caliver, 1936).

Civil rights movement and racial desegregation (1954-1980s): A fight for school desegregation

Historical context

A growing number of the Black people started fighting for equity in employment and education in the 1930s, as more of them had opportunities for education (Morgan, 1995). In

1925, Asa Philip Randolph (1889-1979) founded and led the first Black labor union, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, which enrolled a large number of Black porters from the Pullman Company and struck for better working conditions and fair payment (Pfeffer, 2000). The successful negotiations by Pullman porters in 1937 greatly inspired other Black workers, including Black teachers, who were significantly underpaid compared to White teachers (Morgan, 1995; Pfeffer, 2000). An increasing number of lawsuits were filed alleging discrimination in payments for Black teachers and the unfair distribution of resources between Black schools and White schools (Morgan, 1995). The members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), a civil rights agency founded in 1909 to advance social justice for Blacks, grew from a little over 50,000 members in 1939 to 450,000 with more than 1,000 branches in 1947 (Morgan, 1995; Reese, 2007; Ware, 2001). Leading the fight against segregation since the early 20th century, the NAACP supported many Black parents across the country in filing lawsuits that protested against the school segregation system (Ware, 2001).

The Supreme Court decision *Brown v. Board of Education*, combining five individual cases in 1954, was a remarkable achievement of the NAACP's litigation campaign (Ware, 2001). The Supreme Court overturned the doctrine of "separate but equal" in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) and concluded that racial segregation in public schools inherently violates the Constitution (Ware, 2001). The case originated in 1951, when Oliver Brown, a Black resident in Topeka, Kansas, filed a lawsuit against the Board of Education of Topeka because the public school in his district, a White school, refused to enroll his daughter and required her to go to a Black school far away from home (Morgan, 1995). Brown requested permission for his daughter to attend the school in his neighborhood (Morgan, 1995). Failing in the Topeka local courts, Brown filed a class action lawsuit with other Black families who experienced similar situations in the U.S.

federal court and later appealed to the Supreme Court (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954). The litigation campaign and legal strategies were created by Charles Houston (1895-1950), a Special Counsel to the NAACP, and extended by attorneys that he dispatched, such as Thurgood Marshall (1908-1993) and Oliver Hill (1907-2007). They played a significant role in achieving the *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) ruling and eliminating Jim Crow laws (Ware, 2001). The decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* was a legal revolution in the modern legal history of the United States that helped set the stage for the civil rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s (Sullivan, 2009).

The civil rights movement, emerging in the 1950s in a series of nonviolent mass protests and activities that emphasized the inequities faced by Black people in various fields, such as public accommodations, employment, voting, education, and housing (Newman, 2004). Some of the well-known boycotts and activities included the Montgomery bus boycott (1955-56), in which a Black woman, Rosa Parks, was arrested after she refused to give up her seat to a White man on a crowded public bus; the Freedom Riders (1961), a group of civil rights activists who traveled South on interstate buses to challenge segregation on public buses and in bus terminals; the Albany Movement (1961-62), a campaign that resisted desegregation in public accommodations and facilities, including buses, trains, restaurants, and stores; the Children's Crusade (1963), a march for desegregation consisting of hundreds of school students in Birmingham; the March on Washington (1963), another mass march for eliminating employment discriminations; and the Selma to Montgomery marches (1965), three protest marches that were part of the voting rights movement fighting against racial injustice (Barkan, 1984; Newman, 2004).

The civil rights movement played an important role in facilitating major civil rights initiatives (Andrews, 1997). The Civil Rights Act of 1964, proposed by President John F. Kennedy (1917-1963) in 1963, was passed to prohibit segregation and discrimination based on race, color, religion, gender, or national origin in public accommodations, schools, and employment (Civil Rights Act, 1964). One year later, President Lyndon B. Johnson (1908-1973) signed the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which outlawed racial discrimination in voting, and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (1965), which highlighted equal access to education. In 1968, the Civil Rights Act of 1968 was enacted to ban discrimination in housing (Newman, 2004). Four years later, the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 was enforced to amend Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This act prevented discrimination against Blacks and other minorities in employment by establishing enforcement powers for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) and expanded the coverage of employment provisions to more employers, including small businesses and local and state governments (Rivers, 1973). These civil rights laws, part of the victories of the civil rights movement, greatly advanced school desegregation and the political and economic engagement of Blacks, which were reflected in the increase in the number of Black voters and Black officials and the progressively integrated school systems and desegregated work force (Hall, 2005).

The impacts on Black education

While the Supreme Court reversed the ruling of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), it did not impose a clear plan and deadline for ending school segregation. Instead, the Supreme Court asked states to develop their own plans to eliminate segregation, which launched another long fight for school desegregation (Reef, 2009; Ware,

2001). Most school districts started some efforts to comply with the Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954). Some cities, such as St. Louis, Louisville, and Baltimore, achieved initial success right after the *Brown* decision[11] in ending their segregated schools by reassigning students to schools without regard to race or giving students options to transfer to another school (Ravitch, 1983). However, these cities became resegregated later due to population movement (Ravitch, 1983).

Whites posed great resistance to school desegregation in different ways across the country (Reef, 2009). Some states overtly complied with the Supreme Court decision but opposed school segregation covertly by providing Black students with short school transfer timelines, discouraging Black parents with threats and tales about teachers' hostile attitudes, creating unsafe conditions in White schools, and/or maintaining segregation within schools through honors programs (Morgan, 1995). Other strategies adopted by states to protect segregation included denying funds to racially mixed schools, offering tuition grants to students who attended segregated schools, punishing teachers working in racially mixed schools, or even firing teachers who overtly supported desegregation (Ravitch, 1983). In some states, such as Alabama, no schools were actually desegregated by 1957. Also, an increasing number of Black parents filed lawsuits against their states' violations of school desegregation statutes in the South (Morgan, 1995). School desegregation also became an important part of the civil rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s (Reef, 2009).

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[11] *Brown* decision in this paper refers to the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954, 1955).

The Little Rock Nine is a well-known example of White resistance to school desegregation. In September 1957, nine Black student volunteers registered at Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas as part of the Little Rock school integration plan (Reef, 2009). However, on the first day of school, Governor Orval Faubus (1910-1994) called in the Arkansas National Guard to stop the students from entering the school (Bates, 1962). None of the nine students was able to enter the school on the first day, and one of the students who had arrived alone was surrounded by shouting, jeering, and hatred from Whites (Bates, 1962; Reef, 2009). On September 24, the nine Black students finally entered the school through the main door with the protection of federal troops sent by President Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890-1969). Even with the military escort, the students suffered from severe bullying, violence, and threats in school, and they were discouraged from responding to these cruel treatments by school authorities (Reef, 2009). In 1958, eight of the nine students were able to finish their first school year at Central High School (Reef, 2009). In fall of the same year, several high schools in Little Rock were closed to further resist school desegregation, but they reopened in 1959 and proceeded with school integration, as mandated by the Federal courts (Bates, 1962; Reef, 2009).

Resistance to school desegregation was also common in higher education. James Meredith, a 23-year-old, Black student, was denied admission to the University of Mississippi due to his race in 1961, but the university was ordered to admit Meredith by a federal district court in 1962 after Meredith won a lawsuit against the state with support from the NAACP (Reef, 2009). However, Meredith faced great barriers from the local government, and his initial presence on campus, even with U.S. marshals and federal prison guards in place, caused a serious riot at the university in which two people died and over 150 marshals were injured (Muse, 1964; Reef, 2009). Meredith experienced persecution, harassment, and extreme isolation

during his school years, finishing college in 1963 as the first Black graduate of the University of Mississippi (Muse, 1964; Reef, 2009). In the same year, two Black students experienced similar situations in Alabama. They were blocked by governor George Wallace (1919-1998) from entering the University of Alabama (Muse, 1964), and they finally entered the campus and completed their registration only after the interference of the Alabama National Guard, sent by President Kennedy (Muse, 1964). After this incident, President Kennedy proposed a comprehensive civil rights bill, which later became the Civil Rights Act of 1964, that would deny school segregation and outlaw discrimination against Blacks and other minorities in public facilities, employment, and federal programs (Reef, 2009).

School desegregation progressed slowly in the first decade after the *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) decision. In states such as Mississippi, South Carolina, and Alabama, there were still no Black students who attended schools that had typically White student populations in 1962 (Ravitch, 1983). In May 1964, there were less than 2 percent of Black students enrolled in racially mixed schools in the 11 former confederate states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia, with more than half of these students in Texas (Hope, 1975; Ravitch, 1983). In 1965, the federal government expanded its control over education through federally assisted programs under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) and Civil Rights Act of 1964 to advance school integration (Civil Rights Act, 1964; ESEA, 1965). The federal government requested school desegregation progress or plans as part of the prerequisites for getting ESEA funds. In the first year after implementing ESEA, over 1500 school districts started desegregation efforts, and the percentage of Black students going to racially mixed schools increased from 2 to 6 percent in the 11 former confederate states (Reef, 2009; Ravitch, 1983). By

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Fall of 1968, an estimated 20 percent of Black students in these 11 states were enrolled in fully integrated schools (Reef, 2009). In the Border States of Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, and West Virginia, 58.3 percent of Black students attended schools with typically White student populations in the 1964-1965 academic year, and 68.9 percent did so in the 1965-1966 academic year (Hope, 1975).

However, the federal government was not satisfied with the school desegregation progress and began to require greater efforts to speed up school integration in the late 1960s. In *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County* (1968), the U.S. Supreme Court denied the freedom-of-choice desegregation plan adopted by New Kent County due to its ineffectiveness in facilitating school desegregation and mandated that the school board develop new plans that could realistically and immediately improve the racial balance in schools. In this case, the Supreme Court also identified extracurricular activities, facilities, faculty, staff, and transportation, known as five Green factors, to monitor school districts' desegregation progress (*Green v. County School Board of New Kent County,* 1968). In other cases, such as *United States v. Montgomery County Board of Education* (1969), *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* (1971), and *United States v. Scotland Neck City Board of Education* (1972), the Supreme Court supported schools in setting racial quotas for faculty members, establishing magnet schools, redistributing and busing students from one neighborhood to another to improve school integration, and preventing public school systems from creating new and segregated sub-districts to protest desegregation (Ravitch, 1983). However, these strategies exclusively targeted segregation within school districts (Chemerinsky, 2003).

In the North, race-integration busing was also frequently used to achieve school integration, especially in areas where school segregation was caused by custom and living

segregation (Reef, 2009). However, race-integration busing received great opposition from White parents, with the Boston desegregation busing crisis as one example of severe opposition to it. In 1974, the Boston school committee bused 17,000 students to schools in different districts within the city, which caused rancor among Whites (Formisano, 2004). They injured Black students, destroyed buses, and withdrew their children from schools; some even moved to other all-White neighborhoods (Formisano, 2004; Reef, 2009). Some Black parents also did not favor busing because they were concerned about unfair treatment, insults, threats, and violence to their children in White schools (Formisano, 2004). The adoption of busing for desegregation was under heated debate in the late 1970s due to its ineffectiveness in improving educational quality and ending racial isolation (Delmont, 2016). Busing and other tools were strategies to improve the racial balance in schools, but it was hard for them to achieve truly integrated facilities and ensure the quality of both the facilities and education for Black and White students due to the widespread and inherently rooted resistance to school desegregation (Delmont, 2016; Hope, 1975).

Another problem faced by the Supreme Court in advancing desegregation was population movement. Since World War II, there had been a rapid increase in the minority populations in big cities in the North, such as Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit, New York, and Philadelphia, making White students the minority (Ravitch, 1983). Less than 0.45 percent of 22,000 school districts housed over 50 percent of all Black students in 1968, and over 45 percent of all Black students in public schools were concentrated in 65 central-city districts in 1968 and 1976 (James, 1989). It was very challenging and even impossible to redistribute students in these cities to ensure that minority students were enrolled in predominantly White schools, one of the major standards for eliminating de facto segregation (Ravitch, 1983; Wolf, 1981). In 1974, the Supreme Court

denied the metropolitan-wide desegregation remedy in *Milliken v. Bradley* and mandated the implementation of school desegregation within school district lines (Milliken v. Bradley, 1974). The Supreme Court's limits to desegregation in White suburbs weakened the ability to achieve school desegregation in many racially isolated urban districts (Amaker, 1974; Chemerinsky, 2003).

Progress in Black education

In late 1965, almost a decade after the Brown decision, most students in the country still attended segregated schools where almost all students were of the same racial background. For example, about 80 percent of all White students in the 1st and 12th grades were enrolled in schools where 90 percent or more of students were White; more than 65 percent of all Black students in the 1st grade were enrolled in schools where 90 percent or more of students were Black; and, in particular, most students in the South attended schools with either all White or all Black students (Coleman et al., 1966). Teachers in schools demonstrated a similar pattern of segregation. On a nationwide basis, Black students attended elementary schools where about 65 percent of teachers were Black on average, while White students attended elementary schools where about 97 percent of teachers were White (Coleman et al., 1966). In general, Black students attended schools that had inferior facilities, less qualified teachers, fewer books per student in libraries, and more often an insufficient supply of textbooks compared to schools for White students. Black students also scored, on average, lower on academic achievement tests than White students (Coleman et al., 1966; Reef, 2009).

Following the more aggressive measures and strict standards adopted by the federal government in the late 1960s, public schools in the South became increasingly integrated, with

32 percent of Black students enrolled in schools with predominantly White students by the end of 1968, over five times the level of 1965 (Ravitch, 1983). In particular, 18.4 percent of Black students in the South attended schools where at least 50 percent of students were White. The percentage of Black students attending schools with predominantly White students increased to 85.6 percent by 1970 and 91.3 percent by 1972 (Hope, 1975; Ravitch, 1983). In addition, the percentage of students who attended schools with 50 percent or higher White enrollment was 40.3 percent in 1970 and 46.3 percent in 1972 (Hope, 1975). Almost 50 percent of Black students in the South were enrolled in predominantly White schools. The school integration progress in other areas was slower compared to the South, with only 31.8 percent of Black students in the six Border States enrolled in predominantly White schools in 1972, and only 28.3 percent in the Northern and Western states (Hope, 1975). Particularly, some large states, such as New York, New Jersey, and Michigan, became more segregated in the early 1970s. For example, about 75 percent of Black- and Spanish-surnamed students in New York State were enrolled in predominantly minority public schools, and over half of minority students were enrolled in schools with over 80 percent minority enrollment in 1972 (Hope, 1975). Similarly, over half of the Black students in California still attended predominantly Black schools in 1971, while over 93 percent of White students attended predominantly White schools (Hope, 1975). In spite of the uneven progress in school desegregation in different regions, school integration in public schools had been improved at the national level. The percentage of Black students in predominantly minority schools reduced from 76.6 percent in 1968 to 62.9 percent in 1980 (Orfield, 1983). In particular, the proportion of Black students attending schools where 90 percent or more of the students were minorities dropped from 64.3 percent in 1968 to 33.2 percent in 1980 (Orfield, 1983).

Even though the proportion of racially mixed schools had increased in the early 1970s, classroom segregation was prevalent within some schools (Green, 1973; Hope, 1975). According to Green's report (1973), about 35 percent of high schools and 60 percent of elementary schools operated segregated classrooms based on test results and teacher evaluations in 467 reporting school districts in the South. Minority students were disproportionally placed in lower tracks, where they received low teacher expectations and different course materials, which contributed to their lower school performance (Green, 1973). As a result, minority students were less likely to be prepared for college and more likely to be suspended or expelled from school (Hope, 1975).

School desegregation also led to the displacement, demotion, or even dismissal of Black principals and teachers (Hooker, 1970; Hope, 1975). According to a report by Hooker (1970), an estimated 12 to 14 percent of Black teachers were dismissed or demoted in North Carolina, and the percentage of Black teachers who were dismissed, demoted, or forced to resign was 33 percent (about 3.500 Black teachers) in Alabama. In fall 1970, a total of 4,907 teachers left their school systems in the 108 reporting school districts in 6 Southern states, 77 percent (3,774) of which were White. However, about 86 percent (4,453) of the teachers who were hired back as replacements were White. Only 743 Black teachers were hired back in the school systems (Hooker, 1970). The number of Black principals was also declining. For example, between 1965 and 1970, the number of Black high school principals declined from 114 to 33 in South Carolina, 170 to 16 in Virginia, and 102 to 13 in Florida (Hope, 1975). In Northern school systems, where such dramatic dismissals had not yet happened, there were disproportionately low numbers of Black teachers and staff in the system. In Chicago, Black students accounted for 54 percent of the total enrollment but only 33 percent of teachers and 21 percent of administrative staff in the

school system in 1966 (Urban Education Task Force, 1970). In addition, most of these minority teachers and staff were in predominantly minority schools, and White teachers in predominantly minority schools generally had less training or teaching experience compared to those in White schools (Hope, 1975).

In spite of racial segregation and teacher displacement, the educational attainment of Black students had been significantly improved, as they had received more opportunities for education since the Brown decision (Hope, 1975). In 1950, only 14.8 percent of all Blacks completed high school, while that figure increased to 43.7 percent by 1972 (Hope, 1975). In particular, among persons ages 20 to 24, 67.9 percent of Blacks were high school graduates, compared to 84.9 percent of Whites (Hope, 1975). In terms of higher education, Black college enrollment reached 666,000 in 1975, about eight times the enrollment in 1950 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1979). Among the group ages 18 to 24, Black college enrollment increased from 4.4 percent in 1950 to 18.3 percent in 1972, while the enrollment of Whites grew from 10.8 percent in 1950 to 23.9 percent in 1972 (Hope, 1975). The proportion of enrollment in 1972 doubled since 1950 for Whites, but it quadrupled for Blacks. Additionally, the percentage of Blacks who were college graduates in 1972 was 6.9 percent, over three times the level in 1950 (2.2 percent), while this percentage was 12.6 percent in 1972 for Whites, about twice of the level in 1950 (Hope, 1975). Additionally, Blacks accounted for about 1.4 percent of persons with Ph.D. degrees in 1973. From 1974 to 1980, about 1,000 Blacks graduated from Ph.D. programs each year, making up 3 to 4 percent of new Ph.D. graduates (Ravitch, 1983). The proportion of Black faculty in higher education was also increasing, rising from 3 percent in 1960 to 4.4 percent in 1979 (Ravitch, 1983).

At the national level, the percentage of the illiterate[12] also declined. The percentage of Blacks age 14 and over who were illiterate decreased from 3.6 percent in 1969 to 1.6 percent in 1979, while this percentage for Whites dropped from 0.7 percent in 1969 to 0.4 percent in 1979 (Snyder, 1993). In general, Blacks achieved a significant increase in education outcomes after the Brown decision.

From resegregation to reintegration (1980-present): Segregation and integration in education

Historical context

In 1980, the brand-new U.S. Department of Education began operating after President James E. Carter signed the Department of Education Organization Act in 1979 (Stallings, 2002). In 1981, Terrel Bell succeeded Shirley Hufstedler (1925-2016) as the Secretary of Education and made education a priority in the country (Reef, 2009). In 1983, the National Commission on Excellence in Education, established by Terrel Bell in 1981 to evaluate educational quality in the United States, issued the report *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Education Reform*. This report alerted the country to academic underachievement and called for more stringent and measurable standards for curriculum development, school graduation, and teacher evaluation, which triggered a series of reform efforts in education across the country (The National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983). States made efforts to improve educational

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[12] The illiterate here refers to persons who cannot read or write in any language.

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outcomes by increasing their investment in education, applying new requirements for school graduation, regularly monitoring students' academic progress, lengthening school days, developing new curriculums, and providing trainings to teachers (Reef, 2009). School performance became a top priority in education during this period.

With little progress in student performance in the 1980s, Congress enacted the *Goals 2000: Education America Act* in 1994 to lead education reform (Reef, 2009). The goals included granting access to education for all children, increasing the high school graduation rate to 90 percent and above, offering continued education and professional development programs for teachers, ranking at the top in mathematics and science achievement in the world, achieving 100 percent adult literacy, building safe and disciplined schools free of alcohol and drugs, and increasing parental participation in education by 2000 (Heise, 1994). In the same year, Congress reauthorized the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965 as the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLBA) to improve students' academic proficiency in reading and mathematics and make local and school authorities accountable for students' progress through a nationwide evaluation system and federal funding programs (Reef, 2009). The NCLBA was later replaced by the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) in 2015, which targeted the academic performance of disadvantaged groups to close educational achievement gaps (ESSA, 2015). All of these reforms focus on policies that produce high academic achievement on standardized tests for students across different groups, but they did not put many efforts focused on school desegregation (Orfield & Jarvie, 2020).

Meanwhile, there have been great changes in the racial structure of the population in the United States. The Latino and Asian populations grew very quickly from 1980 to 2018, with the Latino population increasing by over 45 million (a 305 percent increase) and the Asian

population increasing by about 15 million (a 417 percent increase) (Orfield & Jarvie, 2020).

From 2008 to 2018, while the total population increased by 7.9 percent, the population growth

rate was 10 percent for Blacks, 25.9 percent for Latinos, 35.8 percent for Asians, up to 38.3

percent for two or more races, but only 0.3 percent for Whites (Orfield & Jarvie, 2020). A large

proportion of minorities reside in urban areas. Between 2012-2016, 56 percent of urban residents

were minorities; Hispanics had the biggest share of minority residents in urban areas (27

percent), followed by Blacks (17 percent) (Parker et al., 2020). In suburban counties, while

minorities accounted for only 32 percent of the total residents, Hispanics and Blacks still ranked

at the top among suburban minority groups, making up 14 percent and 11 percent of total

suburban residents, respectively (Parker et al., 2020). The proportion of minorities living in rural

areas was the smallest, at only 21 percent. Hispanics and Blacks accounted for 8 percent of total

rural residents, respectively (Parker et al., 2020). Most Whites are concentrated in suburban and

rural areas. Between 2012 and 2016, Whites accounted for 79 percent of the population in rural

counties, 68 percent in suburban counties, and only 44 percent in urban counties (Parker et al.,

2020). About 53 percent of urban localities were majority non-White, while this percentage was

only 10 percent for suburban counties and 11 percent for rural counties (Parker et al., 2020).

Whites have become a minority in many urban areas.

       The school population has changed significantly. From 2003 to 2018, the total number of

Whites (non-Hispanic) enrolled in kindergarten to 12th grade dropped from 31.96 million to

26.99 million, for a 15.6 percent decrease; and the number of Black students also declined, from

8.57 million to 7.73 million, for a decrease of 9.8 percent. However, the number of Hispanic

students attending school of the same levels had a significant increase, rising from 9.45 million

to 13.65 million, for a 44.4 percent increase; Asian students also increased, from 2.01 million to

2.63 million, for an increase of 30.8 percent (Bauman & Cranney, 2020; Shin, 2005). The public school enrollment also demonstrates the change in racial composition of the student population. According to Orfield and Jarvie's report (2020), White students in public schools in the South accounted for 53.6 percent in 2000, followed by Black (27.5 percent), Latino (16.5 percent), and Asian (2.1 percent). In 2008, the share of Whites in public schools in the South had reduced to 47.5 percent, and Black students also dropped slightly to 26.4 percent. However, Latinos and Asians increased to 22.7 percent and 2.9 percent, respectively (Orfield & Jarvie, 2020). In 2018, the proportion of Whites and Blacks in public schools in the South further declined to 40.1 and 23.3 percent, respectively, while Latinos and Asians further grew to 29.1 and 3.7 percent, respectively (Orfield & Jarvie, 2020). In particular, Latinos surpassed Blacks, with a 5.8 percent difference in the share of students in public schools in 2018. Other regions also experienced a similar pattern of change in public school student populations, except for the West, where Latinos made up over 30 percent of the student population, and Blacks made up less than 10 percent (Orfield & Jarvie, 2020). In general, students in the public schools have become more racially and ethnically diverse today compared to the beginning of the 21st Century.

The impacts on Black education

School desegregation has faced decreasing support from the federal government since the 1980s, with neither substantial initiatives nor aid funds available to support desegregation efforts (Orfield & Jarvie, 2020). Further, the federal courts and the U.S. Supreme Court have been gradually releasing schools from desegregation orders since the late 1980s. In the early 1980s, the School Board in Norfolk proposed a plan of reducing crosstown busing after being concerned that segregation would return in the school system due to a continued decline in the number of

White students and a significant decrease in parental involvement (*Riddick v. School Board of City of Norfolk*, 1984). Riddick and other Black parents sued the School Board in U.S. District Court in 1983 to stop the plan of eliminating crosstown busing for elementary schools by claiming that the School Board's discontinuation of crosstown busing was "racially motivated" and violated the Fourteenth Amendment (*Riddick v. School Board of City of Norfolk*, 1984). The U.S. District Court dismissed the plaintiffs' claims in its decision, which was later upheld by the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, which emphasized the racial diversity of the principals and staff in the school system and the lack of evidence to support the discriminatory intent of the plan (*Riddick by Riddick v. School Board of City of Norfolk*, 1986). It was the first time that a federal court permitted a school district to abandon its desegregation plan.

Five years later, the Supreme Court's decision in *Board of Education of Oklahoma City v. Dowell* (1991) facilitated the dissolution of desegregation orders by the federal court (Chemerinsky, 2005). The Supreme Court held that a federal desegregation decree could be dissolved if the local school board demonstrated substantial compliance with the requirements for a reasonable period of time and the school district had achieved a unitary system. This decision made it easier for school systems to end their desegregation efforts (Chemerinsky, 2003). In 1992, the Supreme Court further released schools from court-ordered desegregation in *Freeman v. Pitts* by ruling that a school district could be free of court supervision in areas where the effects of the *de jure* segregation had been eliminated (*Freeman v. Pitts*, 1992). This ruling allowed local and school authorities to regain control of their schools in an incremental fashion, which resulted in a return to segregated neighborhood schools in school districts, and especially in many large cities (Reef, 2009). Three years later, the Supreme Court reemphasized the discontinuance of federal court efforts in school districts that had fully complied with the

desegregation order in *Missouri v. Jenkins* (1995), facilitating the return of schools to local control (Chemerinsky, 2003). Following these cases, an increasing number of school districts were released from court desegregation orders at the beginning of the 21st century. Eighty-nine school districts in the seven formerly segregated states of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, and South Carolina were freed from court-ordered desegregation from 2004 to 2009 (Holley-Walker, 2010). By 2010, less than 2 percent of the nearly 16,000 school districts in the country still remained under federal supervision for desegregation efforts (Holley-Walker, 2012). The massive decline in legal support for desegregation efforts contributed to further resegregation in the early 21st century (Chemerinsky, 2003; Stroub & Richards, 2013).

There was also increasing controversy about the equity outcomes of using race in school admissions and other affirmative action plans (Brown, 2000; Orfield & Lee, 2007). The prohibition against using individual race classification in student assignments also undermined school districts' voluntary integration efforts (Stroub & Richards, 2013). In late 1978, the Supreme Court upheld the consideration of race as one of the factors, but not a deciding factor, in college admission in *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (1978). This decision was reiterated in *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003). In *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District* (2007) (hereafter called *PICS case*), the Supreme Court invalidated the voluntary student assignment plans adopted by Seattle, Washington and Louisville, Kentucky and concluded that student assignment plans based on individual racial classification, which was not closely and narrowly tied to a compelling governmental interest, was unconstitutional, even though these plans were intended to foster school integration. In this case, the Supreme Court reversed the decisions and rulings, in cases such as *Green v New Kent Country* (1968*)* and

Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education (1971), that had allowed and even

mandated that schools consider race in their student assignment practice in order to end school

segregation (Orfield & Lee, 2007). The decisions in the *PICS case* raised concern that these

policies would lead to increasing school segregation (Orfield & Lee, 2007). In 2008, the U.S.

Department of Education issued a letter to further explain the narrow tailoring standard for the

use of race in the school context (Office for Civil Rights [OCR], 2008, 2020). In 2011, the

Department of Education and the Department of Justice collectively issued the *Guidance on the

Voluntary Use of Race to Achieve Diversity and Avoid Racial Isolation in Elementary and

Secondary Schools* as a replacement of the 2008 letter and to further explain the degree of

flexibility school districts have in voluntarily using race to meet compelling interests in

achieving diversity and racial integration (OCR, 2020). This guidance allowed school districts to

adopt race-conscious measures to meet compelling interests in a general way as long as they did

not treat any individual student differently solely because of their racial classification (OCR,

2020).

The Supreme Court's decisions in these cases weakened or eliminated desegregation

efforts, slowing the progress of school integration and substantially contributing to resegregation

since the 1990s (Chemerinsky, 2003; Reef, 2009; Thompson Dorsey, 2013, etc.). Research found

that desegregation efforts in past decades had largely failed in the late 1980s, but segregation had

returned at an accelerating rate since the 1990s (Chemerinsky, 2003; Orfield, 2001). Between

1970 to 1980, 4 out of 28 states (14.3 percent) in the United States demonstrated a decrease in

the percentage of White students in schools typically attended by Black students. However, from

1980 to 1998, 24 out of the 28 states (85.7 percent) experienced a reduction in the percentage of

White students in schools typically enrolling Black students, compared to the level in 1980

(Orfield, 2001). The proportion of Black students in White schools has also decreased. In 1988, 37 percent of Black students nationwide and 43.5 percent in the South attended majority White schools. In 2005, the percentage of Black students enrolled in majority White schools dropped to 28.1 percent nationwide, 30.3 percent in the South, and 24.2 percent in the West. In 2018, this further decreased to 19.1 percent nationwide, 18.3 percent in the South, and 13.6 percent in the West (Orfield & Jarvie, 2020). In the meantime, the proportion of Black students nationwide who attended schools with 50 percent or more minority enrollment increased from 63 percent in 1988, to 73 percent in 2005, further to 81 percent in 2018; and the proportion of Black students in 90 to 100 percent minority schools showed a similar pattern, with 32.1 percent in 1988, 38.5 percent in 2006, and 40.1 percent in 2018 (Orfield & Jarvie, 2020). School resegregation was more intense in metropolitan areas in large states that have a significant Black population. In 2018-19, over 90 percent of Black students attended schools with 50 percent or higher minority enrollment in California, Nevada, Texas, Maryland, and New York; and more than 50 percent of Black students attended schools with 90 percent and more minority enrollment in New York, Illinois, Maryland, California, and New Jersey (Orfield & Jarvie, 2020). Increasingly, more states became segregated in the 21st century.

While Black students became more segregated from Whites, the increasing racial and ethnic diversity in the student population increased the chance for Black students to integrate with other racial groups, and especially Latinos (Orfield & Jarvie, 2020). Many Black students today are still concentrated in central cities in metropolitan areas, but the dominant urban pattern of a half century ago, in which Blacks replaced Whites and were the largest student group, has been changed by the extensive immigration of Latinos (Orfield & Jarvie, 2020). Latino students have become the largest minority group in public schools across different areas and even the

biggest student group in many large central cities. In 2018, the share of Latino enrollment in public schools was about 43 percent of the total public school enrollment in the central cities of large metros and 34 percent in the central cities of midsize metros, both of which were greater than the combined share of White and Black students (Orfield & Jarvie, 2020). While White students still ranked at the top in public school enrollment in suburban school districts in large and midsize metros, Latinos were the largest minority student group in these areas (Orfield & Jarvie, 2020). Even in the central cities of small metros where a large proportion of Black students resided, Latino students still ranked at the top among minority student groups in public school enrollment (Orfield & Jarvie, 2020). Urban areas are becoming increasingly multiracial, especially in large cities, where no racial group is dominant in the student population. Also, today an increasing number of Black students attend schools with Latino students and students from other racial groups (Orfield & Jarvie, 2020).

Progress in Black education

Despite changes in segregation, Blacks have made significant progress in such areas as school enrollment, graduation rates, academic performance, and White-Black exposure in higher education with the federal government's consistent involvement in education (Orfield & Jarvie, 2020; Snyder, 1993). In 1870, about 54.4 percent of White students and 9.9 percent of Black students age 5 to 19 attended school. By 1991, over 90 percent of each race in the same age group attended school (Snyder, 1993). High school enrollment has also significantly increased. Black enrollment tripled, growing from 926,000 in 1955 to 2.27 million in 2012, while White enrollment rose from 7.04 million to 12.6 million, increasing about twice in the same time (Levine & Levine, 2014). There has also been a great improvement in student proficiency scores.

For example, reading scores of Black students was 170 for group ages 9, 222 for group ages 13, and 239 for group ages 17 in 1970-71; and the scores increased to 182 for group ages 9, 242 for group ages 13, and 267 for group ages 17 in 1989-1990 (Snyder, 1993). However, there was almost no change in the reading score for White students during the same time.

The Black high school graduation rate began growing faster than Whites. About 88.5 percent of Blacks completed high school in 2012, over twice as much as the level of 1960 (38.6 percent); in the same year, the percentage of Whites who graduated from high school was 94.6 percent, about 1.5 times the level of 1960 (63.6 percent) (Levine & Levine, 2014). The gap in college graduation rates between Blacks and Whites has also been reduced. In 1960, 11.8 percent of Whites age 25 to 29 completed a bachelor's degree, which was over 2.2 times the attainment percentage of Blacks (5.4 percent). In 2000, 1.9 times as many Whites as Blacks in the same age group finished a bachelor's degree; and by 2012, only about 1.7 times as many Whites were awarded a bachelor's degree as Blacks (Levine & Levine, 2014). HBCUs played an important role in the higher educational attainment for Blacks. In 2000, about 40 percent of Blacks who received college degrees graduated from HBCUs, accounting for only 3 percent of all postsecondary institutions (Minor, 2008; Price, 2000). However, the unemployment rate for Blacks was still very high, at 12.1 percent in January 2014 compared to only 5.7 percent for Whites (Levine & Levine, 2014).

The Black-White exposure in higher education has increased. By 2011, the percentage of Black students in a typically White college increased to 10.2 percent, over four times the level in 1968 (2.3 percent); and Black representation overall rose to 13.9 percent in 2011, from 5.5 percent in 1968 (Hinrichs, 2016). The Black exposure to Whites also increased after the late

1960s. The percentage of White students in a typically Black college was only 38.6 percent in 1968, but it increased to 48.7 percent in 2011 (Hinrichs, 2016).

Key Factors for Black Youth's School Underperformance and Gender Differences

The history of Black education provides cultural context for Black males' school underperformance and Black youths' gender disparities in education outcomes. It is well-documented in the literature that young Black males are more likely to rank at the bottom in academic achievement and have worse attendance rates, higher school dropout rates, lower high school graduate rates, and lower rates of earning a general equivalency diploma compared to Black females and their White peers (Pollard, 1993; Pinkney, 2000; Raffaele-Mendez, 2003; Roderick, 2003; Watson et al., 2015, etc.). Scholars have identified some factors that may contribute to Black youths' development and their academic performance in schools, from intrinsic factors such as educational expectations and motivations, to extrinsic factors such as environment and culture (see Figure 3), and studied how these factors have contributed to gender differences in education outcomes over the past few decades (Hossler & Stage, 1992; Noguera, 2003; Osborne, 1997). A few factors that are remarkable in the literature are listed below. A summary of these key impact factors can help understand the effects of school underperformance and gender differences in the education outcomes of Black students.

Figure 3

Factor Wheel for the Education Outcomes of Black Youth
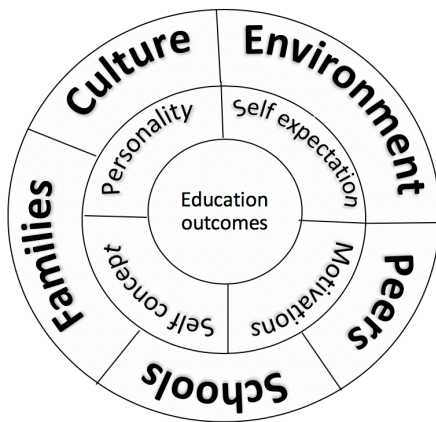
Cultural factors

As indicated in the discussion of Black education, Blacks have a long history of coercion, exploitation, abuse, and resistance and have experienced severe educational inequities and racial stratification (Lieberson, 1980; Orfield, 1978; Willie & McCord, 1972). The inferior education of Blacks and society's exclusion of their participation in social and economic institutions contributes to the formation of negative self-perceptions, declined motivation, and low self-resilience of Black students in schools (Dentler, 1991; Ogbu, 1990; Pollard, 1993). Research demonstrates that the underrepresentation of minorities in such professional positions as faculty positions, legal professionals, and positions of leadership conveys an implicit message that Whites are a better fit for positions of authority than Blacks, thus dissipating Black students' aspirations and motivation for academic and social success and reinforcing the existing social inequities (Cole, 1986; Graham, 1987; Mercer & Mercer, 1986). In addition, Whites' ingrained discrimination and prejudices against Blacks intensify these negative impacts (Willie & McCord, 1972). For example, about half of Whites did not want to send their children to a school where

50 percent of the students were black in 1958 (Willie, 1991). Even though these perspectives have changed with widespread school desegregation, racial segregation and discrimination still exist (Fiel, 2013). Some Black, Hispanic, and American Indian students are still concentrated in schools dominated by minorities, with high poverty and low performance (Darling-Hammond, 2005; Logan et al., 2012), where they have limited opportunities and resources, and thus a wider racial achievement gap (Borman & Dowling, 2010; Condron, 2009; Goldsmith, 2009). In addition, teachers, both White and Black, tend to rate White students higher than Black students and rate Black female students higher than Black male students (Grant, 1984).

Black males are faced with additional educational challenges in this cultural background (Davis, 2009). They are more likely to have negative schooling outcomes, such as special education assignments, disruptive behaviors, low test scores, and higher levels of school dropout (Pollard, 1993; Roderick, 2003), resulting in negative perceptions of Black males from their teachers, school leaders, parents, and peers (Davis, 2009). These negative social identities and social imagery, in turn, further impair Black males' educational aspirations. For example, Black males have historically been perceived as "physically strong, mentally inept," and they are more frequently labeled as troublemakers with negative words such as "dangerous," "threatening," "lazy," "unreliable," "rule-breaking," and "inhumane savages," compared to Black females (Howard et al., 2012, p. 90). These negative perceptions start when Black males are still at a very young age. Ferguson (2001) states that schoolteachers often identify groups of young Black boys causing trouble as unsalvageable and consider sending them to special education programs. Because of the stigma and discrimination attached to Black males, even Black males who work very hard and achieve good performance in schools do not receive the same awards or credits as their White peers (Ogbu, 1987). Instead, they are perceived as "acting White" at the cost of

individual gains or regarded by their peers as "selling out," leading to self-defeating or self-destructive behaviors (Ogbu, 1987, p.29).

Environmental factors

Living environment is an important factor that contributes to Black youth wellness when it comes to health, welfare, and education (Gibbs, 1988). A longitudinal study conducted by Jackson (1998) shows that the negative effects of living in poor, resources-limited areas are even more acute than the damage caused by the early exposure to drugs. Youth who live in areas with high poverty have a higher chance of experiencing and exhibiting aggression and violence, engaging in drug use, and committing crimes, all of which leads to undesirable behavioral patterns in school, such as disruptive classroom behaviors (Banerjee & Lamb, 2016; Bowen & Van Dorn, 2002). Research evidences that these behaviors are disproportionately prevalent among school-aged, urban, minority youth (Banerjee & Lamb, 2016). In addition, youth living in these areas are more likely to attend low-quality schools that have limited available teachers, poor technology and facilities, lower-quality courses, and limited resources, including preventive health care for the basic needs of these children (Blanchett et al., 2005; Donovan & Cross, 2002). For example, a high percentage of poor children, that are placed in special education programs, have reading problems that are actually caused by vision problems that have been untreated due to lack of access to healthcare services (Harry et al., 2000). Research also provides evidence that poverty can magnify racial disparity in certain types of disabilities, such as mild mental retardation, moderate mental retardation, and emotional disturbance (Skiba et al., 2005).

Youth in urban settings, who are predominantly Black and Latino youth, are disproportionally living in poor neighborhoods (O'Hare & Mather, 2003; Shelley, 2013; Wilson,

1996). About 46 percent of Black students lived in a school district where more than 28 percent of families are living in poverty,[13] and 38.2 percent of Hispanic students were living in similarly poor school districts in 2013-14 (NCES, 2016f). Thus, these Black students had a higher chance of being exposed to the negative impacts of violence, drug abuse, and crime, which are more prevalent in poor areas and would contribute to poor student performance in schools. Studies show that Black children from low-income families have poorer health (Kao & Tienda, 1998; Lin & Harris, 2009). They are also less likely to participate in extracurricular activities (White & Gager, 2007), have less school readiness (Hart & Risley, 1999), and thus have lower educational outcomes compared to other peers (Shelley, 2013; Winfield, 1991). In addition, Black boys are more susceptible to negative influences of poor neighborhoods, such as low social cohesion, poor social safety, delinquent peer groups, and disadvantaged schools, compared to Black girls (Entwisle et al., 1994; Jencks & Mayer, 1990; Sampson, 1997, etc.). Thus, gender disparities in education are greater for poor Blacks than middle- or high-income Blacks (King, 2000). For example, fewer Black males than Black females go to postsecondary institutions after they graduate from high school, with the difference even reaching about 20 percent for Blacks living in poor families in 1992 (King, 2000). However, Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn (2004) found that this situation can be reversible. Male students spend more time on their schoolwork and show grade improvements after moving from a poor neighborhood to a higher-income neighborhood.

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[13] Family living in poverty means a family with an income below the United States Census Bureau's poverty threshold. The threshold, a dollar amount, varies based on the size and composition of a family, as well as inflation. For example, the poverty threshold in 2017 for a family of five with one child under 18 years old was $30,933, with two children under 18 was $29,986, and with three children was $29,253. More detailed information about the poverty threshold is available at the United States Census Bureau website: https://www.census.gov/data/tables/time-series/demo/income-poverty/historical-poverty-thresholds.html

Peer impacts

Peer pressure in both neighborhoods and schools is associated with youth educational outcomes (Ogbu, 2008; Woolley et al., 2009). Peer pressure can pose both positive and negative impacts for youth academic achievements and behaviors (Ransaw & Green, 2016). Meaningful connections with a peer group can promote a youth's self-esteem, well-being, stress tolerance, learning motivation, and school engagement, all of which are highly related to high school achievements (Greenberg et al., 1983; Levitt et al., 1993; Ryan et al., 1994). However, low-quality peer connections are associated with frequent deviant behaviors, such as drug abuse, crime, and school dropout, and thus lower school performance (Ransaw & Green, 2016). Kindermann (2007) found that students initially grouped with peers with high engagement can maintain or even increase their school engagement, while those connected with less engaged peers showed declines in their school engagement. For racial and ethnic minority youth, such as Black students, support from positive peer groups is closely related to better academic achievements (Garcia-Reid et al., 2005).

However, research suggests that Black males are usually subjected to negative peer pressure, which discourages them from performing well in school, because they are more likely to form peer groups that devalue educational success and treat high academic achievement as "acting White" (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Steinberg et al., 1992). Black youth reported that they would be teased by the peers from their racial group if they earned high grades in school (Johnson, 2000), viewed as selling out (Noguera, 2003; Ogbu, 2008), and end up with fewer friends (Fryer & Torelli, 2010). The oppositional culture adopted by Black youth, as well as the fear of being isolated by peers, undercuts their enthusiasm for and investment in schoolwork, leading to lower education achievements (Fordham, 1996; South et al., 2003). Additionally,

Black males have been found to be more vulnerable to peer pressure than Black females (Entwisle et al., 1994). Fuller (1982) found that unlike Black males, Black females are more likely to do well in school in spite of their affiliations with educationally devalued and underachieved peer groups. These different reactions to negative impacts from peer groups can contribute to the gender difference in school performance between Black males and Black females.

Moreover, peer impacts vary with neighborhoods. Research finds that the positive impacts of peer support on academic grades are prominent for youth living in low-risk neighborhoods, but this beneficial impact is diminished in high-risk neighborhoods (Gonzales et al., 1996). In urban, low-income communities, where most minority youth are concentrated, youth have a higher probability of being exposed to deviant peer groups that discourage them from pursuing academic success (Anderson, 1990; South et al., 2003). However, not all studies support the significant impacts of peer pressure on minority youth academic outcomes (DeGarmo & Martinez, 2006; Wildhagen, 2011). For example, some studies find no associations between peer support and learning motivation for Black youth and their low school performance, explaining that the Black-White achievement gap is caused by school structures rather than racialized peer pressure (Tyson et al., 2005).

Family factors

Family has significant influences on youth development, as youth spend most of their time with family members. Such parental practices as parental monitoring and parent-child relationships are closely related to youths' academic outcomes (Lowe & Dotterer, 2013; Spera, 2005). Youth with more parental monitoring are more likely to be motivated to learn, be engaged

in school, have high self-esteem, and spend more time on their homework, all leading to greater academic outcomes (Gonzales et al., 1996). Moreover, if parents pay close attention to the activities in which youth participate, the places they go, and the problems that they have in school, youth are more likely to demonstrate a reduction in deviant behaviors, build positive relationships with their teachers and peers, and be more satisfied with schooling (Brody & Flor, 1998; Lowe & Dotterer, 2013; Woolley et al., 2009). Parent-child relationships are positively associated with youths' intrinsic motivation, self-esteem, and school engagement; and they can further strengthen the positive impacts of parental monitoring on academic outcomes (Lowe & Dotterer, 2013; Plunkett & Bámaca-Gómez, 2003). However, Black girls and boys are treated differently at home, where Black girls usually receive more parental monitoring, less autonomy in decision making, and greater warmth than Black boys, which could contribute to Black boys' lower school motivation and performance (Smetana, 2000; Skinner et al., 2016; Varner & Mandara, 2013). In addition, parents are more likely to spend more time with and have more behavioral controls over their same-sex children (Mandara et al., 2005). As most Black youth live with either two parents (39.72 percent) or mothers only (48.12 percent) (U.S. Census Bureau, 2018), Black girls are more likely to develop closer relationships with their mothers and receive greater warmth and demands from parents at home than Black boys, which contributes to the gender differences in academic outcomes between Black males and Black females (Murray, 2009; Mandara et al., 2010).

The ethnic-racial socialization in parenting practice can also impact youths' behavioral and academic outcomes (Hughes, Witherspoon, et al., 2009). The literature evidences that youth who receive more cultural socialization from their parents have higher levels of academic engagement, self-esteem, and ethnic affirmation that can further promote their academic

engagement (Hughes, Witherspoon, et al., 2009; Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Stevenson, 1995). However, parents' cautionary messages about racial biases can negatively impact youths' self-esteem and ethnic affirmation (Hughes, Witherspoon, et al., 2009). For example, the more that parents emphasize the negative perceptions of their racial group by others, the more likely the youth will be to demonstrate a lower level of academic engagement and more antisocial behaviors (Caldwell et al., 2002; Steele & Aronson, 1995). In ethnic-minority families, parents usually transmit cultural socialization; knowledge about the history, heritage, and values of their racial and ethnic groups; and preparation for bias and information about coping with racial prejudice and discrimination to their children (Brown & Krishnakumar, 2007; Hughes, Rodriguez, et al., 2006). African American families discuss preparation for bias even more frequently than other racial-minority families (Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Chen, 1999). Black youth reported receiving more frequent preparation for bias and more cultural socialization from their parents than their White peers (Hamm, 2001; Hughes, Rodriguez, et al., 2006; Hughes, Witherspoon, et al., 2009). African American parents also tend to emphasize cultural pride socialization to Black girls and highlight racial discriminations to Black boys (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Caughy et al., 2011). Research shows that youth who receive more messages about racial issues from their parents often have lower grades (Marshall, 1995). Thus, the differences in the cultural socialization and preparation for bias in Black families are one of the contributors to both the underperformance of Black youth and the gender differences in Black youths' academic performance.

Parents' educational expectations are another major family factor that is positively related to youth's self-expectations for school success, even when controlling for academic achievement (Trusty, 2002; Wood et al., 2007). Some African American parents, and especially mothers, tend

to hold more negative expectations of Black boys, believing that Black boys are academically weaker than Black girls (Hill, 1999; Varner & Mandara, 2013). Lowered parental expectations and discouragement can contribute to Black boys' low academic expectations, leading to their low school performance (Hossler & Stage, 1992). For example, research shows that boys who receive endorsement for their talents in math from their parents have higher confidence in their math competence than those whose parents do not (Rouland et al., 2013). The differences in parents' perceptions between Black boys and Black girls are shaped by such factors as academic gender stereotypes (Tiedemann, 2000) and Black boys' behavior problems, which are further reinforced by low academic outcomes and teachers' evaluations of Black boys (Mistry et al., 2009). Some research even finds that parents' academic expectations of Black males decline as their children's educations progress (Graves, 2010).

Research suggests that parental expectations can interact with other family factors, such as family structure or parents' or guardians' educational background, to impact Black males' educational aspirations and achievement (Bateman, 1997). For example, parental expectations are the most important predictor for Black boys' educational aspirations in a two-parent home, followed by school factors, such as grades, school experiences, teacher expectations, and class process. However, school factors become the strongest predictors for Black boys' educational aspirations in a female-headed family, followed by parental expectations (Bateman, 1997). The impacts of parents' education backgrounds also vary with family structure. Bateman (1997) found that the father's education plays a more important role in a two-parent family, while the mother's education and expectations have more significant impacts on Black youths' education outcomes in a female-headed family.

School factors

Schools are important places for youth development, with students acquiring knowledge and skills, learning about rules and instructions, and being instructed about ethics and values (Spring, 1994). The representation of minority teachers in public schools is one of the factors discussed in the literature that impacts the academic outcomes of minority youth, and especially low-performing ones (Dee, 2004; Ehrenberg & Brewer, 1995; Egalite et al., 2015; Pitts, 2007). The literature shows that minority teachers are effective in motivating minority students to pursue academic success and improve their learning outcomes because they can serve as role models, know better how these students learn, and integrate their understandings of the students' culture and experiences into class teaching (Basit & McNamara, 2004; Cole, 1986; Gay, 2000; Hollins, 1982; Nieto, 2000; Pitts, 2007). However, in spite of great efforts to recruit minority teachers in different states, the public-school teacher population is still far from racially diverse compared to the student population (Ingersoll & May, 2011; Villegas et al., 2012). There is also an unbalanced gender ratio between the teacher workforce and student population. For example, in the 2015-2016 school year, 76.6 percent of teachers in public elementary and secondary schools were female, while only 23.4 percent were male (NCES, 2017b). Also, Whites were dominant among these teachers, accounting for about 80 percent, followed by Hispanics (8.8 percent) and Blacks (6.7 percent) (NCES, 2017b). However, among the students enrolled in public elementary and secondary schools in fall 2015, 48.9 percent were White, 25.9 percent were Hispanic, and 15.5 percent were Black (NCES, 2018). While the gender proportion of these students is unknown, data shows that 51 percent of the child population in the same year were male and 49 percent were female (The Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2018b). The underrepresentation of minority teachers and male teachers in the public school system can

partly explain the underperformance of Black males in schools. In fact, research shows that students who are racially or ethnically similar to their teachers tend to receive more favorable subjective evaluations from them (Ehrenberg et al., 1995; Ouazad, 2014), and Black students are less likely to receive high evaluations compared to White students (Casteel, 1998).

School experiences have also proven to be a critical factor impacting Black males' educational aspirations, and especially those in single-parent homes headed by females (Bateman, 1997). Researchers propose that the unequal treatment received by Black males in schools greatly dampens their passion for learning and discourages them from working hard in school (Noguera, 2003). For example, some schools marginalize and stigmatize Black males (Harry & Klingner, 2006; Meier et al., 1989), label them as less intelligent or as having learning disabilities (Hilliard, 1991), punish them with more severity than other students for the same violations (Sandler et al., 1985), and exclude them from high-level classes and other opportunities (Oakes, 1985). These experiences, together with their lower confidence in meeting academic challenges, discourage them from making progress in school. There is also research revealing that Black youths who spend a longer time in school are more likely to get lower scores on standardized tests (Coleman et al., 1996).

Another school factor frequently discussed in the literature is support from teachers (Axelrod & Markow, 2000; Weinstein et al., 1995). Teachers' expectations and support are positively related to students' academic performance (Loukas et al., 2006; Sizemore, 1988). This support is even more critical to Black youths' academic performance, since such support may be otherwise difficult to obtain for racial and ethnic minorities (Lee, 2000; Stanton-Salazar, 1997). However, schoolteachers are not always as supportive of Black youth as they are supposed to be, and most teachers are not well prepared to work with students from different cultural

backgrounds (Delgado-Gaitan, 1988; White House Initiative, 2003). Black youths indicate that they receive less support and care from their teachers in class than White and Asian students, even though they attach much importance to education and have a strong willingness to do well in school; and Black males experience even less support and care from teachers than Black females (Noguera, 2001, 2003). Similar to parents, some teachers tend to hold lower expectations for the academic success of Black males than Black females at every grade level (Ross & Jackson, 1991; Wood et al., 2007), and they are more likely to attach negative characteristics to Black males than Black females or students of other racial groups (Washington, 1982). Black male youths report that they are often misunderstood and misjudged in schools and desire more connections with their teachers (Davis, 2003; Roderick, 2003).

Even though both teachers and parents may have lower expectations for Black males' school achievements and outcomes, contributing to the gender differences in educational outcomes (Bateman, 1997; Ross & Jackson, 1991), but their impacts can be moderated. Research indicates that when teachers have average or low expectations, parents' low expectations are significantly related to low self-expectations of Black youth. However, when teachers have high expectations, parents' low expectations do not have any impacts on the self-expectations of youth (Wood et al., 2007). This is important because it suggests that interventions could be used to reduce or eliminate the negative impacts on both youths' expectations and their school performance.

Personal factors

Self-expectation is one of the key intrinsic factors contributing to Black males' educational outcomes, according to research (Trusty, 2002). Youth with high self-expectations

usually have more positive academic outcomes than those with low self-expectations (Wood et al., 2007). Studies find that youths' self-expectations are highly related to their education attainments, especially for males. Males with high expectations are almost twice as likely to complete high school as males with low expectations (Ensminger & Slusarcick, 1992). These outcomes are partly because fewer deviant behaviors are closely related to self-expectations. Research supports that higher self-expectations lead to less delinquency for both males and females (Hockaday et al., 2000; Joseph, 1996). For example, Black females with high self-expectations are less likely to get pregnant when they are in high school than their peers (Hockaday et al., 2000). Black males with high self-expectations also have fewer deviant behaviors than those with low expectations (Joseph, 1996).

Intrinsic factors, such as motivation and self-concept, also have impacts on youth academic outcomes. Motivation is the "desire to do things well and to compete against a standard of excellence" (Graham, 1989, p. 41). Students with high motivations usually have higher school performance compared to those with low motivations (Seaton et al., 2014). Black students have strong motivations for school success when success can facilitate their positive racial identity (Cokley, 2002). However, the social image of Black inferiority is a key barrier to Black youths' motivation for academic progress and success (Howard & Hammond, 1985). Academic self-concept is another intrinsic factor, referring to the belief in one's own academic competencies (Ghazvini, 2011; Marsh & Seeshing, 1997). Students with positive academic self-concepts tend to have higher educational aspirations and educational attainment levels (Guay et al., 2004). In addition, there are reciprocal effects between academic self-concept and academic achievement regardless of students' prior ability and cultural backgrounds (Guay et al., 2003; March & Craven, 2005; Marsh & Köller, 2004; Marsh et al., 2002). Academic success can facilitate

positive academic self-conceptualization, and positive self-conceptualization, in turn, can further improve students' academic achievement (Huang, 2011; Marsh & Craven, 2005; Marsh et al., 1999, etc.).

Moreover, gender differences in personalities also impact the differing academic achievements between Black males and females. Research shows that Black male students tend to make direct and aggressive responses to peer conflicts and have hostile and disruptive reactions to punishments in schools, often resulting in teachers and other students labeling them as troublemakers (Davis, 2009; Pollard, 1993). However, Black females are more likely to be socialized to take a different approach in dealing with peer conflicts, such as reporting the conflicts to their teachers and avoiding confrontations with peers (Pollard, 1993). The undesirable behaviors of Black males lead to teachers' and peers' negative perceptions, and Black males' maladaptive responses to these negative perceptions further increase the chance of being labeled as problematic and at-risk, which distances Black males from the mainstream of education (Davis, 2003; Harry & Anderson, 1999; Ross & Jackson, 1991). Literature reveals that Black males are more likely experience identity incongruence with school success than other students (Davis, 2003; Hall, 2001). Moreover, while both Black males and females have access to fewer resources compared to other students, Black females are more active in solving problems. They are more likely to seek support outside of school settings and are able to identity more alternative resources than Black males (Pollard, 1990; Scott & Pollard, 1981).

While these personal factors play important roles in students' education outcomes, research shows that external factors, such as family factors and school factors, can contribute to the school performance and outcomes of Black youth by impacting such intrinsic factors as motivation and self-expectations (Pollard, 1989). For example, positive support from teachers

and parents can improve students' resilience when coping with serious stress, which can lead to higher academic achievements than students with less support (Werner, 1984). Also, the social imagery associated with Black males, such as laziness, aggression, and violence, can be internalized by Black youth, shaping their perceptions on school achievement (Hall, 2001; Paige & Witty, 2010). Research finds that both Black males and Black females reported agreeing that Black females usually do better in school than Black males (Hudley & Graham, 2001). This self-perception has negative impacts on Black males' school performance and contributes to a wider gender gap in educational performance (Eccles & Wigfield, 2002). Unequal treatments in schools, such as a higher likelihood of perceiving mental retardation, school suspensions, and ignorance of teachers, are also harmful to Black males' self-perceptions and expectations, leading to lower motivations and worse school performance for Black males (Trusty, 2002). In fact, research demonstrates that Black males and females do not demonstrate significant differences in academic self-conceptions at the beginning of their school careers (Pollard, 1993). Black males, like other students, have strong motivations to do well in school (Steele, 1992). However, these do not help Black males generate improved school performance because the negative stereotypes attached to their racial group, as well as the negative school and social experiences related to these stereotypes, lead to their academic disidentification (Cokley, 2002; Steele, 1992). Osborne (1995, 1997) found that academic disidentification was more prevalent among Black males than Black females. In sum, no one single factor can be identified as the full cause of the achievement gap between Black youth and White youth, as well as the underperformance of Black males (Berry & Asamen, 1989). The low educational outcomes of Black youth are caused by external factors and intrinsic factors, as well as the interactions among all these factors.

High-achieving Black Students and Contributing Factors

In spite of the wide gender gap in school performance between Black males and Black females and between Black youth and other racial groups, there are studies showing that some Black students are high achievers in schools, even though they are faced with the same obstacles as marginally achieving students (Harpalani, 2017; Wiggan, 2008). These Black students have a strong willingness to do well in schools (Steele, 1992). They typically identify strongly with their race and culture, with higher education aspirations and better academic performance compared to low-achieving Black students, who usually have weak attachments to their racial identity (Harris & Marsh, 2010; Smith & Lalonde, 2003). This is very different from the oppositional cultural perspectives, in which Black students often experience the burden of acting White, underperform in schools to protect their racial identity or choose racial invisibility, and act neither Black nor White in order to secure the label of being academically successful (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986).

In particular, high-achieving Black students dismantle the negative stereotypic beliefs regarding Black students and do not adopt anti-school behaviors and academic failure to protect their cultural identity (Akom, 2003; Archer-Banks & Behar-Horenstein, 2012; Price, 2015). Instead, they are proud of themselves and their school achievements, have a strong belief in the value of education, and view school engagement and high school performance as both a form of group agency and resistance against racial oppression and discrimination (Akom, 2003; Hilliard, 2003; Lundy, 2003; O'Connor, 1997). Furthermore, in spite of the inequity and discrimination in the school system, such as school staff and teachers' low expectations and negative perceptions of Black students, high-achieving Black students are good at navigating resources and establishing strong and ongoing relationships with people, including teachers, families, mentors, and peers who are supportive and willing to help them overcome barriers and achieve their

academic goals (Archer-Banks & Behar-Horenstein, 2012; Freeman, 1999; Hébert & Reis, 1999; Lareau & Horvat, 1999; Wiggan, 2008). These students also like working collaboratively and supporting each other, and they are interested in meeting and connecting with students of different racial and ethnical backgrounds (Hilt, 2011; Marsh, 2013; Wright, 2011).

In addition to Black students' personal positive conceptions, confidence, and efforts that contribute to their academic success, the literature recognizes other remarkable external contributors, including family, school, and community supports, that are critical for Black students, regardless of gender, to improve positive educational outcomes and maintain academic success (Byfield, 2008; Ferguson, 2002; Ford et al., 2008; Hilt, 2011; Price, 2015; Warde, 2007, etc.). First, family support (e.g., emotional, physical, and financial support) is recognized as an important contributing factor for Black youths', and especially Black girls', high school success (Archer-Banks & Behar-Horenstein, 2012). Parents and other family members' monitoring the students' academic progress, as well as encouragement and support during school time, are a strong motivator for students' persistence in the face of obstacles and maintenance of academic success (Archer-Banks & Behar-Horenstein, 2012; Carter, 2008; Warde, 2007).

Second, Black students rate teachers' engagement and encouragement as an important factor in their school success (Ferguson, 2002; Price, 2015; Wiggan, 2008). Teachers are often more effective in working with Black students and helping them achieve their academic potentials if the teachers are interactive and attentive to students' needs, provide high-quality instruction, create a nurturing learning environment, and encourage teamwork, student engagement, and critical thinking (Archer-Banks & Behar-Horenstein, 2012; Howard, 2002; Wiggan, 2008). Close connections with teachers is a strong motivator of Black students' academic success (Price, 2015). In particular, research suggests that teachers in urban schools

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can empower Black male students and help them succeed in schools if they discard the stereotypes and deficit perspectives when it comes to these students, instead thinking beyond the current situation, speaking possibility rather than destruction for the lives of students, and maintaining caring relationships with students (Irvine, 2003; Milner, 2007).

Third, a supportive community with programs and organizations that are responsive to Black youths' educational needs and outcomes is essential for Black students' academic success. Preschool programs are one of the supportive programs identified in the literature that can facilitate students' cognitive development (Ceci, 1991), increase their academic confidence and motivation (Zigler et al., 1982), and demonstrate long-term intellectual and academic benefits for at-risk African American students (Campbell & Ramey, 1995). Students with preschool education usually demonstrate greater school achievement, higher school graduation rates, better employment records, less probability of assignment to special education, and fewer deviant behaviors in high school (Campbell & Ramey, 1995; Schweinhart et al., 1993). Additionally, extracurricular programs, school based or non-school based, have been found effective in helping minority students develop social skills, broaden social networks, and gain additional learning opportunities that benefit their school success, thus reducing inequality in education (Conchas, 2006; Wiggan, 2008).

Other community-based programs, especially church-based programs, are a contributory factor for Black youths' academic success (Akom, 2003; Barrett, 2010; Byfield, 2008; Spencer, 2012). For example, Akom (2003) found that an Islamic religious organization was able to change the negative perspectives that acting White is a burden to being Black as honor among the community by connecting being Black with positive educational outcomes, which changed its members and community's stereotypical interpretations about themselves and history (Akom,

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2003). Other scholars recognize the significant contribution of Black Christian churches (e.g., Barrett, 2010; Jordan, 2012; Regnerus, 2000), which usually have a strong pro-education culture. They acknowledge educational achievements, provide access to positive role models, develop Black youths' work ethics, and nurture their reading skills, critical reasoning skills, and other social skills through direct and indirect academic support programs (Barrett, 2010; Middleton, 2001; Regnerus, 2000; Thornton, 1997). Furthermore, strong religious beliefs help Black youth develop a strong sense of their racial identity, improve their self-confidence, enable them to persevere in the face of obstacles and pressure, and prevent them from being involved in delinquency and other immoral activities, thus maximizing their academic potential and improving their educational performance (Byfield, 2008; Jordan, 2012; Mitchell, 2010; Putnam, 2000).

In general, Black students, regardless of their gender, economic status, and family background, are more likely to be academically successful if they have a positive racial and cultural identity, value educational achievements, have strong motivations for academic success and high self-confidence, and maintain strong connections with caring individuals in a supportive system, including school, home, and community (Archer-Banks & Behar-Horenstein, 2012; Ford et al., 2008; Hilt, 2011; Schultz, 1993; Wright, 2011).

Positive Impacts of Public and Nonprofit Institutions on Black Education and Development

The history of Black education has had many public and nonprofit institutions that have made significant positive impacts on Black youth development and Black education, such as Black churches, philanthropic foundations, Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), and other community-based nonprofits (Brooks & Starks, 2011; Roebuck & Murty,

1993). This section uses HBCUs and Black churches as examples to reveal the positive impacts of these institutions on Black education and Black youth development, and especially the impacts of Black leaders and teachers as role models and the Black culture and heritage highlighted and valued by these organizations. This section also summarizes the promising outcomes of nonprofit youth programs in supporting Black youth. The success of these organizations and programs suggests community-based nonprofit youth programs as promising interventions to improve educational outcomes and youth development for Blacks.

HBCUs' success in educating Black students

HBCUs are generally institutions of higher learning that were established before 1964 and that have a primary mission of educating Black students (Roebuck & Murty, 1993). The first higher education institution for Black students was the Institute for Colored Youth, founded in Pennsylvania in 1837, followed by Lincoln University (1854) and Wilberforce University (1856) (OCR, 1991). Most HBCUs were founded in the south after the American Civil War, when Blacks were severely segregated and excluded from mainstream education (Brooks & Starks, 2011; Roebuck & Murty, 1993). Many HBCUs worked closely with religious missionary organizations and philanthropic groups to provide the best and often the only educational opportunities for Black students, who were not allowed to attend predominantly White colleges and universities (OCR, 1991; Roebuck & Murty, 1993). In the early years, a major focus of HBCUs was teaching former slaves to read, centered in secondary education that prepared Blacks for industrial and professional careers and Black teachers for segregated schools; these institutions started providing postsecondary-level courses and programs in the early 1900s (Allen & Jewell, 2002; OCR, 1991). In 1950, over 90 percent of Black students were enrolled in

HBCUs (Harvey & Williams, 1989). In 1953, over 32,000 students attended private Black universities and colleges, and over 43,000 students attended public Black colleges. In particular, about 3,200 students were enrolled in graduate programs at HBCUs (OCR, 1991). Today, there are still over 100 HBCUs across the country (51 public intuitions and 50 private, nonprofit intuitions), enrolling over 298,000 students (NCES, 2019a).

Founded at a time when legal discrimination and segregation prevailed across the country, HBCUs were faced with great challenges in development. They were usually under-funded and had poorer facilities and less qualified teachers than traditionally White institutions in the same states (Brooks & Starks, 2011; Harvey & Williams, 1989). Even after 1954, when the "separate but equal" doctrine was overturned, many HBCUs still struggled to maintain high quality educational programs and address their enrollment levels because desegregation and integration increased the competition for Black students from predominantly White colleges and universities (Brooks & Starks, 2011). Beginning in the 1960s, HBCUs received great support from the federal government, such as through the Title III of the Higher Education Act of 1965, statewide desegregation criteria from the Office for Civil Rights (1977), and Executive Order 12677 (1989), which improved their physical plants, teaching facilities, and faculty and education programs and expanded their nonminority enrollment while retaining their primary mission of educating Blacks (OCR, 1991). With this support and through persistent efforts, HBCUs made substantial progress and achieved great accomplishments. Although making up only about 3 percent of all colleges and universities in the United States, HBCUs have "graduated about one third of all black graduates with bachelor's degrees and 75 percent of all PhDs, 46 percent of all business executives, 50 percent of all black engineers, 80 percent of all black federal judges, 50 percent of all black doctors, and 50 percent of all black attorneys"

(Brooks & Starks, 2011, p. xv). In particular, over 80 percent of all Blacks with degrees in medicine and dentistry graduated from two HBCUs, Howard University and Meharry Medical College (OCR, 1991). Also, about half of Black faculty in predominantly White universities were awarded bachelor's degrees at an HBCU (OCR, 1991). Athletes, musicians, and filmmakers who graduated from HBCUs have produced movies and television programs, such as *School Daze* and *A Different World*, that demonstrated their experiences in attending HBCUs and, more importantly, presented the unique challenges and struggles facing Blacks within their own communities to mainstream Americans (Brooks & Starks, 2011). HBCUs effectively advanced Black education in spite of the limited resources and other challenges they faced (Harvey & Williams,1989).

The past and continued success of HBCUs in attracting and educating Black students can be attributed to several characteristics that make Black students' learning experiences very unique on their campuses. First, HBCUs have strong cultural connections with Black students. They grew out of Blacks' striving for education and had high proportions of Black faculty and staff (Allen & Jewell, 2002). They are closely identified with the Black population's culture, struggles, and fight for equity in American society (Thompson, 1978). Instead of stressing White cultural norms, HBCUs appreciate and educate about Black culture, help develop Black consciousness and identity, and foster ethnic pride among Black students (Allen & Jewell, 2002; Roebuck & Murty, 1993). Research shows that the unique culture and traditional practices of HBCUs are effective in strengthening Black students' positive psychosocial reinforcement and improving their learning outcomes (Fleming, 1984; Glover, 1988; Roebuck & Murty, 1993). Second, HBCUs nurture a friendly and supportive learning environment in which there are high expectations for the academic success of Black students, who are encouraged to achieve their

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greatest potential without suffering from prejudice and discriminations (Billingsley, 1982; Fleming, 1984; Harvey & Williams, 1989). Research finds that teachers in HBCUs tend to spend more time with Black students, instilling a sense of personal worth in them; and Black students are also more likely to develop positive, close, and long-term relationship with their professors on Black campuses than their counterparts on White campuses (Thompson, 1978). Moreover, HBCUs recognize the different levels of preparation of Black students and offer conditional admission and remedial programs for disadvantaged or underprepared students to help them succeed in college (Roebuck & Murty, 1993). The literature shows that Black students on HBCU campuses have more confidence in their academic ability, higher persistence rates, and better academic achievements than Black students on White campuses (Allen et al., 1991; Harvey & Williams, 1989). Third, HBCUs provide positive role models for Black students. HBCUs prepare Black teachers to serve as positive role models for Black students in public schools and postsecondary institutions (Bracey, 2017), produce leaders (e.g., Martin Luther King and Horace Julian Bond) and foot soldiers who have been a major force in civil rights movements, participating in segregation protests and other social changes, and graduate Blacks who become educators, doctors, lawyers, politicians, architects, writers, entrepreneurs, musicians, and athletes and make significant contributions in various fields in American society (Allen & Jewell, 2002; Brooks & Starks, 2011; Roebuck & Murty, 1993). Last but not least, HBCUs expose students to more racially and ethnically diverse faculty and students (Harvey & Williams, 1989). The administrators and faculty in HBCUs were initially dominated by Whites, but they shifted to having more Blacks by the middle 20th century and are now more integrated (Roebuck & Murty, 1993). For example, among faculty at Black private colleges who were members of the United Negro College Fund in 1987-1988, over 38 percent were non-Blacks (United Negro College

Fund, 1985). However, Black faculty accounted less than 4 percent of all faculty members in over 3,000 traditional White colleges and universities (Roebuck & Murty, 1993). Even in Fall 2001, 60.4 percent of faculty in degree-granting HBCUs were Black, 26.2 percent were White, and 13.4 percent were other races (Provasnik & Shafer, 2004). Conversely, in all degree granting institutions, 79.2 percent were White, 15.3 percent were other races, and 5.6 percent were Black (NCES, 2003). HBCUs are also open to all qualified students, including non-Black minority students and other students with social, financial, or academic barriers to going to college (Allen, 1992). Researchers report that Black students at HBCUs demonstrate a higher cultural awareness and commitment and better transitions from college to the larger society compared to those in predominantly White institutions (Allen, 1986; Harvey & Williams, 1989).

Today, HBCUs still play a significant role in Black education, in spite of certain criticisms of the continued existence of HBCUs after desegregation (Fleming, 1984; Harvey & Williams, 1989). The prevailing discrimination and racism in society suggest the necessity and importance of HBCUs in advancing higher education for Black students and bringing more Blacks into the economic mainstream (Bracey, 2017; Harvey & Williams, 1989). The literature shows that many Black students still choose to attend HBCUs today for many reasons, such as their strong desire to learn more about Black culture and have extensive contact with their racial group, their isolated and marginalized experiences in predominantly White high schools caused by their minority status, and the strong academic reputations, welcoming environments, and substantial academic and financial supports of HBCUs (Bracey, 2017; Johnson, 2017; Van Camp et al., 2010). HBCUs still attract a large proportion of first-generation college students and students with lower academic grades in high school, and more and more students with strong academic backgrounds are also choosing to attend them (Freeman & Thomas, 2002; Johnson,

2017). The student population in HBCUs has become more diverse, with about 24 percent non-Black enrollment in 2018, but HBCUs still account for approximately 9 percent of all Black students enrolled in degree-granting institutions and graduate a disproportionate high number of Black students each year (Allen, 1992; NCES, n.d.). In the 2017-2018 academic year, HBCUs awarded about 48,300 degrees, of which 11 percent were associate degrees, 68 percent were bachelor's degrees, 16 percent were master's degree, and 5 percent were doctoral degrees; Black students obtained 74 percent of all these degrees (NCES, 2019b).

The positive role of Black churches in Black education

In addition to the impacts of institutions such as HBCUs on Black higher education, the Black church is a great example of the significant roles that community-based nonprofits can play in youth development and education equity for Black youth (Johnson, 1990; Jordan, 2012; Moss, 2003, etc.). During the early colonial period, Christianity was used as a tool for social manipulation by White Americans, ensuring the obedience of Black slaves to their White masters (Lincoln & Mamiya, 1990; Savage, 2008). However, these churches later became places where the hope of freedom was nurtured and Black people became connected with each other, supported each other, and worked together to fight against oppression and discrimination (Hamilton, 1975; Lincoln & Mamiya, 1990; Moss, 2003). In the early 20th century, the Black church became an engine for social movement and social change, propelling the well-known civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s and protesting against racial segregation and inequity (Martin & McAdoo, 2007; Nelsen & Nelsen, 1975; Savage, 2008). Black churches successfully advanced the social, economic, and political status of the Black community (Lincoln & Mamiya, 1990; Owens, 2003).

In particular, the Black church was historically recognized as one of the primary sources of education for the African American community (Raboteau, 1978). In the early 17th century, Black churches took on the major role of teaching slaves basic reading and writing skills (Span & Anderson, 2002). However, White slave masters' growing fear of slave literacy and insurrection led to laws against the education of Blacks in almost every American colony (Jacobs, 1861; Payne, 1888; Williams, 2005). In the antebellum years, Blacks, and especially Black slaves in southern states, often had limited or even no access to education (Soltow & Steven, 1982). Churches, and Black churches in particular, were one of the only places where limited educational opportunities were available for Blacks (Cornelius, 1999; Johnson, 1990; Span, 2002). Other agencies contributing to Black education included the Minor's Moralist Society, which provided education to orphans or minority children (Payne, 1888), and Northern benevolent societies and the Freedman's Bureau, which provided resources to support schools educating Blacks (Powers, 1994; Soltow & Steven, 1982). The emancipation of slavery in 1863 facilitated the growth of independent Black churches in the southern states, such as the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church and the National Baptist Convention, that advocated for Black education and sponsored schools and other educational facilities and institutions for Blacks (Maffly-Kipp, 2001). The Sabbath Schools that emerged in the late 19th century were examples of church-sponsored schools run by formerly enslaved African Americans, and they provided evening and weekend classes for Blacks (Johnson, 1990; Span 2002; Span & Benson, 2009). A quote from a personal conversation with Dr. H. Beecher Hicks demonstrated the important roles of churches in Black education: "The church historically has been our classroom; pastors have been our teachers. Many learned to read not in public schools but in Sunday school" (Madyun & Witherspoon, 2010, p. 200). In addition, Black churches established historically Black colleges

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(HBCUs), such as Allen University, Lane College, and Livingstone College, to train teachers and preachers (Mitchell, 2010). The education impact was remarkable, with the literacy rate of Southern blacks increasing from only 5 percent in 1870 to about 70 percent by 1900 (Maffly-Kipp, 2001).

In addition to the important roles of Black churches in the history of slavery, they are also important to Black youth development today, especially when public schools fail to meet the academic needs of Black youth (Barrett, 2010). Black churches fill the gap between public schools and the needs of local Black communities by offering or sponsoring tutoring programs, mentorship partnerships, and other supportive programs to improve the academic, social, and cultural development of youth (Middleton, 2001; Thornton, 1997). They have been shown effective in facilitating socialization, educating on Black culture and values, helping youth develop a positive racial identity, acknowledging youths' talents and strengths, building their self-confidence, improving cognitive skills and abilities, and thus empowering them to succeed in schools (Barrett, 2010; Mitchell, 2010; Martin & McAdoo, 2007; Powell Pruitt, 2004, etc.). In addition, Black church leaders and church goers often serve as role models for Black youth, help Black youth recognize their potential, and greatly motivate youths' pursuit of school success (Barrett, 2010; Jordan, 2012). Research finds that Black students who attend church activities often are more likely to report a higher grade and have better school-related behaviors than students who seldom or never go to church (Barrett, 2009; Jeynes, 2002; Toldson & Anderson, 2010), and the gap in school achievement has been reduced and even eliminated between Black students who frequently attend church services and their White peers (Barrett, 2009; Jeynes, 2010).

While the role of Black churches in youth education is not as significant as it was in the nineteenth century, research suggests that Black churches can still collaborate with local schools and families to provide services and programs that meet the academic needs of Black youth today (Gaines II, 2010; Jordan, 2012). Black churches, as nonprofit, faith-based organizations, demonstrate the important role of nonprofits and Black leaders in Black youth education and Black community development, as well as social change and social justice. This in turn suggests the importance of, and necessity for, nonprofit (not limited to churches) involvement in education equity for Black youth and other minority youth. This research tries to expand people's understanding of community-based nonprofits, and especially those with Black leaders, as well as their importance in Black youth development and educational outcomes.

Nonprofit youth programs as promising interventions for Black youth development

Nonprofit youth programs play an increasingly significant role in youth education and development (e.g., Noguera, 2003; Roderick, 2003; Rivera & Erlich, 1998). The positive outcomes of HBCUs and Black churches on Black youth education and development suggest that nonprofit youth programs, and especially programs established by Blacks and/or serving Black communities, can be promising interventions for Black youth development. Research shows that private and nonprofit programs youth programs that provide mentoring and enrichment programs to Black youth are effective in improving educational outcomes for these youth, thus altering the negative trends of racial and gender gaps in education (Freire, 1972; Noguera, 2003; Roderick, 2003; Wood et al., 2007). The youth programs developed by community ethnic nonprofits are considered even more approachable and effective for Black youth, as individuals are more likely to associate with others who are similar to them when there

are no incentives for other options (Baugher et al., 2000). Ethnic nonprofits usually include leadership teams that are well represented by members sharing the ethnicity and culture from the communities they support (Holley, 2003). Thus, they are more effective at maintaining strong relationships with Black communities and providing services that are culturally responsive to Black youth (Rivera & Erlich, 1998).

The literature has documented the significant impacts and positive outcomes of nonprofit youth programs, showing that they are effective in increasing legal knowledge, reducing substance abuse and deviant behaviors, improving school performance, enhancing self-confidence, and developing life skills for youth, and especially underserved Black youth (Cervantes et al., 2004; Gordon, 2013; Lucy-Bouler & Lucy-Bouler, 2012). These programs can also help parents learn about the legal system, maintain close contact with schools, and get more involved in youth education (Cervantes et al., 2004; Stevenson et al., 1998).

Nonprofit youth programs have proven helpful in improving school engagement and performance. Research shows that youth participating in either nonprofit or for-profit after-school programs have improved school performance, such as higher school attendance, better grades, fewer deviant behaviors, better peer relationships, and better adjustment to the academic change (DuBois et al., 2002; Posner & Vandell, 1994). Nonprofit youth programs, such as after-school programs, have more flexibility than schools. They can change the curriculum contents or adjust the instruction pace to make them more attractive and comfortable for youth to follow (Fashola, 2003). The additional time youth spend on their studies and the extra assistance they receive from these programs can supplement the education of the youth who do not do well in school, such as Black males, and reduce their chances of school failure (Eccles & Barber, 1999).

In addition, nonprofit youth programs can improve safety and reduce crime and behavioral problems for youth (Cross et al., 2010). After-school hours are known as a time with highest risk for youth, and especially those living in poor urban areas. Some youth programs are increased partly in response to parents' heightened concerns about delinquency prevention to offer safe shelter for youth in unsafe neighborhoods and/or offer positive activities to engage youth, provide social and personal skills, and reduce the chances of youth committing crimes and other adverse outcomes caused by their deviant behaviors (Gottfredson et al., 2001; Sickmund et al., 1997). Research provides evidence that engaging youth in programs during after-school hours can reduce the likelihood of violence for youth and provide protection from risks of victimization, especially for underserved minority males (DuBois et al., 2002; Fashola, 2003).

What's more, nonprofit youth programs can benefit youths' development by helping them build confidence and acquire more social skills, such as making public presentations, working in teams, becoming more independent, demonstrating leadership qualities, and being more willing to try new things (Girl Scouts of the USA, 2008; Henderson et al., 2007). Other youth programs also educate youth to embrace diversity and respect differences to reduce harassment and bullying, thus creating a school environment where every school community is valued and respected regardless of race, gender, sexual orientation, and religion (Kosciw et al., 2008).

Nonprofit youth programs are not only beneficial for individuals, they can also improve the well-being of the communities where the youth participants live. Woodland (2016) proposes that community-based youth programs can facilitate community revitalization, including by training community youth to be lay health practitioners in their communities, offering safe spaces and developed programs to improve the neighborhood landscape, and centralizing

community resources. Even though most researchers agree that nonprofit youth programs, and especially community-based programs, are beneficial for youth development and can improve youth outcomes (Granger et al., 2007), some scholars find that some youth programs are not that effective and could even lead to negative outcomes, such as behavioral problems and negative peer influence (Dynarski et al., 2003; Mahoney, 2000). This is partly due to ineffective management of these programs, including low-quality staff, boring activities, poor relationships with students, and inconsistent hours of operation (Woodland, 2008). Locations of the programs and income levels of the youths they serve can also influence the effectiveness of these programs (Masten & Coatsworth, 1998; Wright et al., 2013).

In general, nonprofit youth programs, and especially those with strong connections to local communities, are promising interventions for Black youth education and development because they often share certain characteristics with HBCUs and Black churches, such as highlighting Black culture and values, providing a setting of Black affirmation, fostering positive racial identity, recognizing Black youths' strengths, providing roles models, and/or being need-oriented and supportive (Branch Associates, 2016; Gooden, Evans, Perkins, et al., 2018; Rivera & Erlich, 1998). However, despite the rich research on program outcomes of nonprofit youth programs and the significant value identified for these programs, there is little literature examining gender differences in the outcomes of nonprofit youth programs, including exploring whether these programs are equally effective for Black males and Black females (Cross et al., 2010). In filling this research gap, this study examines gender differences in the outcomes of three nonprofit youth programs and tests whether these programs can effectively narrow the gender gap when it comes to educational outcomes and other program outcomes of Black youth.

Chapter III. Method and Research Design

Introduction

This study examines the educational outcomes of three nonprofit youth programs and tests gender differences in the educational outcomes of Black youth who participated in one of these programs. The examination of gender differences is based on quantitative data from students' self-reported outcomes in these three programs, including such factors as academic grades, parental support, deviant behaviors, resiliency, and self-esteem. The gender differences in the long-term impacts of these three case programs are also analyzed, based on qualitative data that demonstrate how much program participants attribute their career choices and current performance to the impacts of the nonprofit programs after they graduate from high schools. This chapter presents the mixed methods research design in sections that address research questions, mixed methods research, case study design, data collection, secondary data sources and samples, data analysis, and limitations of this study.

Research Questions

This research analyzes the program outcomes for Black youth in three nonprofit youth programs in an effort to understand: 1) Gender differences in the short-term impacts of nonprofit youth programs on Black youths' educational outcomes, 2) Gender differences in the long-term impacts of these programs on Black youths' future development, 3) Nonprofits' roles in improving Black males' educational outcomes, and 4) Nonprofits' influences on facilitating gender equity in Black youths' education.

The primary questions of this study are: Can nonprofit youth programs reduce gender differences in the education outcomes and other program outcomes between Black males and

Black females? If so, how? Specifically, 1) Do Black youth who participate in nonprofit youth programs have a smaller gender gap in education outcomes and other program outcomes than Black youth who do not participate in any nonprofit programs or other extracurricular activities? 2) Is there any gender difference in the programs' long-term impacts on Black youth (who have participated in the target nonprofit youth programs) one year after they graduate from high school?

The first sub-question examines whether Black youth have a smaller gender gap in educational outcomes after they participated in the target nonprofit programs. The second sub-question examines the long-term impacts of these nonprofit programs and gender differences in the long-term impacts. These questions are examined through multiple case studies, and the research design is based on a mixed methods approach using secondary data. The primary data sources include on-site survey and interview data, telephone interview data, online survey data, program documents, and other supportive documents from the websites of the three nonprofit programs. This chapter will discuss the mixed methods research approach, case study research design, and all the data sources in detail in the following sections.

<div align="center">**Research Design**</div>

Mixed methods research

This study employs sequential mixed methods research that combines both quantitative and qualitative approaches. Quantitative approaches are designed for explanation or the prediction of relationships among variables (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). They are more objective, straightforward, and clear than qualitative approaches, using numbers and concrete and measurable facts, but it can be hard to use them to make in-depth interpretations of social

phenomena (Nagel, 1986; Maxwell & Delaney, 2004). On the contrary, qualitative approaches are usually used for broad and in-depth analyses of the phenomena being studied to gain deeper insight into problems (Creswell & Poth, 2018). They often provide detailed, richer, and fuller descriptions that are mainly reliant on nonnumerical data, such as text and image data (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Qualitative approaches are descriptive, interpretive, creative, and empathic, but subjective and time-consuming (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Stake, 1995).

Mixed methods research integrates both quantitative and qualitative approaches to incorporate the strengths of both approaches (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, and Turner (2007) define mixed methods research as "the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e.g., use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the purpose of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration" (p.123). Mixed methods research originated in the late 1980s and is used in different fields, such as education, sociology, and health sciences, today (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). It is recognized as the "third research paradigm," after quantitative and qualitative research (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p.15). Mixed methods research design excels at answering complicated questions, often including both what and how/why questions, that are inadequately answered by only one type of evidence and need one research approach to be complemented with another (Bryman, 2006; Creswell & Clark, 2018; Tucker, 2010). In addition, mixed research methods are very useful in studying complicated phenomena and large agencies or systems (Smith et al., 2016). By offsetting the weaknesses of using a singular qualitative or quantitative approach, mixed methods research can provide a stronger and more complete

understanding of, and offer new insights into, research questions (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The mixed methods approach can also increase the validity of inferences (Smith et al., 2016).

Using a mixed methods research approach, this study provides a better understanding of the gender equity implications of nonprofit youth programs by more fully answering the research questions than it could by using just a quantitative or qualitative approach. This study involves both a general understanding of gender differences in program outcomes (quantitative approach) and an in-depth understanding of how these differences exist or what contributes to these differences (qualitative approach). Therefore, the mixed methods research approach is a great fit for this study.

Case study design

This study uses three nonprofit, youth-focused programs as cases to explore program impacts on Black youths' educational outcomes and gender differences in the youth outcomes of these three programs. Case studies can be defined as methods to investigate a unit of human activity (e.g., individual, group, organization, or community) in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the phenomena by answering specific research questions (Gillham, 2000; George & Bennet, 2005). Case studies typically seek an extensive description and analysis of the research problem within its social context and aim for the best possible answers using multiple sources of evidence or different types of data (Gillham, 2000; Program Evaluation and Methodology Division [PEMD], 1990). Yin (2003) argued that a case study is an empirical inquiry that is appropriate to address research questions that ask *how, why,* or *what* and is used in research when other factors are hard to control by researchers "when the focus is on contemporary phenomena within some real-life context" (p.1).

A case study is generally based on qualitative approaches and sometimes on both qualitative and quantitative approaches (Gillham, 2000; Yin, 2003). Creswell and Clark (2018) named the latter as a mixed methods case study design, defining it as "a type of mixed methods study in which the quantitative and qualitative data collection, results, and integration are used to provide in-depth evidence for a case(s) or develop cases for comparison" (p.116). This complex research design shares the same focus as the basic case study and develops a detailed understanding of one or multiple cases based on various types of evidence. In addition to gaining in-depth understandings of the case(s) being studied, mixed methods case study design is particularly useful for studying complex case(s) (Creswell & Clark, 2018). It can help us make comparisons between different types of data, note variation across cases in a multiple case study design, and get a realistic picture of complex phenomena (Creswell & Clark, 2018). In the past decade, mixed methods case study design has been increasingly used in the program and policy evaluation, education, and healthcare fields to build a comprehensive understanding of phenomena (Crabtree et al., 2005; Gooden, Evans, Perkins, et al., 2018; Luck et al., 2008; Smith et al., 2016, Sharp et al., 2011etc.).

While case study design can provide a lot of descriptive, real-life context to explore an issue, there are drawbacks to this approach, such as lack of rigor in presenting data, impacts of researchers' bias on findings, and limited generalization (Johnson et al., 2016; Stark & Torrance, 2005). More importantly, without controlled conditions, it is very difficult, and even impossible, to draw conclusions about cause-and-effect relationships, and behavior can only be described, not explained (PEMD, 1990). However, mixed methods case study design can mitigate these limitations by generating research findings and interpretations from both quantitative and qualitative data from multiple sources (Yin, 2003). Because this study seeks both broad and in-

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depth understandings of the outcomes of multiple programs, a mixed methods case study design is appropriate. This research design provides more rigorous, detailed, and complete information about the nonprofit programs in a real setting and generates more reliable inferences from the findings.

Profiles of three cases[14]

The three nonprofit programs explored in this study are Gospel for Teens (GFT) of the Mama Foundation for the Arts (Mama), New Jersey Orators (NJO), and Reclaim a Youth of Illinois (RAY). This study selected these three programs based on the following criteria: They must 1) be held by a nonprofit organization; 2) have a strong commitment to serving minority youth, and especially Black youth in their local community; 3) provide services to both Black females and Black males during their secondary education; 4) provide long-term services; and 5) have established strong connections and a good reputation within the local community. The criteria were set to make sure that these nonprofit youth programs under study have strong commitments to improving youth outcomes for minority populations and have enough resources and strong capacity to continue making changes in their local community. These criteria ensured the significant youth outcomes of these programs and thus the feasibility of comparing gender differences in program outcomes. In fact, each of the target nonprofit organizations has been

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[14] Information about the three nonprofits and their programs are from the website of these organizations, Form990 from GuideStar website, and observations and interviews with the organizations during field visits in the two-year research project, *Youth Outcomes of African American-Led Nonprofits*, funded by Manhattan Institute for Policy Research (PI: Dr. Susan T Gooden). I was able to access the information as a research assistant in this research project.

operated for over 20 years and has received local and national awards for their contributions to communities. Table 2 includes profiles of each program and its organization.

Gospel for Teens in Mama Foundation for the Arts

The Mama Foundation for the Arts (Mama) is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization located in Harlem, New York. Inspired by the international tours of *Mama, I Want to Sing* spreading over Europe, Asia, and North America, Vy Higginsen founded Mama in 1998 to reestablish Harlem as a centerpiece of art and culture in the world.[15] Mama's mission is "to present, preserve, and promote gospel, jazz and rhythm and blues music for current and future generations" (Gooden, Evans, & Pang, 2018, p.10). Gospel for Teens (GFT) is a well-known after-school program housed in Mama. The establishment of the GFT program was motivated by Higginsen's concern about the loss of gospel music tradition and culture in the early days of Mama. During that time, music departments in most local schools were either outsourced or completely eliminated, and the existing programs focused on music of European origin instead of music rooted in African American culture. In 2002, Higginsen and her team started a pilot program, *Project School*, in order to prevent the disappearance of the gospel music tradition. This eight-week program brought the gospel music tradition to local schools and gained high recognition among students, who reported feeling recognized, needed, and valued by their community after participating in the program (Gooden, Evans, Perkins, et al., 2018).

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[15] This information is extracted from the Form990 reported by Mama Foundation for the Arts in GuideStar (www.guidestar.org).

Table 2

Profiles of Three Nonprofit Youth Programs

Nonprofit	Mama Foundation for the Arts (Mama)	New Jersey Orators (NJO)	Reclaim a Youth of Illinois (RAY)
Goals	To present, preserve, and promote the history and promote gospel, jazz, and rhythm and blues arts for current and future generations	To teach the art of public speaking, an appreciation for literature, reading and media arts literacy, college readiness, and life skills to adolescent youth	To empower youth with basic values and affirm their individual talents that help to build a healthy sense of self-worth and community
Target youth programs	Gospel for Teens	New Jersey Orators program	Several programs for youth of different ages and their families
Location	Harlem, New York	Somerset, New Jersey	Chicago, Illinois, metropolitan area
Year of inception	1998, Gospel for Teens founded in 2006	1985	1991
Services	An after-school program for improving the education of gospel music and facilitating self-development for youth	An after-school educational program for improving youth's public speaking, communication, interview, and life skills	An after-school program with several offerings for enhancing and shaping the lives of the community youth and promote parents' involvement
Program model	Offer classes each semester (12-week sessions each at weekends) in three different levels for youth to learn music history and singing skills, discover their artistic talent, and build self-confidence, and also provide one-on-one tutoring sessions to youth in need	Offer 32 one-hour oratorical practice and training sessions weekly and host Beyond High School Educational Conference twice throughout the school year. Parents are encouraged to participate in sessions and conferences with their children	Offer sessions of seven weeks or ten weeks, depending on the program, with facilitators in each session. Some programs offer sessions several times a year, some hold sessions one time annually, and some provide one-on-one support
Underserved youth	40-60 youth/adolescents age 13-19 each program cycle	230-300 youths age 7-18 annually	youth ages 12-18 with various numbers each year
Youth served since inception	Over 500 youth	Over 5,000 youth	2,000 to 4,000 youth
Operations	Paid staff and unpaid volunteers supporting the program	Paid staff, over 200 unpaid volunteer coaches, and over 100 other volunteers to help operate this program	Paid staff and 50 to 60 unpaid core volunteers

Nonprofit	Mama Foundation for the Arts (Mama)	New Jersey Orators (NJO)	Reclaim a Youth of Illinois (RAY)
Fee	Free	$200 annually	Free
Awards and recognition	2013 Manhattan Institute — Social Entrepreneurship Award 2012 Thomas A. Dorsey Most Notable Achievement Award, Stellar Gospel Music Awards 2011 Gospel for Teens performed for the Congressional Black Caucus, Washington DC	2015 President's Community Service Gold Award 2014 New Jersey Black Issues Conference, Community Change Award in Education 2002 Manhattan Institute — Social Entrepreneurship Award	2011 Governor's Home Town Award 2008 Gloria Hobson Nordin Social Equity Award, American Society for Public Administration; Jefferson Award Winner 2007 Manhattan Institute — Social Entrepreneurship Award

Based on the experiences and positive outcomes of the pilot program, Higginsen and her team officially started the GFT program in 2006 to teach gospel music and vocal skills to youth. The program also helps youth discover their artistic talents, build self-confidence, and develop a positive recognition of themselves. GFT offers three levels of classes in Fall and Spring semesters (12 weeks each), where youth start from the "freshmen" level and move to the "advanced" level. After youth complete the 24 weeks of "freshmen" and "advanced" level classes, they are eligible for the "live performance." At this level, youth not only receive more rigorous rehearsals and training, they also become a vibrant professional performer who regularly performs in front of live audiences and even participates in shows across New York City, as well as other places. In addition to classes concentrating on music tradition and performance skills, GFT now also provides life classes discussing issues, such as sex, drugs, and gun violence, to facilitate positive youth development. All of these classes are typically provided on Saturdays, with extra sessions on Fridays for the most advanced performers. There are also one-on-one tutoring sessions on Fridays for youth who need extra support.

The size of the classes varies across levels. Every year, GFT recruits 40 to 60 youth ages 13-19 years old to its freshmen class through biannual open auditions. There are typically 40 to 60 students in the advanced class, but the highest-level class has about 100 to 160 students. Youth in all three levels are invited to a big fundraising benefit concert at the end of each semester to show their family and friends what they have learned in the program. After "graduating" from the program, youth are invited back to Harlem as alumni twice a year to connect with current students and staff as well as mentor in the program.

There are no fees for participating in GFT program, and both staff and unpaid volunteers help operate and support it. Most participants are African American youth since the program is

located in an area that is predominantly African American that has been nourished by African American culture and artistry for a long time. Participants in GFT have various economic and family backgrounds, including youth from low-income families, those raised in single-parent households, and/or those who grew up with grandparents or other relatives, as well as some from middle-class or wealthy families. Youth demonstrated higher self-confidence, better singing skills, more independence, a stronger sense of belonging to their community, and increased positive self-identity at the end of the program (Stahl, 2011). GFT has served more than 500 youth since 2006 and has been given several awards, such as the 2013 *Manhattan Institute Social Entrepreneurship Award* and the 2012 *Thomas A. Dorsey Most Notable Achievement Award* (Gooden, Evans, Perkins, et al., 2018).

New Jersey Orators

New Jersey Orators (NJO) is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit youth organization headquartered in Somerset, New Jersey. The mission of the NJO is to "teach the art of public speaking, an appreciation for literature, reading and media arts literacy, college readiness, and life skills to youth nationwide from 7 to 18 years of age in preparation for college" ("About Us", n.d., Mission & Vision section, para. 1). NJO currently has 20 locally based chapters across New Jersey and two chapters in Pennsylvania, and it continues to expand in New York City and beyond. The first chapter of NJO was created by five dedicated African American executives in 1985 after they observed the poor public speaking and interview skills of the young people who interviewed for jobs at their companies and recognized the importance of these skills for youth to succeed in schools and future careers. The first chapter consisted of only 16 members, including the founders' children and other children from the local community. However, the chapter

quickly grew through word of mouth from youth and parents and referrals by teachers. In order to meet the needs of youth, another chapter was created in Piscataway, New Jersey one year after first chapter's inception, and an additional eight chapters were established across New Jersey by the end of 20th century.

NJO provides interactive and fun oratorical programs to close youth achievement gaps, improve college and career readiness, and increase reading literacy. Specifically, youth are trained in weekly sessions to improve their college and career-readiness skills, such as communication, public speaking, interviewing, and critical thinking skills. Youth are also exposed to culturally sensitive African American, Caribbean American, and African Diaspora literature to improve their cultural awareness and competencies that may not be emphasized in school. In particular, NJO offers the *Close Reading Literacy Workshops* to train youth on reading skills and critical thinking skills. Twice every school year, NJO hosts the *Beyond High School Educational Conference*, in which representatives (e.g., staff in admissions and counseling and students) from colleges and universities are invited to teach students and their parents about college /career readiness and planning and provide information about financial support resources and academic programs. These conferences are open and free of charge to students from low-income families. In some chapters, youth are also required to read news and papers to improve their civic knowledge and engagement. At the end of each school year, all NJO chapters get together and host two competitions to recognize the accomplishments of participants.

This program offers 31 weekly oratorical practice and training sessions led by volunteer coaches to youth ages 7 to 18 years old throughout the school year. These one-hour sessions are held after school hours on weekdays and Saturdays. Each chapter typically has 20 to 25 participants, not exceeding 30 to 40 students to ensure effective engagement with every

participant. Parents are encouraged to participate in training sessions and educational conferences with their children to improve youths' learning outcomes. Most youth start this program in their early school years and stay for about five to six years, until their middle school years, and some stay until they graduate from high school (Gooden, Evans, Perkins, et al., 2018).

There is an annual membership fee of $200 to join a chapter and participate in all the programs and activities organized in the affiliated chapter. There are over 200 unpaid volunteer coaches and over 100 other volunteers who help operate the program each year, in addition to the staff in NJO. The participants, who are highly diverse in race, culture, and economic status, vary between the different chapters. In general, participants in this program include African Americans, West Indians, Asians, Caucasians, and other racial groups, and about half of the participants are from at-risk communities. NJO has received great support from schools and local communities and has a high attendance rate. Since its inception, NJO has served over 5,000 youth, with 230 to 300 youth enrolled in the program annually. The positive outcomes of this program include improvements in language skills, public speaking skills, self-confidence, self-expression, academic achievement, and college attendance (Gooden, Evans, Perkins, et al., 2018; "What We Do", n.d.). NJO received the 2015 *President's Community Service Gold Award*, the 2014 *Community Change Award* in Education, and the 2002 *Manhattan Institute Social Entrepreneurship Award* for its contribution to youth education and community change.

Reclaim a Youth of Illinois

Reclaim a Youth of Illinois (RAY) is another 501(c)(3) nonprofit, and it is located in the greater Chicago metropolitan area in Glenwood, Illinois. The mission of this volunteer, nonprofit organization is to "empower youth, ages 12 to 18, with basic values and affirm their individual

talents that help to build a healthy sense of self-worth and community" ("About RAY of Illinois", n.d., para.1). RAY was created in August 1991 by two mothers, Addie Mix and Gloria Randolph, who sought to bring hope out of tragedy after their sons were killed in violent murders on college campuses, along with twenty-five friends who shared the commitment of enhancing and saving the lives of youth in their local community. In the early years of the organization, RAY focused on college readiness, such as what to expect in college, how to address challenges, who to turn to for assistance, and other topics to help young people succeed in college. In addition, RAY sent care packages to students who attended colleges and universities far away from home. Later, RAY started intervening in other areas related to youth development and created other programs to support younger youth and their families in the community.

RAY now offers eight programming efforts for both youth and their families. Three programs are designed for parents and families: 1) *RAY of HOPE* is a grief and loss support group to help individuals and families effectively overcome grief in meaningful ways; 2) *Reclaim a Family*, in conjunction with the Early Intervention Program, helps families identify and define parents' roles and responsibilities and encourage caring and sharing; and 3) *Parent Power* offers practical tips and tools for improving communication skills, building positive relationships, and enhancing self-esteem to parents to help them become positive role models for their children and successfully bridge families and schools. The remaining five programs are designed to improve youth development: 1) *Early Intervention* stimulates youths' social and intellectual abilities by improving their self-esteem, communication skills, and ability to address conflicts in activities; 2) *Bloom High School Intervention* offers sessions to address a wide range of issues concerning youth, such as teen sex, drug use, peer relationships, parent-child relationships, time management, and college preparation; 3) *Watch Your Manners* educates

youth about etiquette and social graces to improve parent-child interactions and strengthen youths' social awareness; 4) *Youth Advisory Council* stimulates and fosters youths' leadership skills by giving them the opportunity to take senior leader positions in the *Bloom High School Intervention* program; and 5) *College Preparation* educates parents and youths about college readiness and career choice. The survey and interviews used in this study focus on the outcomes of the programs for youth.

The program model and number of youths vary in different programs. In the 2015-2016 school year, for example, *Reclaim a Family* provided one-on-one support for two families; *Bloom High School Intervention* program implemented two ten-week after-school intervention programs with a total 115 students and 23 facilitators; and *Watch Your Manners* offered ten-week sessions for 12 students with two facilitators (Mix, 2016). In addition, *RAY of HOPE* usually meets three seven-week sessions each year. The *College Orientation* program is held annually in June. In addition to these programs, RAY provides college/university scholarships, awards, and hardship grants and acknowledges the contributions of its partners and volunteers at its annual fundraising gala.

There are no fees for participating in RAY programs. Staff and about 50 to 60 unpaid core volunteers help run the programs in RAY each year. Since its inception, RAY has served 2,000 to 4,000 youth, and it has awarded over $220,000 to about 170 deserving youth since 1993. Most of the youth participants in RAY are African Americans, as it is located in an area with an African American population of about 70 percent (Gooden, Evans, Perkins, et al., 2018). The positive outcomes of participating in the RAY programs include improved behavior and attitudes, expanded vocabulary, better academic performance, and enhanced self-esteem and resiliency (Gooden, Evans, Perkins, et al., 2018). RAY has received several awards for its

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contributions, such as the 2011 *Governor's Home Town Award*, the 2008 *Gloria Hobson Nordin Social Equity Award* from the American Society for Public Administration, and the 2017 *Manhattan Institute Social Entrepreneurship Award*.

Data Collection

Secondary data

This study uses secondary data from a two-year grant project to answer the research questions. Secondary data refers to data that are not recorded and collected by the researcher who uses the data (Johnson et al., 2016). Secondary data is frequently used in such subjects as economics, political science, and sociology (Donnellan & Lucas, 2013), and it is routine in describing historical attributes, doing comparative research, advancing methodology, and answering new research questions (Hox & Boeije, 2005). Secondary data analysis has some advantages. Obtaining primary data can be very expensive and time-consuming, and sometimes it is not feasible for an individual researcher to collect primary data on their own. Thus, using existing data from other sources can be cost-efficient and save time, making it possible to obtain large amounts of information, study underrepresented populations, and access data from a larger sample over a long period of time (Jacobson et al., 1993; Vartanian, 2011). Moreover, most secondary data is collected by the government or other reputable agencies or researchers, and some of the data sets have been used by other researchers. Thus, the validity and reliability of these data sets are either established during data collection or by being examined by other researchers, which ensures the rigor and quality of the data (Donnellan & Lucas, 2013).

In spite of the many advantages of secondary data analysis, one of the major pitfalls is that secondary data is not originally tailored to a specific research questions at hand, which may

limit the coherence of a study (Thorne, 1994). For example, the data may not be optimal to answer research questions or may not have been collected using procedures that best fit them (Hox & Boeije, 2005). The data may miss some questions or specific information that are important to the research, or it may have been collected from the wrong population (Vartanian, 2011). In addition, secondary data may be outdated, inaccurate, unclear, or difficult to interpret, especially in the case of qualitative data (Johnson et al., 2016). Furthermore, researchers will need time and knowledge to review the data documentation and evaluate the methodological quality of the secondary data (Elder et al., 1993; Vartanian, 2011).

The use of secondary data for this study allows more in-depth analysis of gender disparities in the educational outcomes of nonprofit youth programs through surveys and interviews over a two-year period, which would otherwise be time-consuming and difficult for one individual researcher to finish. In addition, as the target population is minority youth or adolescents, collecting primary data for this study would involve a lot of ethical issues. Secondary data analysis avoids tedious and complicated data collection procedures. Moreover, the secondary data set was collected by experienced researchers in an academic field, which ensures the quality and rigor of the data. As a research assistant in the two-year grant project who participated in collecting the data firsthand, which is the secondary data in this dissertation study, the author is very familiar with the data collection procedures and codebook of this data set, which saves a lot of time in evaluating the robustness and quality of this data set. Thus, the secondary data from the two-year grant project is a great data source for this dissertation research.

Data sources and collection

The primary data source for this study is the secondary data from the two-year grant project *Youth Outcomes of African American-led Nonprofits*, sponsored by the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research and with Dr. Susan T. Gooden as the Principal Investigator. The two-year project examined the youth outcomes of three African American-led nonprofits: Mama Foundation for the Arts (Harlem, New York), New Jersey Orators (Somerset, New Jersey), and Reclaim a Youth of Illinois (Chicago, Illinois) (Gooden, Evans, Perkins, et al., 2018). Youth outcomes were evaluated in four categories: academic performance, deviant behavior, family and social support, and self-esteem and resiliency. Academic performance refers to grade point averages, honors classes, and other school performance measures. Deviant behavior refers to delinquent youth behaviors that violate social norms, including formal deviance, such as crimes of robbery, assault, and illicit drug use, and informal deviance, such as disrupting class and bullying. Family and social support examines family engagement in youth development and support from the community. Self-esteem and resiliency refer to the senses of worth, competence, and self-confidence, especially in the face of challenges and difficulties.

Figure 4 below shows the data collection procedure for this two-year project. It reflected a purposive, nonprobability sampling model that included three groups of youth: youth who participated in the three target nonprofit programs (the *target program group*), youth who participated in other nonprofit programs (the *other program group*), and youth who did not participate in any nonprofit programs or other extracurricular programs (the *non-program group*) during their secondary education. The first-year study primarily drew upon a questionnaire survey distributed to senior high school students during site visits to four locations: Bloom High School in Illinois, Franklin Township High School in New Jersey, Burlington Township High

School in New Jersey, and Harlem in New York. A total of 749 respondents participated in the

survey, including both online or on-site surveys. There were 92 in the target program group, 499

in the other program group, 136 in the non-program group, and 22 who did not identify their

group (counted as missing data). In addition to the youth survey, the first-year study also

conducted focus groups and individual interviews among a subset of survey respondents in the

above four locations. A total of 65 students participated in the focus groups and interviews, with

35 in the target program group, 15 in the other program group, and 15 in the non-program group.

In the second year, the project followed up with the 92 students in the *target program*

group and conducted an email survey and a telephone interview with each participant to collect

basic information about their current status, career goals, and reflections on their experiences in

the target nonprofit programs. The study collected data from 49 year 1 participants from the

target program group (a response rate of 79 percent).

Figure 4

Data Collection Procedures for the Secondary Data
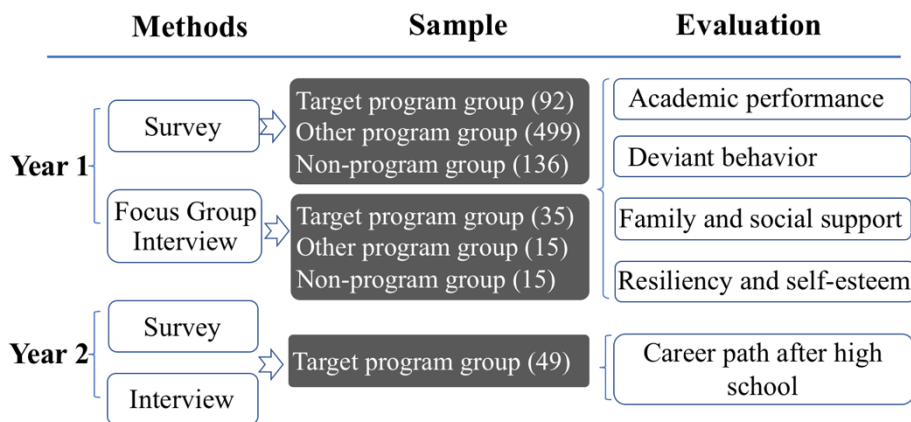
This dissertation uses the Black youth data from the year 1 survey data and year 2

interview data. As shown in Table 3, it selects Black youth data, including 56 Black youths (28

males and 28 females) from the non-program group and 75 Black youths (32 males and 43 females) from the target program group in the year 1 survey data to examine gender differences in the education outcomes of Black youth who participated in the targeted nonprofit youth programs and Black youth who did not participate in any nonprofit programs or extracurricular activities during their secondary education. In the year 2 interview data, a total of 42 Black youth participants (13 males and 29 females) were selected for the thematic analysis of gender disparities in Black youths' career path in this study. Table 3 details the secondary data used in the dissertation study.

Table 3

Data Sources of the Dissertation Study

	Year 1 Survey		Year 2 Survey and interview
	Target program	**Non-program**	**Target program**
Black female	43	28	29
Black male	32	28	13
Total	75	56	42

Data Analysis

The year 1 survey data of target program group will be analyzed with descriptive analysis, independent T-test, and chi-square test (for categorical variables) using SPSS software to examine if there are statistically significant differences between Black females and Black males in educational attainment, deviant behavior, parents and family support, and resiliency and self-esteem. Students' perceptions of the three target nonprofit programs will also be examined to see if there are statistically significant differences in program satisfaction between Black females and males. An independent T-test is an inferential statistical test that examines whether

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the means of two independent groups are statistically significantly different; it has a null

hypothesis that the means of two independent groups are the same (Field, 2013). It is appropriate

for comparing the means of continuous variables between two independent groups. A chi-square

test evaluates the statistical independence or association between two categorical variables

(Gravetter & Wallnau, 2007). In this study, a chi-square test is used to test whether the

categorical variables, such as items related to deviant behavior, are associated with the group

where a youth is divided (e.g., a target program group and non-program group). The categorical

variable being tested is considered not statistically significantly different between two groups if

the categorical variable is found to be unrelated to the group variable.

Table 4 lists the variables in the year 1 survey for the SPSS T-test or chi-square test. The

last section about the student perceptions on the target nonprofit programs applies to the target

program group only. There is no data about student perceptions from the non-program group

who did not participate in any nonprofit programs during their secondary education.

Table 4

Variables under T-test Analysis/Chi-square Test from Year 1 Survey

Variables
Academic performance
Grades[1] (Q9)
I will graduate from high school. (Q40)
I will finish college. (Q41)
I will get a job I really want. (Q42)
Educational attainment
It's often hard to pay attention in class because I'm worrying about problems outside of school. (Q1 Rev)
I can do better work than I'm doing now. (Q2 Rev)
I considered dropping out of school. (Q3 Rev)
Taking honors, AP, or IB classes (0=no; 1=yes) (Q8)
Motivation and self-regulation
I work hard at school. (Q4)
I concentrate on my schoolwork. (Q5)

Variables

I am a responsible student. (Q6)

I complete my schoolwork regularly. (Q7)

Deviant behavior (0=no; 1=yes)

Since you were in high school, have you ever cheated on school tests? (Q10)

Since you were in high school, have you ever been sent out of a classroom because of bad behavior? (Q11)

Since you were in high school, have you ever received out of school suspension? (Q12)

Since you were in high school, have you ever stayed away from school/classes? (Q13)

Parents and family support

Perceived social support – family

My family really tries to help me. (Q14)

I get the emotional support I need from my family. (Q15)

I can talk about my problems with my family. (Q16)

My family is willing to help me make decisions. (Q17)

Parental monitoring[2]

How often does your parent/guardian know who you are with when you are not at home? (Q18)

How often does your parent/guardian know what you are doing when you are not at home? (Q19)

Resiliency and self-esteem

I can…

Generate new ideas or new ways to do things. (Q20)

Stay with a task until it is finished. (Q21)

See the humor in life and see it to reduce tensions. (Q22)

Express thoughts and feelings in communication with others. (Q23)

Solve problems in various settings: academic, job-related, personal, and social. (Q24)

Manage my behavior, feelings, impulses, acting-out. (Q25)

Reach out for help when I need it. (Q26)

I am…

A person most people like. (Q27)

Generally calm and good-natured. (Q28)

An achiever who plans for the future. (Q29)

A person who respects myself and others. (Q30)

Empathic and caring of others. (Q31)

Responsible for my own behavior and accepting of the consequences. (Q32)

I have…

One or more persons within my family I can trust and who love me without reservation. (Q33)

One or more persons outside my family I can trust without reservation. (Q34)

Limits to my behavior. (Q35)

People who encourage me to be independent. (Q36)

Good role models. (Q37)

Access to health, education, and the social and security services I need. (Q38)

A stable family and community. (Q39)

Self-efficacy

I am confident in my ability to stay out of fights. (Q43)

If someone called me a bad name, I would ignore them or walk away. (Q44)

I don't need to fight because there are other ways to deal with anger. (Q45)

I can get along well with most people. (Q46)

Participants' perceptions of the target nonprofit programs

Variables
I feel comfortable at this program. (Q47)
I feel I am part of this program. (Q48)
I am committed to this program. (Q49)
I feel supported at this program. (Q50)
I am accepted at this program. (Q51)
I like my program directors/assistants. (Q52)
My program directors/assistants make learning interesting. (Q53)
Participation in this program increased my self-confidence. (Q54)
Participation in this program increased my life skills. (Q55)

Note. One variable under Educational attainment, *Taking honors, AP, or IB classes* (Q8), and all variables under Deviant behavior (Q14-19) are measured on a dichotomous scale: *0=no and 1=yes*. These dichotomous variables are tested using a chi-square test instead of an independent T-test. All other variables are measured on a 1-5 scale: *1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neither agree nor disagree; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree*. Variables measured on a 5-point scale or by continuous numbers are tested using an independent T-test.
[1] Grades are on a scale from 1-8, where 1 is "Mostly D's and F's" and 8 is "Mostly A's."
[2] Variables under Parental monitoring are measured on a 1-5 scale: *1=practically never; 2=occasionally; 3=about half the time; 4=most of the time; 5=all of the time.*

The year 2 online survey data will also be analyzed with descriptive analysis using SPSS software to get a general picture about the college, military service, and employment experiences of Black males and females one year after high school graduation. Table 5 below lists the variables in the year 2 survey for the SPSS descriptive analysis. These variables include general information about the Black participants, including gender, marital and graduation status, target nonprofit program, whether they worked during senior year of high school, living location and career path after graduating from high school, and detailed information about participants' enrollment in college, military service, and employment experiences.

Table 5

Variables under Descriptive Analysis from Year 2 Survey Data

Variables
General Information
Gender (Q 79)
Parent or guardian (Q82)
Marital status (Q83)
Nonprofit program (Q1)

Variables
High school graduation (Q2)
Working hours during senior year of high school (Q3)
Living location last year (Q4)
Important items for life and future (Q5-9)
Raising a family (Q5)
Doing work that is fulfilling (Q6)
Being well-off financially (Q7)
Learning about other cultures and nations (Q8)
Maintaining a flexible schedule (Q9)
Situation after graduating from high school (Q10)

Enrolled in college

Basic information
    Cumulative GPA on a 4.0 scale (Q42)
    College grades in the past academic year (Q45)
    Full-time enrollment (Q43)
    First generation college student (Q44)
    Level of challenge in first year of college (Q46)
    Satisfaction on academic performance (Q48)
    Confidence in succeeding as a college student (Q57)

College type (Q11)

College application
    Number of colleges/universities applied to (Q12)
    Number of colleges/universities admitted to (Q13)
    Accepted by first choice (Q14)
    Current college rank in your application (Q15)

College preparation in the first year
    Living away from home (Q16)
    Finding a group to feel part of (Q17)
    Selecting the right classes (Q18)
    Meeting college academic expectations (Q19)
    Dealing with college-related problems (Q20)
    Effectiveness of target nonprofit programs on preparation (Q21)
    Took remedial/developmental courses before entering college (Q22)
    Support from parents (Q23)
    Support from friends (Q24)

Time on activities during the first year of college
    Studying and homework (Q25)
    Socializing (Q26)
    Participating in student org or activities (Q27)
    Working for pay on campus (Q28)
    Working for pay off campus (Q29)

Frequency of activities since entering college
    Attended a religious service (Q30)
    Demonstrated for a cause (e.g., boycott, rally, protest) (Q31)
    Consumed alcohol (Q32)

Variables
Used recreational drugs and/or illegal substances (Q33)
Felt overwhelmed by all you had to do (Q34)
Contributed money to help support your family (Q35)
Had adequate sleep (Q36)
Frequency of services used in the first year of college
Study skills or workshops (Q49)
Financial aid advising (Q50)
Services of academic advisors/counselors (Q51)
Since entering college have you
Accumulated over $2,500 in credit card debt? (Q37)
Been a leader in an organization? (Q38)
Voted in a national, state, or local election? (Q39)
Communicated with faculty members outside class? (Q40)
Financial status
Concern about ability to pay for remaining college education (Q52)
Financial situation on current education or program (Q53)
Loans you borrowed in the past academic year (Q54)
Grant aid/scholarship you received in the past academic year (Q55)
Plan for the next fall (Q56)
Return to same college/university
Take a break from college and return later
Attend another college/university
Drop out of college

Military
Enlisted in any branch of the Armed Forces (Q59)
Military branch (Q60)
Satisfaction with the branch of military service (Q61)
Motivation for joining the military (Q62)
Effectiveness of target nonprofit programs on preparation for armed service (Q63)
Confidence in ability to succeed in the armed services (Q64)
Considered serving in the military as (Q65)
Plan on re-enlisting (Q66)

Employment
Reasons for getting a job after high school (Q68)
Number of paid full-time jobs in the past year (Q69)
Number of paid part-time jobs in the past year (Q70)
Way you found your main job (Q71)
Employment time at your main job (Q72)
Pay increases since you started the main job (Q73)
Effectiveness of target nonprofit programs on preparation for your career (Q74)
Confidence in the ability to succeed in my career (Q76)
Consider your main job as career, stepping stone to a career, or just a job (Q75)

This study will use thematic content analysis to analyze the year 2 interview data using

Dedoose software to learn more about the college and employment experiences of these Black

males and females and how much their career choice and development drew upon the target

nonprofit youth programs in which they participated. Table 6 lists themes for analysis of the

interview data. Specifically, themes include status since high school graduation, reflections on

experience, sources of support, target nonprofit programs' impacts, other programs' impacts,

future plans, and other important information that is helpful to answer the research questions.

Table 6

Themes for Thematic Analysis from Year 2 Interview Data

Themes
Status since high school graduation
What have been doing after graduation (Q1)
Summer after graduating in May/June 2016 (Q2)
Fall after high school graduation (Q3)
Since January 2017, after high school (Q4)
Reflections on experience
Expectation versus reality after high school (Q5)
Best thing that happened since high school graduation (Q7)
Worst thing that happened since high school graduation (Q8)
Sources of support
Family support (Q9)
Nonfamily support (Q10)
Target nonprofit program impacts
Importance of the program (Q11)
Skills or lessons provided in the program (Q12)
Contact with program participants or leadership (Q13)
Other programs impacts
Other programs have major impacts on your life (Q14)
Future plans
Plans for the coming summer (Q15)
Plans one year from now (Q16)
Plans five years from now (Q16)
Others
Advice for current high school seniors (Q17)

Table 7 describes all the codes and their definitions for the thematic content analysis of the

interview data. A combination of inductive coding and deductive coding will be used to generate

qualitative findings. Both online survey and interview data are analyzed to learn about the long-

term impacts of the three target nonprofit youth programs and to see if there are differences in

impacts between Black females and Black males.

Table 7

Codebook for Thematic Analysis from Year 2 Interview Data

Codes	Description
After Graduation	Q1 Only: What the responder has been doing since graduating
Summer after HS	General – Summer activities post-high school graduation
Fall after HS	General – Fall activities post-high school graduation
Spring after HS	General – Spring activities post-high school graduation
Internship/Volunteer	Internship, community service, or volunteer work related to major/CAREER (paid or unpaid)
Work	Any discussion of full- or part-time employment/unemployment; excludes volunteering/internships
College Program	Any discussion of college attended, plans/no plans, major/area of study, etc.
Extracurricular Activities (Post K-12)	Post K-12 involvement in college clubs, organizations, student government, etc.
Expectation v. Reality	Discussion of realities versus plans after graduating high school
Best Thing	Best thing since high school graduation
Worst Thing	Worst thing since high school graduation
Family Support (+/-)	Family influence, monetary assistance, support, time spent with family/family obligations/commitments (positive or negative)
Non-Family Support (+/-)	Non-family influence, monetary assistance, support (positive or negative)
Mama	Discussion of Mama/Gospel for Teens (Individually code Q11-13)
NJO	Discussion of New Jersey Orators (Individually code Q11-13)
RAY	Discussion of Reclaim A Youth (Individually code Q11-13)
Skills/Lessons Learned	Discussion of lessons learned from nonprofit that resonate with participant
Contact with Nonprofit	Did or did not maintain contact with program participants/leaders; How?
Other K-12 influential programs	Other K-12 programs that had impact on post high school life and how
Summer after Year 1	Plans for Summer 2017
Future Plan -1 Year	Q16a: Plans for next year (academic, work, etc.)
Future Plan -5 Year	Q16b: Plans in five years and/or long-term life plans (academic, work, etc.)
Advice for HS Senior	Advice for current high school seniors

Limitations

There are a few limitations to this study. First, it uses secondary data set from a research project, which may not be perfect to answer the research questions in this study. Second, the secondary data set only includes data from three ethnic nonprofit organizations, which may not be generalized to other nonprofit organizations. Third, the survey sample that was selected for this study is small because of the difficulty of accessing Black youth participants in these nonprofit programs. However, considering the small percentages of ethnic community nonprofits serving Black youth and the difficulty in collecting data from youth, it was impossible to get a large sample size for this kind of study in a short time.

Chapter IV Findings

Introduction

Community-based nonprofit programs are critical to improve the education outcomes and youth development for many Americans, and especially low-income youth, Black youth, and other minority youth. The purpose of this study is to explore gender disparities in the education outcomes and other program outcomes of nonprofit youth programs between Black males and Black females. The areas under evaluation include academic performance, deviant behavior, family and social support, self-esteem and resiliency, self-perceptions of the programs, and career paths after high school. This chapter includes an overall description of the sample and demographic information about the participants, followed by the findings and emergent themes that answer the primary and secondary research questions. Specifically, the data analysis of this study was guided by the following research questions:

1) Do Black youth who participate in nonprofit youth programs have a smaller gender gap in education outcomes and other program outcomes than Black youth who do not participate in any nonprofit programs or other extracurricular activities?

2) Is there any gender difference in the programs' long-term impacts on Black youth (who have participated in nonprofit youth programs) one year after they graduate from high school? If so, how?

Demographic Characteristics

Demographic information of target program group and non-program group in year 1 survey data

Table 8 provides demographic information about the target program group, made up of the Black youth who participated in one of the target nonprofit programs in this study during their secondary education, and the non-program group, with the Black youth who did not participate in any nonprofit programs or other extracurricular activities during their secondary education. Both the target program group and non-program group lived in the same area and attended the same high schools. Participants in these two groups were seniors in high school. As shown in Table 8, about 57.3 percent of Black females were in the target program group and 50.9 percent were in the non-program group. About half of the Black youth received free or reduced-price lunch in the target program group, while 74 percent did in the non-program group. However, neither the percentage of female participants nor the proportion of youth receiving free or reduced-price lunch was significantly associated to the group where youths were categorized under the chi-square test. Therefore, there were no statistically significant differences in the proportion of female participants and the proportion of youth who received free or reduced-price lunch between the target program group and the non-program group.

For family's annual income, about 20.5 percent of the Black participants in the target program group reported annual family incomes between $25,000 and $49,999; 13.7 percent reported $100,000 and over and less than $25,000, respectively; 11 percent reported between $75,000 to $99,999; and about 8.2 percent reported between $50,000 to $74,999. However, nearly 40 percent of the Black youth participants in the target program group did not provide information about the annual incomes of their families. In the non-program group, about 15.1 percent of Black youth reported annual family incomes of $25,000 to $49,999; 13.2 percent reported between $50,000 to $74,999; 9.4 percent reported $100,000 or more; and 7.5 percent reported less than $25,000. However, again, almost half of the Black youth in this group did not

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report their annual family incomes. While there were a higher percentage of Black youth in the target program group who reported a high family annual income ($75,000 to $99,999 and $100,000 or more) compared to the non-program group, there were also a higher proportion of Black youth in the target program group who reported a low annual income (less than $25,000) compared to the non-program group. Also, because a large proportion of Black youth in these two groups did not report their annual family incomes, it is difficult to make a comparison o family annual income between the two groups.

For number of households where the Black youth were raised, about 73.3 percent of Black youth in the target program group reported that they were raised in one household and about 26.7 percent in two or more. Additionally, about 44 percent of Black youth in the target program group reported that they were raised in a two-adult household; 36 percent in a one-adult household; and about 20 percent in a household with more than two adults. Similarly, about 70 percent of the Black youth in the non-program group reported that they were raised in one household and about 30 percent in two or more. In terms of number of adults in the household, 40.4 percent of the Black youth reported they were raised in a two-adult household, 38.5 percent in a one-adult household, and 21.1 percent in a household with more than two adults. In general, there were no significant differences in the number of households and number of adults in the households where the Black youth stayed between the target program group and the non-program group.

For parents' educational background, Black youth in the target program group reported that about 63.2 percent of their mothers and 25 percent of their fathers graduated from college, while Black youth in the non-program group reported that 45.3 percent of their mothers and 32.1 percent of their fathers graduated from college. Also, there was a statistically significant

difference in mothers' college backgrounds between the two groups, but not in the fathers'

college backgrounds, in the chi-square test.

Table 8

Characteristics of the Target Program and Non-program Group (Year 1 Survey Data)

	Target program	Non-program	Chi-square test (P-value)[1]
Gender (female)	57.3%	50.9%	.996
Received free/reduced-price lunch	50.0%	74.0%	.930
Family's annual income			----
Less than $25,000	13.7%	7.5%	
$25,000 - 49,999	20.5%	15.1%	
$50,000 - 74,999	8.2%	13.2%	
$75,000 - 99,999	11.0%	3.8%	
$100,000 and over	13.7%	9.4%	
Unknown	39.2%	50.9%	
Household			----
Raised in 1 household	73.3%	69.8%	
Raised in 2 or more households	26.7%	30.2%	
Adults in household			----
Raised in a one-adult household	36.0%	38.5%	
Raised in a two-adult household	44.0%	40.4%	
Other	20.0%	21.1%	
Parent/Guardian graduated from college			
Mother	63.2%	45.3%	.044*
Father	25.0%	32.1%	.378
Sample size (N)	75	56	

(* p < 0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01)
[1]P-value is based on the chi-square test weighted by frequency variable. The chi-square test is not applicable for composite variables, including family's annual income, household, and adults in household in this table.

Demographic information of target program group and non-program group in year 1 survey data by gender

This section introduces the demographic information of the target program and non-program groups divided by gender. The sample consists of 75 Black youth (43 Black females

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and 32 Black males) as the target program group and 56 Black youths (28 Black females and 28 Black males) as the non-program group from year 1 survey data. The sample also includes 42 Black youths from the year 2 online survey and interviews (29 Black females and 13 Black males). Tables 9 and 10 provide detailed demographic information about the non-program group and the target program group in the year 1 survey divided by gender.

Table 9 shows the basic characteristics of the non-program group divided by gender. Among these youth, 78.6 percent of Black females received free or reduced-price lunch, compared to 64 percent of Black males in the same group. Among the Black youth reporting their families' annual incomes, most of the Black females, 14.3 percent, reported they were from a family with an annual income between $25,000 and $49,999. About 10.7 percent reported an annual family income lower than $25,000; and another 10.7 percent reported $100,000 and over. Only about 3.6 percent of the Black females reported annual family incomes of $50,000 to $74,999 and $75,000 to $99,999, respectively. For Black males, most of them, 22.2 percent, reported an annual family income of $50,000 to $74,999; about 14.8 percent reported between $25,000 to $49,999; about 7.4 percent reported $100,000 or more; about 3.7 percent reported between $75,000 and $99,999; and another 3.7 percent reported less than $25,000. However, most of these youth (57.1 percent of Black females and 48.1 percent of Black males) reported that they lacked knowledge about their families' annual incomes.

For households where Black youth had stayed, most Black females, 78.6 percent, were raised in one household, with 21.4 percent of Black females growing up in two or more. For Black males, about 64.3 percent were raised in one household, which is about 14 percent less than Black females; and about 35.7 percent were raised in two or more. Additionally, most Black females, about 48.1 percent, grew up in a one-adult household; about 37 percent in a two-adult

household; and only 14.9 percent in a household with more than two adults. For Black males, most (42.9 percent) grew up in a two-adult household; about 28.6 percent in a one-adult household; and 28.5 percent in a household with two or more adults. For parents' education, a higher percentage of Black females' mothers graduated from college compared to Black males' mothers (50 vs. 42.9 percent), while more Black males' fathers graduated from college than Black females' fathers (32.1 vs. 28.6 percent).

Table 9

Characteristics of the Non-program Group by Gender (Year 1 Survey Data)

	Black female	Black male
Received free/reduced-price lunch	78.6%	64.0%
Family's annual income		
Less than $25,000	10.7%	3.7%
$25,000 - 49,999	14.3%	14.8%
$50,000 - 74,999	3.6%	22.2%
$75,000 - 99,999	3.6%	3.7%
$100,000 and over	10.7%	7.4%
Unknown	57.1%	48.1%
Household		
Raised in 1 household	78.6%	64.3%
Raised in 2 or more households	21.4%	35.7%
Adults in household		
Raised in a one-adult household	48.1%	28.6%
Raised in a two-adult household	37.0%	42.9%
Other	14.9%	28.5%
Parent/Guardian graduated from college		
Mother	50.0%	42.9%
Father	28.6%	32.1%
Sample size (N=56)	28	28

Table 10 shows that among the target program group in the year 1 survey, about 52.4 percent of Black females and 46.9 percent of Black males received a free or reduced-price lunch.

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For family's annual income, about 26.8 percent of Black females reported they came from a family with an annual income of $25,000 to $49,999; 19.5 percent reported $25,000 and less; 12.2 percent reported between $75,000 and $99,999; and 9.8 percent reported between $50,000 and $74,999. For Black males, 22.6 percent reported an annual family income of $100,000 and over; 12.9 percent reported between $25,000 and $49,999; and the same percentage of Black males (6.5 percent) reported annual incomes of $75,000 to $99,999, $50,000 to $74,999, and less than $25,000, respectively. Similar to the non-program group, a large proportion of Black youth, 24.4 percent of Black females and 45.2 percent of Black males, did not report their families' annual incomes.

With respect to household data, most Black females (69.2 percent) reported they were raised in one household, while 30.8 percent were raised in two or more. For Black males, 84.4 percent reported they were raised in one household, while 15.6 percent reported growing up in two or more. For number of adults in the household, about 38.1 percent of the Black females reported they were raised in a two-adult household; one third in a one-adult household; and 28.6 percent in a household with more than two adults. Among Black males, half reported they were raised in a two-adult household; about 40.6 percent in a one-adult household; and only 9.4 percent in a household with more than two adults.

For parents' education, Black males reported that 71.9 percent of their mothers and 34.4 percent of their fathers held a college degree, while Black females reported that only 57.1 percent of their mothers and 19 percent of their fathers had one. In terms of time spent in one of the target nonprofit programs, about 25.6 percent of Black females reported that they had participated in the program for one year; 18.6 percent for two years; 16.3 percent for three years; 23.3 percent for four years; and 16.2 percent for five years and more. However, most Black

males reported that they had stayed in the programs for one or two years (34.4 and 31.3 percent, respectively), while only 9.2 had participated in the program for five years or more. However, 9.4 percent of Black males did not report the number of years that they had been involved in these nonprofit programs.

Table 10

Characteristics of the Target Program Group by Gender (Year 1 Survey Data)

	Black female	**Black male**
Received free/reduced-price lunch	52.4%	46.9%
Family's annual income		
Less than $25,000	19.5%	6.5%
$25,000 - 49,999	26.8%	12.9%
$50,000 - 74,999	9.8%	6.5%
$75,000 - 99,999	12.2%	6.5%
$100,000 and over	7.3%	22.6%
Unknown	24.4%	45.2%
Household		
Raised in 1 household	69.2%	84.4%
Raised in 2 or more households	30.8%	15.6%
Adults in household		
Raised in a one-adult household	33.3%	40.6%
Raised in a two-adult household	38.1%	50.0%
Other	28.6%	9.4%
Parent/Guardian graduated from college		
Mother	57.1%	71.9%
Father	19.0%	34.4%
Years of participation		
One	25.6%	34.4%
Two	18.6%	31.3%
Three	16.3%	9.4%
Four	23.3%	6.3%
Five and above	16.2%	9.2%
Missing data	0%	9.4%
Sample size (N)	43	32

Demographic information of target program group in year 2 interview data by gender

Table 11 details the characteristic information for the target program group one year after they graduated from high school. In general, there was a larger proportion of Black females (90.6 percent) than Black males (31.0 percent) in the year 1 survey who also participated in the year 2 online survey and interviews. In this group, there was a slightly higher percentage of Black males (61.5 percent) who received free or reduced-price lunch compared to Black females (58.6 percent). There was no substantial difference in the percentage of Black females (13.8 percent) and Black males (15.4 percent) who reported being raised in a family with an annual income lower than $25,000. More Black females (20.7 percent) reported an annual family income between $25,000 and $99,999; the same percentage (13.8 percent) of Black females reported annual family incomes of $75,000 to $99,999 and $25,000 and less; and about 10.3 percent reported $50,000 to $74,999. For Black males, most reported annual family incomes of $100,000 or more and $25,000 and less (both 15.4 percent). However, about 34.5 percent of Black females and 46.2 percent of Black males did not report the annual incomes of their families.

Among Black females, most reported being raised in one household (60.7 percent), with 31.8 in one-adult households and 40.95 in two-adult households. Most Black males also reported growing up in one household (76.9 percent), while about half were raised in one-adult households and 33.3 percent in two-adult households. The percentages of parents who graduated from college were also similar. About 55.2 percent of Black females' mothers and 53.8 percent of Black males' mothers had a college degree, while the percentage of their fathers who graduated from college was 20.7 percent for Black females and 23.1 percent for Black males, respectively. For years of participation, about 29.6 percent of Black females reported participating in the target nonprofit programs for one year; 25.9 percent for four years; and about

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18.6 percent for five years and more. Black males stayed for a shorter time than Black females on average. Most Black males (69.3 percent) stayed in the program for one or two years. However, while none of them reported staying in the program for five years or more, 15.3 percent of Black males did not report how many years they stayed in these target nonprofit programs. There were also a few Black males who mentioned in their interviews that they had stayed in the program for four years or more.

Table 11

Characteristics of the Target Program Group by Gender (Year 2 Survey and Interview Data)

	Black female	Black male
Received free/reduced-price lunch	58.6%	61.5%
Family's annual income		
Less than $25,000	13.8%	15.4%
$25,000 - 49,999	20.7%	7.7%
$50,000 - 74,999	10.3%	7.7%
$75,000 - 99,999	13.8%	7.7%
$100,000 and over	6.9%	15.4%
Unknown	34.5%	46.2%
Household		
Raised in 1 household	60.7%	76.9%
Raised in 2 or more households	39.3%	23.1%
Adults in household		
Raised in a one-adult household	31.8%	50.0%
Raised in a two-adult household	40.9%	33.3%
Other	27.3%	16.7%
Parent/Guardian graduated from college		
Mother	55.2%	53.8%
Father	20.7%	23.1%
Years of participation		
One	29.6%	30.8%
Two	14.8%	38.5%
Three	11.1%	7.7%
Four	25.9%	7.7%
Five and above	18.6%	0%
Missing data	0%	15.3%
Sample size (N)	29	13

Findings

Fewer gender differences were found in education outcomes for target program group than non-program group in the year 1 survey data

Table 12 shows gender differences in the education outcomes between Black females and Black males in the non-program group. There were statistically significant gender differences in such areas as academic performance, motivation and self-regulation, parental monitoring, resiliency, and self-esteem for the non-program group. Specifically, Black females had statistically higher grades compared to Black male participants (6.26 vs. 5.28), and they were more confident that they would graduate from school (4.91 vs. 4.37) and finish college (4.78 vs. 4.05) than Black males. There were also statistically significant gender differences in motivation and self-regulation in the non-program group. For example, Black females were more likely to work hard at school (4.17 vs. 3.63), concentrate on schoolwork (4.13 vs. 3.63), and complete schoolwork regularly (3.96 vs. 3.26) than Black males. Also, Black females were more likely to consider themselves responsible students (4.48 vs. 3.84).

Additionally, Black females reported that they were less likely to have stayed away from school or classes during high school than Black males (0.19 vs. 0.41). Black females also reported greater parental monitoring than Black males. For example, Black females were more likely to report that their parent or guardian knew who they were with when they were not at home than Black males.

Moreover, Black females demonstrated better resiliency and self-esteem in general than Black males according to the year 1 survey. For example, Black females were more likely to express the beliefs that they are an achiever who plans for the future (4.43 vs. 4.00) and a person

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who respects herself and others (4.65 vs. 4.37) than Black males. Also, Black females were more likely to be empathic and caring of others (4.26 vs. 3.67), have limits to their behavior (4.30 vs. 3.63), be confident in their ability to stay out of fights (4.61 vs. 4.05), and use other methods to deal with anger (4.35 vs. 3.95) than Black males.

Table 12

Gender Differences in Education Outcomes (Non-program Group)

Survey items	Black female	Black male	Significance level
Academic performance			
Grades[1]	6.26	5.28	.049**
I will graduate from high school.	4.91	4.37	.056*
I will finish college.	4.78	4.05	.017**
I will get a job I really want.	4.70	4.39	.184
Educational attainment			
It's often hard to pay attention in class because I'm worrying about problems outside of school. (Q1 Rev)	3.52	3.58	.887
I can do better work than I'm doing now. (Q2 Rev)	1.78	1.89	.641
I considered dropping out of school. (Q3 Rev)	4.09	4.16	.873
Taking honors, AP, or IB classes (0=no; 1=yes) (Q8)	0.33	0.26	.611
Motivation and self-regulation			
I work hard at school. (Q4)	4.17	3.63	.035**
I concentrate on my schoolwork. (Q5)	4.13	3.63	.057*
I am a responsible student. (Q6)	4.48	3.84	.006***
I complete my schoolwork regularly. (Q7)	3.96	3.26	.021**
Deviant behavior (0=no; 1=yes)			
Since you were in high school, have you ever cheated on school tests? (Q10)	0.46	0.62	.266
Since you were in high school, have you ever been sent out of a classroom because of bad behavior? (Q11)	0.37	0.35	.854
Since you were in high school, have you ever received out of school suspension? (Q12)	0.19	0.27	.510
Since you were in high school, have you ever stayed away from school/classes? (Q13)	0.19	0.41	.088*
Parents and family support			
Perceived social support –family			
My family really tries to help me. (Q14)	4.00	3.37	.105
I get the emotional support I need from my family. (Q15)	3.74	3.68	.888
I can talk about my problems with my family. (Q16)	3.48	3.54	.887
My family is willing to help me make decisions. (Q17)	4.09	3.58	.197
Parental monitoring[2]			
How often does your parent/guardian know who you are with when you are not at home? (Q18)	4.48	3.26	.005***

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Survey items	Black female	Black male	Significance level
How often does your parent/guardian know what you are doing when you are not at home? (Q19)	3.91	3.63	.456
Resiliency and self-esteem			
I can…			
Generate new ideas or new ways to do things (Q20)	3.96	3.74	.515
Stay with a task until it is finished (Q21)	3.83	3.74	.778
See the humor in life and see it to reduce tensions (Q22)	3.96	4.11	.509
Express thoughts and feelings in communication with others (Q23)	3.83	3.58	.451
Solve problems in various settings academic, job-related, personal, and social (Q24)	4.09	4.05	.889
Manage my behavior, feelings, impulses, acting-out (Q25)	4.48	4.42	.774
Reach out for help when I need it (Q26)	3.91	3.58	.352
I am…			
A person most people like (Q27)	4.13	3.89	.454
Generally calm and good-natured (Q28)	4.35	4.26	.720
An achiever who plans for the future (Q29)	4.43	4.00	.059*
A person who respects myself and others (Q30)	4.65	4.37	.070*
Empathic and caring of others (Q31)	4.26	3.67	.065*
Responsible for my own behavior and accepting of the consequences (Q32)	4.65	4.47	.310
I have…			
One or more persons within my family I can trust and who love me without reservation (Q33)	4.09	4.26	.545
One or more persons outside my family I can trust without reservation (Q34)	4.09	4.16	.810
Limits to my behavior (Q35)	4.30	3.63	.044**
People who encourage me to be independent (Q36)	4.43	4.05	.180
Good role models (Q37)	4.04	3.84	.570
Access to health, education, and the social and security services I need (Q38)	4.30	4.21	.751
A stable family and community (Q39)	4.04	3.79	.485
Self-efficacy			
I am confident in my ability to stay out of fights. (Q43)	4.61	4.05	.027**
If someone called me a bad name, I would ignore them or walk away. (Q44)	4.00	3.74	.387
I don't need to fight because there are other ways to deal with anger. (Q45)	4.35	3.95	.090*
I can get along well with most people. (Q46)	4.04	4.00	.898
Sample size (N)	28	28	

(* $p < 0.10$, ** $p<0.05$, *** $p<0.01$)

Note. One variable under Educational attainment, *Taking honors, AP, or IB classes* (Q8), and all variables under Deviant behavior (Q14-19) are measured with a dichotomous scale: *0=no and 1=yes*. These dichotomous variables are tested using a chi-square test. All other variables are measured on a 1-5 scale: *1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neither agree nor disagree; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree*. Variables measured on a 5-point scale or continuous numbers are tested using an independent T-test.

[1] Grades are on a scale from 1-8, where 1 is "Mostly D's and F's" and 8 is "Mostly A's."

Variables under parental monitoring are measured on a 1-5 scale: *1=practically never; 2=occasionally; 3=about half the time; 4=most of the time; 5=all of the time.*

For the target program group (see Table 13), fewer areas under measurement demonstrated statistically significant gender difference between Black females and Black males compared to the non-program group. First, the target program group showed slightly fewer gender differences in academic performance than the non-program group. For example, there was no statistically significant difference in the belief about graduating from high school between Black females and Black males in the target program group. However, Black females were still more likely to report a high average grade and had stronger beliefs about finishing college than Black males, who were more likely to report dropping out of school than Black females.

In addition, there were fewer statistically significant differences in the motivation and self-regulation areas for the target program group compared to both the non-program group and those who did not participate in any nonprofit programs or extracurricular activities. The findings only demonstrated that Black females were more likely to complete schoolwork regularly than Black males (4.26 vs. 3.53). There were no statistically significant gender differences in variables about working hard at school, concentrating on schoolwork, or believing that they are a responsible student in the target program group, whereas the non-program group showed statistically significant gender differences.

Moreover, there was no statistically significant gender difference on parental monitoring in the target program group and few statistically significant gender differences in resiliency and self-esteem. In particular, Black youth in the target program group no longer demonstrated statistically significant gender difference in some areas related to resiliency and self-esteem, such

as believing they were an achiever who plans for the future, having limits to their behaviors, and being confident in staying out of fights, while these variables demonstrated statistically significant gender differences for the non-program group. The only variable that still showed a statistically significant gender difference for both the non-program group and the target program group was being empathic and caring of others. In the target program group, Black females were still more likely to be empathic and caring of others than Black males (4.49 vs. 4.13).

However, three variables under the deviant behavior, family support and resiliency, and self-esteem areas demonstrated statistically significant gender differences between Black females and Black males for the target program group but not the non-program group. Specifically, a larger proportion of Black male participants in the program group reported that they had cheated on school tests before (0.65 vs. 0.44) and that they could talk about their problems with their family (3.97 vs. 3.49) than Black females, who were more likely to report that they could manage their behaviors and emotions than Black males. However, because the P-value of the independent T-test for two of the three variables was very close to 0.1 (P=0.084 for the cheating at school variable and P=0.099 for the behavior and emotional management variable), it weakens the validity of the statistically significant gender differences in these two variables.

Table 13

Gender Differences in Education Outcomes (Target Program Group)

Survey items	Black female	Black male	Significance level
Academic performance			
Grades[1]	6.50	5.79	.078*
I will graduate from high school.	4.63	4.61	.932
I will finish college.	4.60	4.23	.092*
I will get a job I really want.	4.43	4.48	.784
Educational attainment			
It's often hard to pay attention in class because I'm worrying about problems outside of school. (Q1 Rev)	3.34	3.42	.794
I can do better work than I'm doing now. (Q2 Rev)	2.17	1.90	.248
I considered dropping out of school. (Q3 Rev)	4.77	4.03	.012**
Taking honors, AP, or IB classes (0=no; 1=yes) (Q8)	0.45	0.53	.498
Motivation and self-regulation			
I work hard at school. (Q4)	4.03	3.90	.550
I concentrate on my schoolwork. (Q5)	4.00	3.73	.119
I am a responsible student. (Q6)	4.14	3.90	.195
I complete my schoolwork regularly. (Q7)	4.26	3.53	.001***
Deviant behavior (0=no; 1=yes)			
Since you were in high school, have you ever cheated on school tests? (Q10)	0.44	0.65	.084*
Since you were in high school, have you ever been sent out of a classroom because of bad behavior? (Q11)	0.19	0.27	.413
Since you were in high school, have you ever received out of school suspension? (Q12)	0.16	0.32	.107
Since you were in high school, have you ever stayed away from school/classes? (Q13)	0.14	0.42	.007**
Parents and family support			
Perceived social support – family			
My family really tries to help me. (Q14)	4.29	4.35	.711
I get the emotional support I need from my family. (Q15)	4.06	4.06	.973
I can talk about my problems with my family. (Q16)	3.49	3.97	.048**
My family is willing to help me make decisions. (Q17)	4.26	4.23	.866
Parental monitoring[2]			
How often does your parent/guardian know who you are with when you are not at home? (Q18)	4.37	4.16	.419
How often does your parent/guardian know what you are doing when you are not at home? (Q19)	4.31	3.97	.179
Resiliency and self-esteem			
I can…			
Generate new ideas or new ways to do things (Q20)	4.17	4.13	.845
Stay with a task until it is finished (Q21)	3.83	3.90	.748
See the humor in life and see it to reduce tensions (Q22)	4.26	4.17	.654

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Survey items	Black female	Black male	Significance level
Express thoughts and feelings in communication with others (Q23)	4.09	4.17	.686
Solve problems in various settings academic, job-related, personal, and social (Q24)	4.17	4.10	.666
Manage my behavior, feelings, impulses, acting-out (Q25)	4.40	4.13	.099*
Reach out for help when I need it (Q26)	3.97	4.00	.895
I am…			
A person most people like (Q27)	4.14	4.03	.588
Generally calm and good-natured (Q28)	4.23	4.20	.881
An achiever who plans for the future (Q29)	4.46	4.20	.173
A person who respects myself and others (Q30)	4.60	4.43	.299
Empathic and caring of others (Q31)	4.49	4.13	.059*
Responsible for my own behavior and accepting of the consequences (Q32)	4.49	4.40	.543
I have…			
One or more persons within my family I can trust and who love me without reservation (Q33)	4.49	4.37	.473
One or more persons outside my family I can trust without reservation (Q34)	4.17	4.10	.752
Limits to my behavior (Q35)	4.03	4.23	.328
People who encourage me to be independent (Q36)	4.43	4.23	.302
Good role models (Q37)	4.21	4.16	.859
Access to health, education, and the social and security services I need (Q38)	4.29	4.32	.871
A stable family and community (Q39)	4.03	4.32	.198
Self-efficacy			
I am confident in my ability to stay out of fights. (Q43)	4.55	4.29	.263
If someone called me a bad name, I would ignore them or walk away. (Q44)	3.89	3.90	.953
I don't need to fight because there are other ways to deal with anger. (Q45)	4.31	4.03	.273
I can get along well with most people. (Q46)	4.40	4.32	.727
Sample size (N)	43	32	

(* p < 0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01)

Note. One variable under Educational attainment, *Taking honors, AP, or IB classes* (Q8), and all variables under Deviant behavior (Q14-19) are measured with a dichotomous scale: *0=no and 1=yes*. These dichotomous variables are tested using a chi-square test.

All other variables are measured on a 1-5 scale: *1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neither agree nor disagree; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree*. Variables measured on a 5-point scale or continuous numbers are tested using an independent T-test.

[1] Grades are on a scale from 1-8, where 1 is "Mostly D's and F's" and 8 is "Mostly A's."

[2] Variables under parental monitoring are measured on a 1-5 scale: *1=practically never; 2=occasionally; 3=about half the time; 4=most of the time; 5=all of the time.*

In summary, there were still some gender differences in the education outcomes for target program group across different areas, such as education performance, motivation and self-regulation, deviant behavior, parents and family support, and resiliency and self-esteem. However, compared to the non-program group, the target program group demonstrated slightly fewer gender differences in their academic performance and parental and family support and significantly fewer gender differences in self-motivation and regulation and self-esteem and resiliency compared to the non-program group.

Year 2 interview data supported the finding of fewer gender differences in education outcomes for target program group

The year 1 survey findings discussed above were consistent with the year 2 interview data. According to the year 2 interview data, all Black youth participants in one of the target nonprofit programs successfully completed high school. They either went to college and/or worked or joined the military service after they graduated from high school. None of them were unemployed at home after high school, which suggests both Black females and Black males in the target program group had certain plans and preparations for their future careers during high school. A larger proportion of Black females (89.7 percent) were enrolled in college than Black males (77.0 percent), and a larger proportion of Black males went to work without attending college after high school than Black females. This is consistent with the gender difference of the determination to finish college after high school in the year 1 survey, where Black females were more likely to report that they would finish college than Black males.

Below are a few selected quotes from the Black youth about their one-year and five-year future plans. In general, Black females more frequently mentioned "college" in their plans and provided more detailed information about their plans than Black males.

> [One year from now], I would hope to already be an established RA [Research Assistant] and peer mentor. I hope to be fluent at least in the grammar aspect of ASL [American Sign Language]...I hope to be studying for my next set of tests that I have to take to become a student teacher. I also hope to be very involved in student teaching, I obviously have to take a test first to do student teaching, but I want to do a student teaching study at a school or something, maybe at an after-school program where I can help students with their homework with kids with special needs or learning or mental disabilities. [Five years from now], hopefully I'm out of college by then. My plan is to be working at a school for kids with special needs, but I also want to start an after-school program for theater for kids with special needs… (Black female, NJO04)

> [One year from now], I would hope to have an internship in the legislative building in Atlanta… I would also like a higher GPA, about a 3.5, end of my sophomore year. Also, I want to look into more law schools. I know I have a set goal on going to Howard, but I did learn that you have to look into more schools, you can't just focus on one…[Five years from now, I would be] in law school, completing my first or second year I believe. I want to be located in DC. I hope to have some type of job—something I can do to impact the community because that is my focus with politics. (Black female, RAY09)

> [One year from now], I hope to have enough confidence and enough financial support to be able to go to LA and actually participate in a summer intensive, and then after that, I should be preparing to go to London [for a study abroad program about audition] my junior year. Five years from now, I should be about a year or two out of college. My resume should look pretty nice as a dancer, meaning that I have done multiple shows...I always wanted to rent a house in LA and audition there as well. So, I feel like 5 years from now I should just be getting a move on and doing that. (Black male, Mama11)

> One year from now, I really want to be a web developer, stuck into in my career...Since my career is one of those that doesn't really require a degree and more so requires the knowledge and skill set and the certification behind it. My goal is to gain that as fast as possible, as quick as possible...It's something that I actually like to do. It doesn't feel like a job to me. [Five years from now], I hope to move out of New Jersey...Have a startup company. (Black male, NJO08)

Even though some of the Black youth did not go to college right after high school as they originally planned, they planned to apply to and attend college in the next year. For example, one Black male mentioned in the interview that he was on vacation with his family in Florida during

the summer right after high school and was late in applying for college, so he planned to apply for Empire and Clark Atlanta University with a major in cosmetology, fashion, or vocal music in the coming year while also working.

Year 2 interview data also supported gender differences in parental support between Black males and Black females. Most Black youth in the target program group reported that they received great support from their siblings, parents, and extended families. In particular, all Black males reported that the major source of support is their families, and they all mentioned their mothers as a great support during and after high school. This helps explain the year 1 survey finding that shows that the gender difference in parental monitoring was smaller in the target program group than the non-program group, and that Black males are even more likely to perceive family support, and specifically talk about problems with their families, than Black females. For example, a Black male shared that his mother was the primary source of support for him:

> Whenever I felt bad or sad, or insufficient a lot many ways, I will call my mom.
> If I was having a bad day, if I was feeling like all of the odds are against me, I will call my mom... She has really been my role model my whole life. Seeing her overcome all of those adversities, and being able to accomplish, and even go back to school when she was forty for her master's degree online, and now she wants to go back to school. She is the person I look up to, she is a really good supporter. She knows what I am doing, she knows what she is doing, and she knows how to help me in situations I need help in. (Black male, Mama10)

Another Black male mentioned his mother, brother, and sister as the primary sources of support from his family:

> My brother gives me confidence because I'm going to school. He tells me every day that he wishes he could do what I did and be where I'm at. My Mom supports me in everything I do. She takes me as I am. My sister gives me guidance. She attends this university too—she's a junior—she gives me guidance. And they also provide me financial support. (Black male, RAY10)

In addition to career plans and parental support, most Black youth in the target program group reported that the target nonprofit programs helped them identify their values, improve their public speaking and other life skills, and increase their self-confidence, which could help explain the significantly fewer gender differences found in the year 1 survey data in areas related to self-esteem and resiliency. Below are some examples of the impacts of the nonprofit programs on Black youth participants:

> It helped with obviously memory and public speaking, it opened me up to be able to speak in front of really large groups of people. I used to be really staged shy, I guess you can say, but I got up there the first time and I spit out my poem and after that I was really confident in front of people. (Black female, NJO06)

> Our key speaker, some of the things he would talk about, like personal issues not letting them really affect you going down the path you need to go to reach your goals and how to deal with certain issues, and how to focus more in school, taking notes and talking to other people, reaching out to other people to get help. Most of those were very important for me. It helped me get out of my comfort zone, and go find help, and reach out to people who I knew could help me. (Black female, RAY02)

> They [Mama] basically build your character. They help you find your voice. They help you build confidence and yourself and your voice. That's pretty much how I feel. It's basically a family. Once you get there, automatically, you're surrounded by a group of singers. You're learning form others as well as they learn from you. (Black male, Mama13)

In particular, most Black males agreed that the target nonprofit programs made them feel comfortable in expressing their ideas and helped them identify their value and talents. Below are two selected quotes from Black male participants.

> I believe that the MFA [a youth program in MAMA] has molded me to the person and performer that I am today. One of the main things that they teach you is to be proud of who you are and to be proud of where you come from and of your talent…. Mama and MFA has taught me how to be a great performer and a great human being in general. (Black male, Mama10)

> It definitely reinforced techniques for public speaking. I learned a lot—became a lot more confident. I can give more effective and solid presentations. (Black male, NJO09)

Significant gender differences in participant perceptions of target nonprofit programs

based on year 1 survey data

Table 14 shows the Black youth participants' perceptions of the nonprofit programs. As the data shows, Black females had a statistically significantly higher positive perceptions of the nonprofit programs than Black males. Specifically, Black females were more likely to feel comfortable at the program (4.67 vs. 3.78), feel being part of the program (4.58 vs. 3.81), and have a stronger commitment to the program (4.53 vs. 3.45) than Black males. Also, they are more likely to feel that they were being supported (4.51 vs. 3.74) and accepted (4.56 vs. 3.90) at the nonprofit program compared to Black males. Moreover, Black females were more likely to report that they liked their program directors or assistants (4.67 vs. 3.83) and that the nonprofit program stimulated their learning interest (4.67 vs. 3.83), increased their self-confidence (4.67 vs. 3.90), and increased their life skills (4. 64 vs. 3.90) than Black males.

Table 14

Student Perception of the Nonprofit Programs (Target Program Group)

Student perception[1]	Black female	Black male	Significance level
I feel comfortable at this program. (Q50)	4.67	3.78	.000***
I feel I am part of this program. (Q51)	4.58	3.81	.002***
I am committed to this program. (Q52)	4.53	3.45	.000***
I feel supported at this program. (Q53)	4.51	3.74	.001***
I am accepted at this program. (Q54)	4.56	3.90	.007***
I like my program directors/assistants. (Q55)	4.58	4.00	.006***
My program directors/assistants make learning interesting. (Q56)	4.67	3.83	.001***
Participation in this program increased my self-confidence. (Q57)	4.67	3.90	.000***
Participation in this program increased my life skills. (Q58)	4.64	3.90	.001***

(* p < 0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01)
[1] All variables are measured on a 1-5 scale: *1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neither agree nor disagree; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree.*

Significant gender differences in the long-term impacts of target nonprofit programs based on year 2 interview data

Consistent with the year 1 survey data in which Black females reported higher positive perceptions of the target nonprofit programs than Black males, the year 2 interview data showed that a larger proportion of Black female participants reported great connections with the nonprofit programs, including their leadership, staff, and/or participants, after they graduated from high school than Black males. About 75 percent of Black females reported that they still maintained certain contact with the target nonprofit programs one year after they graduated from high school. Here are two quotes about Black females' connections with the nonprofit programs after high school:

> Some of the people in the class, we have each other on social media. We exchanged phone numbers and we talk most of the time. We're like always on the phone or we facetime each other. (Black female, Mama05)

> A few of the leaders of the program were actually at my graduation party. Some of them came to my graduation and I still keep in touch with them. My mom keeps in touch with them too. I call them every now and then; they want to just check up on me to see how everything is going. (Black female, NJO01)

However, only about 46 percent of Black males reported that they still maintained contact with either the staff or participants in the nonprofit programs after high school. Here is a quote from one Black male participant:

> They gave me a scholarship that I applied for college. I used it for my books and stuff in college. I'm going back, they have a banquet every summer. I'm going back to talk to whoever they gave it to this year as recipients. (Black male, RAY12)

Black males who did not stay connected with the program reported either that they stayed in the program for a very short period of time or they were very young when they participated

and could not remember much about their experience in the program, which was similar to Black females who no longer had contacts with the nonprofit programs after graduating from high school. Below is a quote from a Black male participant who stayed in the nonprofit program for only a few weeks.

> I wasn't there for too long. All [that] I did really was go there for a couple of weeks and memorize poems and spoke it out loud to a group of people. I think maybe it helped me be more comfortable talking to other people, but I feel like I've always been comfortable talking to people. (Black male, NJO07)

Gender differences in the connections between Black youth participants and the nonprofit programs can help explain the gender differences in Black youths' perceptions of the nonprofit programs. The year 2 interview data shows that youth who did not stay in contact with the programs usually did not treat them as very impactful to their life and career, and most of these youth did not recall much about the lessons and skills that they learned from them. However, those Black youth who maintained great relationships with the nonprofit programs usually had very positive comments about them. Most of these youth credited their current achievements and success to the skills and values they developed in these programs. Below are quotes from one Black male participant and one Black female participant.

> The public speaking part of it, I was shy. I still am shy. It has grown my confidence to speak in front of a large group of people. Now that I am in college, I'm more comfortable to speak in front of a group that I don't know. Even if I haven't gotten to meet them yet. It helps me to be more confident in college. (Black male, NJO10)

> I still participate with them when I can. I still participate, I still sing, and I use all the techniques that I learned while I was there. It's worked to my advantage among my peers at college. (Black female, Mama03)

These quotes demonstrate the value and impacts of target nonprofit programs to Black youth, both males and females, in spite of gender differences in program satisfaction.

Summary of Findings

The major findings in this study, as shown in Tables 15 and 16, addressed the following research questions: 1) Do Black youth who participate in nonprofit youth programs have a smaller gender gap in education outcomes than Black youth who do not participate in any nonprofit programs or other extracurricular activities? 2) Is there any gender difference in the programs' long-term impacts on Black youth (who have participated in the target nonprofit youth programs) one year after they graduate from high school? The summary below is organized by these two research questions.

Table 15

Summary of Major Findings from Year 1 Survey Data

Areas/Variables	Gender differences in non-program group	Gender differences in target program group
Academic performance	Black females generally demonstrate significantly better academic performance, especially in self-motivation and regulation, than Black males.	Black females generally demonstrate slightly better academic performance than Black males.
Deviant behavior	Black males are slightly more likely to demonstrate deviant behaviors than females.	Black males are slightly more likely to demonstrate deviant behaviors than females.
Family and social support	Black females are significantly more likely to get parental monitoring (parents know who they are with when they are not at home) than Black males.	There is no longer any gender difference in parental monitoring among Black youth. Black males are significantly more likely to perceive family support (they can talk about problems with family) than Black females.
Resiliency and self-esteem	Black females generally demonstrate significantly better resiliency and self-esteem than Black males.	Black females generally demonstrate slightly better resiliency and self-esteem than Black males.
Perceptions on the nonprofit program	---------	Black females show a significantly higher positive perceptions of the nonprofit programs than Black males.

Table 16

Summary of Major Findings from Year 2 Interview Data

Areas/Variables	Target program group
Career after high school	All Black youth participants completed high school and either went to college and/or worked or joined the military service. A larger proportion of Black females went to college than Black males.
Career plan	All Black youth had certain career plans and preparations for their future. However, Black females more frequently mentioned "college" in their plans and provided more detailed information about their plans than Black males.
Family support	Most Black youth reported that they received great support from their siblings, parents, and extended families. Particularly, all Black males reported families, mostly mothers, as the major source of support during and after high school.
Skills/lessons learned in target nonprofit programs	Black youth reported that the programs helped them identify their values, improve their public speaking and other life skills, and increase their self-confidence. In particular, most Black males concluded that the programs helped them comfortably express their ideas and identify their values and talents.
Contact with nonprofit	A larger proportion of Black females reported maintaining great connections with the nonprofits after high school, and they credited their current achievements and success to the nonprofit programs than Black males.

The findings of both the year 1 survey and the year 2 interview data answer the first research question about whether Black youth who participate in nonprofit youth programs have smaller gender gaps in education outcomes and other program outcomes compared to Black youth who do not participate in any nonprofit or extracurricular activities during their secondary education. The findings suggest that Black youth who participated in nonprofit youth programs generally showed smaller gender differences in education outcomes than Black youth who did not. Specifically, Black youth who participated in nonprofit youth programs demonstrated slightly smaller gender differences in academic performance and parental monitoring and significantly smaller gender differences in self-motivation, regulation, and resiliency and self-esteem in comparison with the Black youth in the non-program group.

Moreover, all Black youth in the target program group have successfully completed high school. Most Black males and Black females in the target program group were highly motivated and had career goals with certain plans to achieve their goals. They generally enjoyed the nonprofit programs and reported that they provided them with public-speaking, communication, and other life skills; improved their confidence; and helped them identify their talents and values. Also, unlike the non-program group, Black youth in the target program group generally showed a smaller gender difference in parental monitoring. However, the year 1 survey data shows that Black males were more likely to talk about problems with family than Black females, which is supported by the year 2 interview data, revealing that Black males received great support from their families, and especially their mothers. While gender differences in the education outcomes have declined among Black youth in the target program group, the findings show that there were still significant gender differences in Black youths' perceptions of the nonprofit programs. Even though both Black males and Black females reported positive impacts of these programs on their youth development, Black females generally showed more positive perceptions of the nonprofit programs than Black males. Specifically, Black females reported a stronger sense of belonging to these nonprofit programs and had a stronger commitment to them than Black males. Black females were also more likely to report that these nonprofit programs developed their learning interests and improved their confidence and life skills than Black males.

The findings of the year 2 interview data also answer question 2 about whether there are any gender differences in the long-term impacts of the target nonprofit youth programs on Black youth. The findings suggest that there were gender disparities in the long-term impacts of these programs between Black females and Black males in the target program group. Specifically, a larger proportion of Black females reported that they stayed in contact with the participants,

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staff, and/or leaders of these nonprofit youth programs one year after they graduated from high school than Black males. Further, most Black youth who maintained connections with these nonprofit programs spoke highly of them and credited their current achievements and success to the skills and values that they developed in the nonprofit programs. Also, while all Black youth mentioned their career plans and future preparation, Black females more frequently mention "college" in their plans and provide more detailed information about their plans than Black males.

In summary, the research findings showed a declining gender gap in the education outcomes among Black youth participants of the nonprofit youth programs compared to those who did not participate in any nonprofit or extracurricular programs. However, the findings also revealed a significant gender difference in Black youths' perceptions of the nonprofit programs and their long-term impacts, which suggests that these nonprofit youth programs are not equally effective for Black males and Black females, but they do effectively improve the overall education outcomes of their Black participants.

Chapter V Discussion, Implications, and Conclusion

Review of the Dissertation Purpose

Gender differences in the educational outcomes between Black males and Black females have long been documented in both the literature and national data (Belgrave & Brevard, 2015; Charles et al., 2006). Teachers, employers, peers, and parents tend to hold more negative stereotypical perceptions of and lower expectations for Black males than Black females and their peers from other racial groups (e.g., Hill, 1999; Noguera, 2003; Pollard, 1993). These explicit and implicit social biases toward Black males, inherent in American history and culture, have deeply affected Black males' self-identity and their confidence in and motivation for achieving higher educational performance (Davis, 2009; Hall, 2001; Lieberson, 1980).

Many previous studies have identified nonprofit programs as promising interventions for improving youth development, and especially for minority youth. This study similarly evidenced the positive outcomes of nonprofit youth programs in supporting Black youth, and especially Black males, such as providing positive role models, improving their communication and other skills, developing a strong sense of self-identity, and enhancing their motivation for performing well in school (Byfield, 2008; Jordan, 2012; Mitchell, 2010; Putnam, 2000). Many of the skills and values that youth develop in these nonprofit youth programs are the typical characteristics of high-achieving Black youth (Akom, 2003; Harris & Marsh, 2010; Wiggan, 2008), which suggests that nonprofit youth programs play a positive role in reducing racial and gender differences in educational outcomes. However, few studies have explored the gender equity implications of the outcomes of these nonprofit programs. This study examined gender disparities in the program outcomes of three African American-led nonprofits and contributed to

the literature by exploring whether nonprofit youth programs can effectively reduce gender differences in Black youth educational outcomes and other youth outcomes.

This chapter identifies factors that may contribute to gender differences in the program outcomes and connects the findings with the concepts and theoretical framework discussed at the beginning of this study. It also discusses the implications of the findings for public administration and policy, provides recommendations, and identifies areas for future research.

Potential Factors for Gender Disparities in Program Outcomes

In this study, many potential factors could lead to gender disparities in program outcomes, and specifically gender differences in participants' perceptions of the nonprofit programs and their connections with them. First, the age of youth when they started the nonprofit programs and the length of time that they stayed in them could contribute to gender disparities in the program outcomes. In the year 1 survey, there were a larger percentage of Black females (44.5 percent) who stayed in the nonprofit program for four years or more, while none of the Black males reported that they had stayed for this long. However, according to the interview data, a few Black males reported that they had been involved in the nonprofit programs for four years or more, and they spoke highly of them. Also, more Black males than Black females reported that they joined the programs at an early age and could not recall many of their experiences in them. Nevertheless, there was still a large proportion of Black males who did not provide this information either in the year 1 survey (9.4 percent) or the year 2 interview (15.3 percent), which makes it difficult to conclude that gender disparities were caused by the length of the time the youth spent in the nonprofit programs or the age of youth when they joined them.

The gender distribution of leadership or staff in these nonprofit programs could be another factor that contributes to gender disparities in the program outcomes. The staff and

leaders of these three nonprofit programs were predominantly female. Research shows that people are more likely to invest more time in and pay more attention to people of the same gender in their services (Mandara et al., 2005); and it is much easier for people to develop closer relationships with people of the same gender and understand their needs (Mandara et al., 2010). The gender distribution of the leadership could have even more impacts on gender disparities in the nonprofit program outcomes. The theory of representative bureaucracy suggests that a homogeneous leadership team in nonprofits could lead to implicit biases and assumptions in nonprofit policies and services (Thomas-Breitfeld & Kunreuther, 2017), while a nonprofit with a leadership team that represents their community well will provide services that better meet the interests and demands of the diverse public (Kingsley, 1944). As all three nonprofits are led by Black females and most of their staff and volunteers are also female, it is possible that the approaches these staff use to interact with youth are more tailored to the preferences of Black female youth or the program services are better in line with Black female youths' needs. This may also be reflected in the larger proportion of Black females who expressed great connections with the nonprofit programs after they graduated from high school than Black males. Thus, it is important for these nonprofit programs to take these biases into consideration to ensure gender equity in their services and program outcomes.

Another factor that may lead to gender disparities in the program outcomes could be the implicit biases internalized by the leadership team, other staff, volunteers, and even the participants in these nonprofit programs. As the United States has a long history of culture in which Black males receive lower expectations than Black females in educational performance and behavior management (Davis, 2009; Howard et al., 2012), it is highly possible that staff and participants in these nonprofit programs unconsciously hold negative stereotypical perceptions of

Black males that may impact their attitudes and interactions with the Black male youth (Livingston, 2002; Shrauger & Schoeneman, 1979). Research has provided evidence for the ubiquity of the implicit biases toward Blacks. For example, Black males are more likely to experience stigma and receive negative reactions from peers, employers, teachers, and even parents compared to Black females and other racial groups (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Davis, 2009; Hall, 2001, etc.). These negative attitudes and perceptions of Blacks, and especially Black males, could potentially and unintentionally be integrated into every aspect of these nonprofit programs, such as decision making, program design, and service delivery, which could lead to inequity in the program outcomes.

In addition to the abovementioned factors related to the target nonprofit programs, it is undeniable that many of the other factors discussed earlier in the literature review, such as culture, living environment, schools, families, peers, and personal factors, could also contribute to gender disparities in the program outcomes. The literature has documented many instances of gender disparities in Black youths' reactions to negative impacts, as well as implicit biases toward Black youth, and especially Black males, in various contexts (e.g., Axelrod & Markow, 2000; Bateman, 1997; Entwisle et al., 1994; Murray, 2009, etc). For example, Black males are more susceptible to negative impacts of exposure to crime, violence, delinquent peers, and disadvantaged schools in poor neighborhoods than Black females (Entwisle et al., 1994; Kao & Tienda, 1998). They are also more likely to receive less parental monitoring and have lower expectations from parents at home than Black females (Skinner et al., 2016; Varner & Mandara, 2013). Also, the underrepresentation of both minority teachers and male teachers at elementary and secondary schools could generate implicit biases towards Black males, such as teachers' lower expectations and evaluations of Black males compared to other racial groups and Black

females (NCES, 2017b; Noguera, 2003; Wood et al., 2007). All of these gender disparities that Black males experience could negatively impact their school performance, as well as the outcomes of these nonprofit youth programs. Even though the nonprofit youth programs in this study have taken many efforts to facilitate minority youth development and improve their education outcomes, it is very challenging and probably impossible for these nonprofit youth programs to eliminate all the negative impacts that Black males receive in other contexts through their programs and activities within a limited period of time. Thus, the negative impacts of gender disparities that Black males experience in various contexts could contribute to gender differences in the outcomes of these nonprofit programs.

In general, this study evidences and explores how implicit biases could impact the perceptions and behaviors of leadership, staff, and participants in nonprofit programs and further impact gender equity in the program outcomes without excluding the negative impacts of other external and internal factors. While these nonprofit programs could not completely remove the negative impacts of gender disparities that Black youth experienced in other contexts, this study identifies the significant roles of nonprofit youth programs in weakening the negative impacts from other factors and improving education outcomes of Black youth, and especially Black males.

Connecting the Findings to the Theoretical Framework

The findings of this study demonstrate that nonprofit youth programs were effective in improving the youth development of Black youth participants, which is consistent with the literature that supports the positive outcomes of nonprofit programs (e.g., Byfield, 2008; Mitchell, 2010; Putnam, 2000). The study also reveals that these nonprofit programs were helpful in reducing gender differences in educational outcomes, and especially in self-

motivation, resiliency, and self-esteem, while there were still significant gender disparities in other program outcomes. These findings provide additional support for the implicit biases and expectancy theory of motivation, which are the theoretical framework this study uses to understand Black youths' gender and racial differences in educational outcomes.

Implicit biases are ubiquitous and deep-rooted

This study found that Black females had statistically significant higher positive perceptions of the nonprofit youth programs and were more likely to maintain connections with them compared to Black males. These findings suggest that implicit biases toward Black males are ubiquitous and deep-rooted in different contexts, even though the United States has a long history of fighting against social prejudice and discrimination against Blacks and has made great progress in facilitating social equity (Coleman et al., 1966; Reef, 2009; Snyder, 1993). The literature has evidenced prevalent implicit biases toward Black males in schools, homes, companies, and communities, with Black males more likely to receive low expectations, poor performance evaluations, unfair judgements, and other discriminations (e.g., Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Noguera, 2003; Shelley, 2013; Varner & Mandara, 2013, etc.). This study further supports the literature by indicating that the negative impacts of implicit biases on Black males also persist in the nonprofit context, potentially leading to gender disparities in program experiences and outcomes for Black youth despite the fact that these nonprofit programs are led by dedicated Black executives who have strong commitments to improving youth development in their local communities and have obtained great trust and reputations from both the youth who are supported by these programs and their parents (Gooden, Evans, Perkins, et al., 2018).

Additionally, implicit biases are deeply rooted in that they are usually out of individuals' awareness and control. These nonprofit programs were started by Black executives who have

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deep understandings of the social prejudices toward minority youth and are dedicated to helping

them overcome barriers created by the prejudices and preparing them for promising futures. All

three nonprofits have received national recognition of their community services and efforts in

promoting social equity. For example, RAY was awarded the 2008 Gloria Hobson Nordin Social

Equity Award, and NJO received the 2015 President's Community Service Gold Award.

However, it is still difficult for them to be aware of their implicit biases, as well as the potential

impacts of their biases on their decision making, attitudes, and behaviors, and address the

negative impacts of implicit biases that Black males encounter outside the nonprofits, which

could contribute to the significant gender differences in the program outcomes. This provides

great support to the existing implicit bias theory, which holds that implicit biases are hard to

detect, monitor, and control, but they profoundly affect people's cognition and reactions

(Dovidio et al., 2001; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). Previous research also finds that levels of

implicit biases were much lower in self-reports compared to bias measured by the implicit

association test (Nosek et al., 2002).

This study also evidences that people's implicit biases may not be in line with their

explicit biases and that the profound effects of one's implicit biases can moderate and even

reverse the influences of explicit biases when conflicts exist between the two (Dovidio & Fazio,

1992; Dovidio et al., 2001; Nosek et al., 2002). This is why some people who explicitly fight for

justice implicitly discriminate against some social groups. Their judgements, attitudes, and

behaviors are unconsciously affected by their deeply ingrained implicit biases, and the influences

of implicit biases are stronger than their explicit biases. The executives and staff of the nonprofit

programs in this study are explicitly against any types of discrimination toward minority youth.

In fact, improving minority youth development is an essential part of the programs' missions, as

embodied in their positive impacts on Black youth participants and the decreasing gender differences of Black youth in education outcomes. However, Black females and Black males still reported very different levels of satisfaction with these programs, which indicates the possible impacts of implicit biases on program delivery and program outcomes.

Implicit biases are influenced by the intersection of multiple identities

The existing literature argues that group-related implicit biases are influenced by an intersection of different identifies, including but not limited to age, gender, race, ethnicity, country origin, and sexual orientation (Branch & Newcombe, 1986; Gibson-Wallace et al., 2015). This study supports the literature by indicating that both race and gender, as well as their intersecting effects, impact the implicit biases faced by Black males.

In the nonprogram group, Black males were identified as disadvantaged in educational outcomes, and specifically in academic performance, motivation and self-regulation, parental monitoring, resiliency, and self-esteem, compared to Black females. These findings are consistent with previous studies that document the on-average lower education performance and poorer youth development of Black males than Black females and other peer racial groups (Roderick, 2003; Roderick & Camburn, 1999; Smerdon, 1999), suggesting race and gender as two major filters through which people perceive Black males. The social implicit beliefs toward Black males also prevail in the communities where these nonprofit programs are located.

Additionally, even though Black youth in the target program group participated in nonprofit youth programs that helped them identify their values and appreciate their own culture, Black males still demonstrated significantly lower positive perceptions of the nonprofit programs and were less likely to maintain close connections with the staff and peers in these programs than Black females. This suggests that the significant and sustained efforts that these nonprofit

programs have taken to reduce the negative impacts of social biases on Black youth development mainly address the biases and prejudices caused by race but overlook the influence of gender on the biases, as well as the effects of these biases on the program outcomes. This is also reflected in the fact that all the executives and most of the staff of these nonprofit programs are Black females, while a large proportion of youth participants are Black males. The findings of this study also suggest the complexity in recognizing and understanding implicit biases caused by the intersection of different identities and reinforces the challenge in reducing the negative impacts of these biases.

Nonprofit programs can alter black youth self-expectations and motivation

The findings of this study provide additional evidence for the necessity and feasibility of nonprofit programs as promising interventions in improving Black youth development and their educational outcomes. First, the study presents examples demonstrating how nonprofit youth programs improve Black youths' educational outcomes by increasing their self-expectations, confidence, and motivations, providing additional support for the expectation theory of motivation. In this study, all three nonprofit youth programs have a strong focus on teaching youth their cultural traditions and values; helping them develop positive self-identities; educating them to obtain such knowledge and skills as communication skills, public speaking skills, interview skills, leadership skills, and college preparation; and connecting them with alumni, mentors, staff, and other people who can serve as positive role models. These efforts greatly improve Black youths' confidence, increase their motivation for good performance, and raise their self-expectations of future success, all of which improve Black youths' education outcomes. This study shows that Black youth who participated in these nonprofit youth programs demonstrated, on average, better education outcomes compared to Black youth who did not

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receive any additional support from nonprofit programs or other extracurricular activities. For example, all the Black youth participants, including both Black males and females, in the nonprofit youth programs successfully finished high school and began college, work, or military service. They also all showed some planning and preparation for their future career. Additionally, these Black youth showed fewer gender differences in education outcomes, many of which were related to Black youths' self-expectations and beliefs such as motivation, self-regulation, resiliency, and self-esteem.

Additionally, these nonprofit programs improve Black youths' self-expectations and confidence by changing the low expectations of Black youth in their homes, schools, and communities. In addition to educating Black youth, these nonprofits also help develop positive familial relationships, bridge families and schools, and improve community support for the youth to thrive (Gooden, Evans, Perkins, et al., 2018). For example, Mama's program about the gospel music tradition and vocal skills brought African American cultural traditions to local schools and increased community recognition of Black youth (Gooden, Evans, & Pang, 2018). NJO invites parents to their children's training sessions and educational conferences to improve educational outcomes. RAY offers programs for parents and families to help them better communicate with schools and become positive role models for their children. All these efforts help parents, schools, and the community better understand the culture of Black youth, develop positive images of Black youth, and increase their expectations of Black youth, and especially Black males

The literature has concluded that Black youths' self-expectations result from the joint effects of all the expectations that they receive from others and the low composite expectations Black males receive from their teachers, parents, friends, and/or other significant others, which

lead to Black males' low self-expectations and motivation, as well as the consequent average low education performance (Noguera, 2001, 2003; Wood et al., 2007). The high expectations of and motivation for success that Black youth develop in nonprofit youth programs can moderate the negative impacts of the low expectations Black youth receive from others. Moreover, the efforts of these nonprofit programs in improving the expectations of Black youth from parents, teachers, and local communities can further improve Black youths' self-expectations and motivations, which will eventually generate better educational outcomes. These findings further confirm the significant roles of nonprofit youth programs in facilitating positive youth development and improving Black youths' educational outcomes. Research has evidenced that many nonprofit programs, and especially those located in low-income communities, share similar commitments and efforts to support underserved populations, playing a significant role in meeting local needs (Branch Associations, 2016; LeRoux, 2009). Nonprofit programs are important vehicles for advancing the interests of underserved communities (LeRoux, 2009).

Implications for Public Administration and Policy

The findings of this study provide important implications for public administration and policy, with insights into the significant roles of nonprofits in collaborative governance, and especially in supporting underserved populations and facilitating social equity. This study also offers a glimpse into the impacts of implicit biases on service delivery and policy outcomes that are influenced by the representation of the leaders and staff in the organizations. Moreover, gender disparities in the program outcomes suggest that it is important to integrate equity and inclusion principles in policy making and service provision to ensure effectiveness and equity in the policy/services outcomes for an increasingly diverse population.

Important role of nonprofits in collaborative governance

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This study confirms the value of nonprofit programs in representing and supporting underserved populations, as well as the distinctive virtues of community-based nonprofits, demonstrated by their close connections with local communities, strong commitments to improving community development, and effectiveness in meeting local needs. In collaborative governance, community-based nonprofits have been considered an increasingly important partner that can speak for local communities (LeRoux, 2009; Marwell, 2004). Collaborative governance is the "processes and structures of public policy decision making and management that engage people across the boundaries of public agencies, levels of government, and/or the public, private, and civic spheres to carry out a public purpose that could otherwise not be accomplished" (Emerson et al., 2012, p.2). In collaborative governance, "principled engagement" is one of the key components that emphasizes the active participation of different stakeholders who have different knowledge and represent various significant interests (Ansell & Gash, 2008; Emerson et al., 2012). The expansion of governmental functions generates an increasing demand for collaboration across boundaries to address dynamic and complex wicked problems that are difficult or even impossible for a single organization to solve (Emerson & Nabatchi, 2015). The evolution of the major education policies in the United States, discussed in the first chapter, also suggests the need for collaborative efforts among different sectors and a wide range of stakeholders to achieve effective and inclusive policy outcomes (Johnson & Svara, 2011).

The significance of nonprofits in collaborative governance can be traced back to the 1990s, when many activities and functions originally provided by governments were contracted out to the private and nonprofit sectors due to extensive privatization and the devolution of government authority and responsibility in national welfare reform (Austin, 2003; Marwell,

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2004). Collaboration between governments and nonprofits has become an important approach to provide public services and address social problems across the country (Salamon, 1995). Increasingly, studies identify the critical roles of community-based nonprofits as both public voices of the communities they support and the street-level bureaucrats of public services (LeRoux, 2009; Lipsky, 2010; Marwell, 2004). Particularly, community-based nonprofits play a critical role in facilitating social equity by providing targeted services and resources to underserved communities, promoting civic awareness and participation of underrepresented populations who have no access to political institutions or limited knowledge and skills for political participation, improving local stakeholders' engagement in policy decision making, and even exerting influence on the allocation of public resources (Berry & Arons, 2003; LeRoux, 2007, 2009; Marwell, 2004; Minzner et al., 2014).

While the service capacity of community-based nonprofits has greatly expanded in the past few decades, prior studies have identified many challenges facing them, including financial and human resource constraints, competition with for-profit agencies, and insufficiency balancing flexibility and efficiency between short-term goals and long-term development, which can undermine the functions and effectiveness of nonprofits in collaborative governance (Frumkin & Andre-Clark, 2000; Salamon, 1995, 2012; Smith, 2012). Moreover, scholars have frequently reported that nonprofits depending on government funding or contracts are likely to experience mission deviation, limited autonomy, and bureaucratization (Frumkin & Andre-Clark, 2000; Smith & Lipsky, 1993; Zhu et al., 2021). More supports are needed for nonprofits to improve their service capacity and ensure their substantive representation in collaborative governance.

Representation in nonprofit and public sector and social equity

The findings of this study suggest that there are potential biases and injustices in service delivery and outcomes caused by the racial and gender representation of the leaders and staff within the organizations and service programs. This has been supported by the existing literature that uncovers the biases of different social groups. For example, Whites have a strong pro-White bias compared to other racial groups, and males are more likely to show negativity toward socially disadvantaged age and race groups compared to females (Nosek et al., 2002). The failure to authentically represent the communities served by the nonprofit and public workforce, and especially in senior level positions, could lead to inequity in public services.

The paucity of diversity in nonprofit and philanthropic leadership

Studies have identified close connections between the descriptive representation of nonprofit leadership and staff and the efficacy of these programs in advancing the interests of the communities that they serve (Gooden, Evans, Perkins, et al., 2018; LeRoux, 2007, 2009). Researchers found that it is easier for nonprofits to gain trust and legitimacy among their clients and more effective for them to develop policies that meet the needs and concerns of their constituents if leadership is closely identified with their clients (Abzug & Galaskiewicz, 2001; LeRoux, 2009; Tourigny & Miller, 1981).

However, the leadership of the nonprofit sector needs greater diversity (Lewis, 2002; Teegarden, 2004). As shown in this study, the leaders and most senior staff of the three African America-led nonprofits are Black females, even though their clients include males and females and involve different races, such as Black, White, and Hispanic. Other research shows that minority-led nonprofits are more likely to have minority board members and senior staff than White-led nonprofits (Branch Associates, 2016; McGill et al., 2009). A study on New York City foundations and nonprofits reveals that about 56 percent of board members in minority-led

nonprofits are minorities (McGill et al., 2009). A research study of Philadelphia's nonprofits reports that 65 percent of the board members in African American-led nonprofits are Black. In particular, all board members are Black in 27 percent of African American-led nonprofits, and all senior staff are Black in 59 percent of them (Branch Associates, 2016). While there is no specific data about the proportion of minority males in leadership positions in all African American-led or minority-led nonprofits, research shows that less than 35 percent of senior staff in African American-led nonprofits in Philadelphia are men (Branch Associates, 2016). This suggests the need for more Black males or minority males in nonprofit leadership positions, which is particularly important to African American-led nonprofits, as they usually serve large proportions of Black male youth who have experienced negative social identities or social stigmas (Smith et al., 2011). Black male leaders in nonprofits are not only role models for Black male participants, but also indicate the possibility of the participants overcoming obstacles caused by negative stereotypes and achieving success in their future careers. This could greatly improve Black male participants' self-expectations and inspire them to work hard to achieve promising futures. Moreover, having Black males as leaders in African American-led nonprofits could reduce implicit biases in the service approaches and outcomes of Black male participants. Thus, it is important to involve Black males and other minority males in leadership positions, especially in nonprofits that serve minority communities.

While most of the leadership positions in minority-led nonprofits are occupied by minorities, only about 30 percent of CEOs and 33 percent of board members in all nonprofits are minorities, according to the New York City study (McGill et al., 2009). In the nonprofit sector, minorities and females are generally underrepresented in leadership and senior management positions. A survey from the Council on Foundations reports that about 60 percent of foundation

board members are White and 34 percent are women (Lewis, 2002). Only about 7 percent of

foundation board members are Black and 2 percent are Hispanic (Lewis, 2002). Another

nationwide survey estimated that 84 percent of nonprofit executives are White, followed by

Black (10 percent) and Hispanic (4 percent), but only 42 percent of the nonprofits led by Whites

provide services to primarily White communities (Teegarden, 2004). Additionally, women

accounted for 58 percent of nonprofit executives, often leading smaller organizations with about

6 to 10 staff, whereas the median number of staff for organizations led by males is between 21 to

50 (Teegarden, 2004). In addition to race and gender disparities, other researchers also reveal

that board members of many nonprofits consist of local elites, with higher incomes and better

education, who do not represent the communities they serve well, even though the diversity of

nonprofit boards is increasing (Abzug & Galaskiewicz, 2001; DiMaggio & Anheier, 1990; Guo

& Musso, 2007). In the nonprofit workforce, females hold the majority of jobs in fundraising

positions, low-level administration positions, director-level positions, and positions that provide

direct supports to communities, while males are more likely work in senior management

positions, such as executive directors, vice presidents, and chief development officers (Preston,

2003; Sampson & Moore, 2008). Lansford et al. (2010) reported that the top 400 largest

philanthropic organizations in the United States had only 18.8 percent of women in executive

level positions. Another study reports that women occupy 75 percent of the jobs in the nonprofit

sector on average, but only 43 percent of the executive positions (Stiffman, 2015).

Given the prevailing implicit biases in all social groups and the increasingly critical role

of nonprofits in public services, the poor match of nonprofit leadership and staff to their

constituents and the lack of diversity in the nonprofit workforce could create challenges for

nonprofits to deliver services that meet the diverse needs of their communities, and especially

underserved communities. As more nonprofits serve as street-level bureaucrats and important community actors, it is important for them to increase the identification and representation in their leadership and staff with the communities they support to reduce implicit biases embedded in policies and practices and to improve the effectiveness and equity in their service outcomes (Thomas-Breitfeld & Kunreuther, 2017).

The dominance of Whites and males in leadership positions in public sector

In addition to representation in the nonprofit workforce, this study also raises an alarm about the dominance of Whites and males in leadership positions in public administration and how these homogeneous decision makers may impact policy outcomes for a diverse population. According to the Center for American Women and Politics (n.d.a), females made up only 23.6 percent of the seats in U.S. Congress (25 percent in the Senate and 23.2 percent in the House of Representatives), 28.9 percent of statewide elective executive offices, and 29.3 percent of state legislators in 2020. Minority females occupied only 9.2 percent of the total seats in Congress, 5.8 percent of statewide elective executive officers, and 7.5 percent of state legislators in 2021 (Center for American Women and Politics, n.d.b). Similarly, the majority of faculty positions in public administration is also overwhelmingly held by White males (Rauhaus & Carr, 2020; Sabharwal, 2013). Females accounted for only about one third of public administration department heads and chairs, and they are less likely to occupy senior-ranking positions, such as full professor positions, than males (Sabharwal, 2013). In the top 24 public administration journals, females are less likely to be present in chief editor positions (10 percent), editorial leadership positions (25 percent), and as editorial board members (28.7 percent), but they are overrepresented in less prestigious positions, such as book review editors (75 percent) (Feeney et al., 2019).

The marginalized roles of females and minorities in public administration, from leadership positions in governments to editorial positions in public administration journals, could generate a sense of powerlessness among these marginalized groups, undermine their motivation for and confidence in achieving success in their careers, reinforce the negative stereotypes of these groups, and further reduce their representation in the public administration field (Mastracci & Arreola, 2016; Rauhaus & Carr, 2020). The continuous lack of women and minorities' voices in decision making makes it even more difficult to change the dominant narratives in the field (D'Agostino, 2017). Researchers find that dominant groups are more likely to assume that their perspectives are the norm and that their problems are the most pertinent and urgent ones without actively listening to the voices of non-privileged social groups, resulting in biases and inequities in policy making and implementation (Grillo & Wildman, 1991). Frederickson (2005) has pointed out that the outcomes and implementation of governmental policy favor some social groups over others. Many researchers suggest valuing and increasing the diversity of leadership positions in public administration to ensure the integration of the interests of a heterogeneous population into decision making and policy implementation (Gooden & Wooldridge, 2007; Oldfield et al., 2006; Sabharwal, 2013).

Equity and inclusion principles in policy making and service provision

The findings of this study reveal gender inequity in the outcomes of three nonprofit youth programs, even though these nonprofits have made great achievements in supporting local youth and received wide recognition for their services across the country. This suggests that equity is an area that is easy to overlook in program evaluation, service provision, and policy making. Social equity refers to the fairness, justice, and equity in the provision of public service and the

formation and implementation of public policy (National Academy of Public Administration, 2000). It dovetails with social inclusion, which is "the process of improving the ability, opportunity, and dignity of people, disadvantaged on the basis of their identity, to take part in society" (World Bank, 2013, p.4). Social inclusion can facilitate social equity, but it focuses on the reasons behind the inequity and the processes where the inequity emerges rather than the inequity as an outcome (Tilly, 1999; World Bank, 2013). In public administration, equity and inclusion principles are a set of guidelines or ideas that help public administrators and policy makers take equity and inclusion into consideration in administrative practice, service provision, and policy formation. Both equity and inclusion principles are intended to ensure that every person, regardless of identity and background, has equal access to public services, receives equal and fair treatment in the political system, and cannot be excluded from certain benefits of public policies because of the stigmas, stereotypes, and superstitions assigned to their groups (Gooden, 2014; Shafritz & Russell, 2000; World Bank, 2013).

The findings of this study reveal the challenges of including equity and inclusion principles in policy making and service provision, while underlining the importance of doing so. Prior research indicates that equity is a nervous area in public administration that involves multiple areas, including race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, disability, and others, and touches upon challenging and sensitive issues, such as discrimination, oppression, and exclusion (Gooden, 2020). Equity issues often cause significant discomfort among public administrators, which impedes them from directly addressing these problems (Gooden, 2020). The failure to engage with equity issues and consider equity and inclusion in public administration and policy could reinforce existing discrimination and exclusion or even lead to more discrimination and injustices in service or policy outcomes. For example, the

neglect of gender equity in the formation and implementation of family planning policies in China has caused serious discrimination and oppression to both females and involuntary bachelors (Pang, 2020). In the United States, the lack of a strong gender equity focus in major education policies, discussed in the first chapter, contributes to the persistence of gender disparities in secondary education school performance.

In particular, the most recent K-12 education policy, ESSA of 2015, still does not take gender disparities, and especially levels of gender differences in educational performance among different racial groups, into consideration in its policy design and implementation. The main focus of the policy is closing educational achievement gaps caused by language (e.g., English learners), immigrant and migratory status, race (e.g., Native Hawaiian), and socioeconomic status (e.g., the homeless). The policy also does not consider gender equity as an indicator in educational outcome assessments. The four required academic indicators, which often have the most weight, for annual school performance assessment of all students and student subgroups are: 1) academic achievement, 2) graduation rates for high schools, 3) student growth or other indicator for non-high schools, and 4) English learners' progress in English proficiency (ESSA, 2015). States are mandated to choose at least one additional statewide indicator for assessment, such as college readiness, discipline rates, or chronic absenteeism. However, none of these indicators address gender disparities in educational outcomes, especially the significant gender differences in the educational outcomes of minority groups, such as Black youth. Given the continuing gender blindness in policy design, implementation, and evaluation, it is impossible to achieve a fair, equitable, and high-quality secondary education, which is the goal of the ESSA. In addition, the negative impacts of gender disparities in secondary education can be passed along to postsecondary education and future development. For example, the lag behind of Black males

in secondary education could exclude them from the opportunity of attending colleges and make them more vulnerable to labor market discrimination. It is necessary to include gender equity in future education policies.

Individuals who receive public services are increasingly diverse in terms of race, religion, gender, sexual preference, language, country origin, disability, and other economic conditions. The multiplicity of these identities, and especially the intersection of different identities, creates great challenges for public and nonprofit programs in understanding and meeting the needs of different social groups, which could lead to discrimination and exclusion in the distribution of public services (Lindsay et al., 2012; Pang et al., 2020; World Bank, 2013). In particular, minority populations are more likely to suffer from exclusion and unfairness in public services (Frederickson, 2005; Haight et al., 2016; Kattari et al., 2017). Frederickson (2005) states that many government policies either fail to alleviate or aggravate problems of inequity. Scholars suggest using equity and justice as fundamental principles in public administration, as key variables for selecting public policy alternatives, and as part of the outcome evaluation for public programs (Fayol, 1949; Frederickson, 2005; Mulyadi et al., 2018).

Recommendations

This study identifies the significant roles of nonprofits in supporting local communities, reveals the ubiquity of implicit biases, and discusses how representation of the leadership and staff in organizations and programs may influence service outcomes. The study suggests that community nonprofits, which represent the interests of local communities, should be included in collaborative governance. The discrimination and exclusion in public services caused by the

paucity of diversity in the nonprofit and public sectors and the failure to incorporate equity and inclusion principles into public administration and services are also important implications from this study. This section provides several recommendations to improve nonprofit engagement in collaborative governance, reduce the negative impacts of implicit biases through public affairs education, increase diversity in the public and nonprofit workforce, and apply equity and inclusion principles in service provision and public policy formation.

Improve community-based nonprofit engagement in collaborative governance

This study reveals the significant value of nonprofits in serving communities and indicates challenges for nonprofits to ensure effectiveness and equity in service outcomes. Other studies also identify challenges that undermine nonprofit roles in collaborative governance (Frumkin & Andre-Clark, 2000; Smith & Lipsky, 1993; Zhu et al., 2021). The insights gleaned from this study suggest the necessity to improve community-based nonprofit service capacity and their ability to participate in collaborative governance. First, community-based nonprofits should have a clear understanding of their inherent altruism and their professional mission to meet the needs of their clients, while improving the quality of their services. It is important for community-based nonprofits to take advantage of their connections with local communities to build trust and reputation within their communities. In this way, they can attract local stakeholders as program participants and even to join their staffs and leadership teams, as indicated in the three nonprofit programs in this study. Full engagement from local stakeholders would help nonprofits clearly understand the concerns and needs of its local communities so they could well represent the interests of their communities in collaborative governance.

Additionally, more supports (e.g., funding, training, and technical support) from governments and other philanthropic agencies should be provided to improve the service

capacity of community-based nonprofits and their power in collaborative governance. Research has documented government funding of community-based nonprofits but revealed the challenge these nonprofits have in effectively balancing pursuing their missions and the expectations of funders (Frumkin & Andre-Clark, 2000; Zhu et al., 2021). Governments and other funders should clearly identify the role of nonprofits, not only as service contractors but also independent service providers, and work closely with nonprofits to develop reasonable expectations, including evaluation standards that do not compromise nonprofits' service capacity and missions (Zhu et al., 2021). Moreover, in collaborative governance, a leader who initiates a collaboration regime should invite and support nonprofits to be part of it, creating a safe or even brave space for different voices (Arao & Clemens, 2013), respecting their perspectives, and ensuring their decision-making power in policy making. Community-based nonprofits involvement in a collaborative initiative could be encouraged by the organizer reducing the cost of engagement, clearly stating potential benefits at the beginning, and fostering mutual trust among different parties (Emerson et al., 2012; Fischer, 2012). Inclusion and diversity should be organizing principles in collaborative governance to make sure that all stakeholders who will be impacted by the policy are well represented in policy making and implementation (Emerson et al., 2012). Improving nonprofit participation and effectiveness in collaborative governance can enhance the discursive representation and procedural justice of public policy formation (Dryzek & Niemeyer, 2008; Nissen, 2014).

Reduce biases and prejudices through public affairs education

This study discusses the potential impacts of implicit biases on gender disparities in the education outcomes of the three nonprofit programs and suggests there is a need to both improve the cultural awareness of leaders and professionals in the public administration field and reduce

the unfairness and injustice in public service and public policy. Researchers find that implicit biases can be observed in various social groups identified by race, gender, age, political ideology, religion, and so on, and that the dominant culture can influence implicit biases toward a social group (Nosek et al., 2002). For example, even though old people explicitly show very positive attitudes toward themselves, they do not feel the same way under implicit measurement. Similarly, Blacks who showed a strong explicit preference for Black over White demonstrated a weak implicit preference for White over Black (Nosek et al., 2002).

Education, including formal education and professional training, has proven effective in reducing implicit biases and their negative impacts (Devine et al., 2012; Zestcott et al., 2016). The widespread discrimination and prejudice in the public and nonprofit sectors further calls for integrating diversity and equity into public administration/policy curriculums and training to professionals. Academic programs, such as Master programs in Public Administration or Public Policy (MPA/MPP) and other degree/certificate programs in nonprofit management, are the primary training venue for preparing future leaders and professionals in the public and nonprofit sectors. First, more training is needed to improve the cultural awareness and social equity competencies of the faculty in these academic programs. Many instructors/professors in MPA/MPP or other public affairs programs do not have a research focus on diversity, social biases, or social equity. They may not have the awareness, knowledge, or teaching strategies to integrate these concepts into their courses. Many of them may also even be infected with implicit biases, as reflected in the gender/racial discrimination in the academic workforce in the public administration field discussed earlier. Thus, it is important to educate faculty about these concepts and provide support to help them integrate the concepts into their course syllabi and teaching practice.

Additionally, these education programs should integrate diversity and equity into their curricula (e.g., course contents, classroom discussions, case studies, and assignments) to help students be aware of their implicit biases and improve their cultural awareness and cultural competencies. In public affairs education, many studies have discussed ways of fusing diversity and social equity into individual public administration courses (e.g., Svara & Brunet, 2005; Waldner et al., 2011; Wyatt-Nichol & Antwi-Boasiako, 2008), but they do not consider integrating diversity and equity into the overall curriculum design of a program, such as making social equity competencies one of the goals or outcomes of the degree/certificate program or encouraging the use of cases related to biases and justice, as well as readings authored by minorities in different courses (Norman-Major, 2011). It is critical to have more frequent and in-depth discussions about social biases and social equity in classrooms to reinforce students' understanding of the value of diversity and reduce their prejudices toward marginalized populations, and especially women and minority people, as implicit biases are not easy to detect and modify.

More importantly, the integration of diversity and social equity in public affairs education is not only necessary for education programs with culturally diverse students but also for programs dominated by White students. Generally, public affairs programs with a large proportion of minority students are more likely to emphasize diversity and equity in their administration and education, such as faculty recruitment and curriculum development, to meet the diverse needs of students and reduce unfairness in education. However, educating about diversity and equity is also critical for both faculty and students in White-dominant programs to help them recognize diversity, respect and value differences, and join in promoting social equity, as Whites still occupy most decision-making positions in the public and nonprofit sectors and

have significant influence on organizational management and public service delivery. The gender and racial gap in senior leadership and management positions can only be effectively reduced in the public and nonprofit workforce after social prejudices and biases have diminished (Kunreuther & Thomas-Breitfeld, 2020). It is a continued and joint effort for all public affairs programs to minimize the negative impacts of social biases and advance equity.

Foster diversity in the public and nonprofit workforces

The gender disparities in Black youths' perceptions of the nonprofit programs in this study suggest the significance of having stakeholders of different social groups on nonprofit boards and in leadership and staff to improve the equity in services for a diverse population. Other studies also reveal the disproportionate representation of Whites and males in senior management and leadership positions across the nonprofit and public sectors (e.g., LeRoux, 2009; Oldfield et al., 2006; Sampson & Moore, 2008). It is important to increase diversity in the public and nonprofit workforce by offering equal recruitment opportunities for underrepresented groups, empowering them in decision-making processes, and preparing them for leadership and management positions. Specifically, this study suggests the importance and necessity of having more Black males in African American-led nonprofits that provide services to both Black females and Black males instead of only relying on females to manage the programs and deliver services. Similarly, minority-led nonprofits should increase the proportion of minority males on their boards and in leadership positions. For the leadership and senior management positions in White-led nonprofits and the public sector that are dominant by Whites and males, more opportunities should be provided to females and minorities, including males and females, to increase the diversity and representativeness of the public and nonprofit workforce. Diversity in this section refers to differences among group members on the basis of their cultural identities,

such as race, ethnicity, gender, social class, and disability (McGrath et al.,1995). A diverse

workforce will be helpful in generating diverse solutions for complex problems, lead to high

quality decisions, and ensure justice and the fair treatment of different social groups (Bernstein

& Bilimoria, 2013; Wanous & Youtz, 1986). Below are a few strategies to improve the diversity

of the public and nonprofit workforce.

First, ongoing diversity training programs are needed to improve leaders' and managers'

awareness of implicit biases, as well as their understanding of the value of diversity so they are

motivated to diversify their staffs (Johnson & Svara, 2011). As discussed earlier, leadership

positions in the public and nonprofit sectors are now mostly occupied by Whites and males who

are deeply influenced by White privilege and patriarchal culture. Research shows that White job

candidates are more likely to be hired in higher level positions compared to Black candidates

with equivalent qualifications (Correll & Benard, 2006). It is critical to reduce the explicit or

implicit prejudices that workers hold about underrepresented groups so that they can be more

objective as supervisors or coworkers. For example, leaders and staff in an organization can have

a checklist to regularly examine their biases in performance evaluations and other decision-

making processes, especially when they have minority staff. In addition, organizations should

reduce biases in hiring processes and provide equal opportunities for underrepresented groups in

job recruitment. Many organizations have an equal employment or diversity statement in job

advertisements. However, it is not clear how they apply this diversity statement in the hiring

process and how much they take diversity and inclusion into consideration when making hiring

decisions. Research shows that people are more likely to hire and promote candidates with

shared cultural identities and similar working styles and perspectives (McGrath et al.,1995;

Rauhaus & Carr, 2020). Clear definitions and evaluation standards about diversity and inclusion

are necessary for the screening and evaluation of job candidates. Also, it is important that committee members communicate to make sure they have a clear and shared understanding of these concepts and standards.

However, increasing the number of traditionally underrepresented groups in high-level management and leadership positions does not mean there will be better representation of their constituents and more equity in policy and services. Public/nonprofit agencies need to alter power relations between dominants and subdominants to facilitate substantive representation and positive outcomes (Konrad et al., 1992; McGrath et al.,1995). An inclusive work environment should be created in which all staff members, and especially women and minority males, feel respected and valued (Brimhall, 2019; Bernstein & Bilimoria, 2013). An agency needs to develop and foster diversity and inclusion policies and practices to increase staff's cultural awareness and competency, reduce their prejudices toward colleagues from different social groups, respect differences, and work effectively as a team (Bradshaw & Fredette, 2013; Hanappi-Egger, 2012). For example, more attention should be paid to the capacity and achievements of Black male workers rather than the negative stereotypes attached to their race and gender. Additionally, underrepresented groups should be given opportunities to fully engage in decision-making process, such as by including them on recruitment committees, job promotion committees, project work groups, and other important roles so that they can bring their knowledge, perspectives, and insights to the table. It is important for coworkers, and especially leaders and managers, to actively listen to the opinions of underrepresented groups and value their perspectives rather than only having them as a "tokens." More importantly, an organization should develop initiatives (e.g., professional development, mentorship, flexible work arrangements, and promotion paths) and provide support to promote the upward mobility

of staff who are underrepresented in the organization (Hsieh & Winslow, 2006; Sampson & Moore, 2008).

Moreover, professional organizations should invest in leadership training and development programs for underrepresented groups, and especially for women and minority males, to improve their career development in the public/nonprofit sectors. The Women's Leadership Series from the Ohio Center for the Advancement of Women in Public Service is one example of these programs. As suggested by Shafritz and Russell (2000), "The second way of interpreting obligations to advance social equity is to feel bound to proactively further the cause—to seek to hire and advance a varied workforce. The attitude requires a specific approach: It is not enough to go out and find qualified minorities. You must go out, find them and qualify them" (p.436). These professional development programs can help women and minorities, and especially minority males, improve their management and leadership skills, overcome negative stereotypes, increase their confidence, and be successful in their positions. It would also be helpful to invite women and minorities who are successful in leadership positions in the public/nonprofit sectors to join these programs to share their experiences, serve as role models, and be mentors, instead of continuing to heavily rely on the dominant groups in operating and delivering these programs.

Apply equity and inclusion principles in the design and evaluation of policy and service programs

The lack of a strong gender equity focus in major education policies and the three nonprofit youth programs in this study suggest the necessity and importance of applying equity and inclusion principles to the design and evaluation of policy and service programs in order to ensure equity in public service. First, equity and inclusion principles should be incorporated into

the cultures, strategic planning, policies, and practices of public agencies. As Rice (2005) suggests, "in order for social equity in service delivery to be a primary concern of public organizations, these organizations must first get their own house in order in regard to diversity. The culture of a public organization has to incorporate diversity within both its mission and management practices. A strong focus on diversity inside a public organization may posture it to move from a bureaucratic culture toward a more citizen-oriented/social equity culture" (p.81). In addition to culture, agencies should recognize the diversity of clients served, take the interests and needs of various social groups into consideration, involve different stakeholders, evaluate potential barriers to equity and inclusion when making decisions, and develop plans and policies to ensure that policies and actions do not leave anyone behind or exercise discrimination on any social groups (Ríos, n.d.). For example, the future secondary education policy, or amendment to the ESSA of 2015, should address gender disparities in educational performance among different racial groups, and especially among Black youth, by incorporating gender equity into policy goals; use progress in reducing the gender gap in educational outcomes as an academic indicator for school performance assessments; and design initiatives/youth programs to reduce gender differences in education outcomes for students, and especially for minority students. In service provision and policy implementation, it is also important to improve the cultural awareness and cultural competency of the public/nonprofit street-level bureaucrats, reducing their biases and prejudices and being flexible and culturally responsive in service delivery while remaining consistent with equity and inclusion principles. "A one-size-fits-all approach in serving minority communities is not feasible, responsible, or efficient" (Gooden & Norman-Major, 2012, p. 352).

An increasing number of institutions, including public agencies and nonprofits, have developed diversity, equity, and inclusion statements/policies to guide their management

practices and services. However, there are no shared definitions and understandings of these concepts. Also, many of these institutions do not incorporate these statements into their missions and strategic plans, have specific guidelines for implementing them, or develop rigorous tools to measure the consistency of their practices with these policies. For example, different schools or departments within the same university have different understandings of diversity, equity, and inclusion, and they develop different approaches to improve equity and inclusion, which makes it very difficult to evaluate the effectiveness of their efforts. In many public and nonprofit agencies, equity and inclusion are still not a strong focus in policies and practices. More work needs to be done to develop a clear framework and practical guidance for public agencies and nonprofit organizations to effectively facilitate diversity, equity, and inclusion in their practices and service provisions.

In addition, equity and inclusion should be considered an integral part of public policy and service program evaluations to examine whether equity and inclusion principles are effectively integrated into the policy formation and program design and whether they treat different social groups in fair and just ways. However, similar to the diversity, equity, and inclusion statements discussed above, there are neither unified definitions of equity and inclusion nor unified standards for measuring equity and inclusion. Johnson and Svara (2011) propose the four broad approaches for measuring equity of procedural fairness (due process, equal protection, equal rights), access (distributional equity), quality (process equity), and outcomes (equal impacts/results). Nevertheless, it is impossible to use all four approaches to evaluate all polices and service programs due to cost, workload, and complexity. Public administrators or service providers should choose the appropriate criteria based on the populations served, impacts of the policy or programs, and feasibility. For example, it may be helpful to use two or more

approaches to evaluate the equity of a national policy that impacts all social groups across the country. However, for a nonprofit program, outcome evaluation, or comparing the group differences in outcomes, is more feasible to examine the equity of service programs given limited resources and capacity. Also, the criteria for measuring inclusion may not be the same as the ones for measuring equity. More research is needed to generalize more reliable and practical criteria and tools to measure equity and inclusion for different policies and service programs to facilitate effectiveness, fairness, and inclusiveness in the implementation of public policies and the provision of public services.

Future Research

This study uses a mixed methods approach that relies on secondary data analysis from a two-year grant project. The findings of this study are based on an analysis of 131 surveys and 42 interviews. There are two major constraints of the research findings. First, the secondary data limits the generalizability of the research findings. The survey participants were selected by a convenient sampling technique. Most of the surveys were distributed either in the nonprofits or the high schools the participants attended. The youth who answered the surveys may not well represent all the youth who are qualified for the survey, which may generate biases in the results. Also, only 56 percent of the youth in the target program group participated in the year 2 interviews, which further limits the generalizability of the interview data. Moreover, as discussed earlier, the secondary data are based on three nonprofit programs, which makes it difficult to generalize the results of the surveys and interviews to other nonprofit programs. Second, the findings of this study do not conclusively establish a causal relationships between the variables observed. As this study is not an experimental design, it is hard to completely exclude all other factors that may have impacted the service outcomes. There may be other factors, such as self-

selection for the nonprofit programs, that could make the target program group and the non-program group different, which makes it difficult to generate causal inferences from the findings.

Future research is needed to overcome the shortcomings of this study and explore more reliable measurement tools to evaluate the gender equity of nonprofit program outcomes. First, future research will be helpful in continuing to examine the gender equity of nonprofit programs through an experimental design. Strict controls of the environmental and demographic factors is needed to identify and explain the critical factors that contribute to the effectiveness of nonprofit programs, as well as the gender disparities in program outcomes. Future research can identify and explain the causal mechanisms of gender disparities in nonprofit service outcomes and evaluate how significantly each factor impacts gender disparities in program outcomes.

Second, more work is needed to examine gender disparities in program outcomes of other nonprofit programs. As this study only examines gender disparities in the program outcomes of three African American-led nonprofits, researchers could test gender disparities in the program outcomes of more African American-led nonprofits to see if the findings based on the three nonprofit programs can be generalized to other African American-led nonprofits. More importantly, making a comparison of the results between nonprofits led by Black females and those led by Black males are necessary to further test how leadership may impact gender disparities in nonprofit programs. A similar comparison between nonprofits led by White males and nonprofits led by White females would be helpful to explore how the gender and race of leadership may contribute to gender disparities in program outcomes. It is also important to have more in-depth research on how the perceptions, attitudes, and interactions of leaders and staff may contribute to gender disparities in nonprofit outcomes.

Third, researchers can develop more reliable measurement tools that examine gender equity in program outcomes. The factors measured in this study evaluate the education outcomes of these nonprofit programs, but they may leave out important factors that can demonstrate gender equity in the program outcomes. Researchers can combine the existing tools that measure equity in education and other fields with the measurement tools for nonprofit program evaluation to develop more reliable models to identify gender disparities in nonprofit program outcomes. Work to develop indicators and measures for racial and gender equity in policy outcomes is also needed so public administration research can keep track of the equity implications of policy practice.

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