THE INFLUENCES OF PARENT, PEER, DEMOGRAPHIC, AND CULTURAL FACTORS ON BLACK CANADIAN STUDENTS' ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOL

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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ABSTRACT

The influence of parental, cultural, peer, and demographic variables on the academic outcomes of Black Canadian students was examined. A total of 430 students from Toronto and Halifax participated. The students responded to questions about parental educational support, e.g., their parents' aspirations for them and the emphasis their parents placed on education. They also responded to questions asking about their peers' support for academics, as well as to questions about culturally shaped beliefs as they related to education, e.g., their belief that education will lead to later life success, and their beliefs about the possibility of Blacks attaining success in Canadian society. Finally, they reported their own educational outcomes, i.e., their average mark on their last report card, their educational aspirations and expectations, and how much they valued academic success.

A series of MANOVAs and an ANOVA were used to examine regional (Toronto versus Halifax) and gender differences in parental and peer support, academic outcomes, and cultural beliefs/attitudes. The analyses revealed that female and Toronto students reported greater peer and parental educational support and more positive academic outcomes than did male and Halifax students, respectively. When cultural beliefs/attitudes were examined, it was found that female and Toronto students expressed more educationally affirming cultural beliefs/attitudes than did male and Halifax students, respectively.

Regression analyses were carried out to determine how well the parental, peer, cultural, and demographic variables predicted the educational outcomes of the students. The set of predictors significantly predicted all four educational outcomes, with the parent variables being the strongest. In general, the observed gender and regional differences in educational outcomes were statistically explained in part by parental educational support.

The results of the study indicate that, in general, Black students highly value education and that they have high educational aspirations and expectations for themselves. They also are optimistic about their chance for success in Canada, especially when armed with an education.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank God for giving me the strength and endurance to see this journey through to the end!

I have been very fortunate in having many people who have assisted and supported me in various ways on my journey to the completion of my doctoral degree. First, I am grateful to my supervisor, Dr. Barry Schneider, who has shown me nothing but kindness over the years. He has been endlessly patient, understanding, and encouraging of my efforts. I thank him for his guidance throughout the whole process. I would also like to thank my other committee members. I thank Dr. Martin Ruck for his faith in my abilities, for his reassurances, and his advice. I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Esther Geva and Dr. Andrew Fuligni for their insight and invaluable suggestions regarding my thesis. I am also appreciative of Dr. Dale Willow's support.

I am appreciative of Sue Elgie's unwavering assistance with the analysis of my data. Her statistical guidance has been indispensable. I would also like to express my gratitude to Doug Hart for taking the time to assist me with the occupational coding of my data. I appreciate the assistance and encouragement that I have received from the HDAP and the Education Commons staff.

This study could not have taken place without the support and cooperation of the students, their parents, and the leaders and directors of the various organizations from which the students' participation was solicited. I am grateful to them all. I thank Dawn Upshaw for collecting the Halifax data and Margaret Douglin for her assistance in collecting the Toronto data.

My parents, siblings, and friends have all supported me in their own unique ways. I am indebted to them for their encouragement, for their patience, for their belief in me, and for just being there.

This study was sponsored in part by Harambee Centres Canada, Toronto Chapter. Specifically, I would like to acknowledge the support of Harambee's Executive Director, Jacklyn Thomas, and Harambee's Supervisor for Community Services, Velma Wright. I would also like to acknowledge the sponsorship of the Black Cultural Centre for Nova Scotia and its Director, Henry Bishop.

This study was fully funded by a grant from Heritage Canada, and funded in part by a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council Doctoral Fellowship award.

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Introduction

Education is deemed to be the great equalizer (see Ford, 1992b). Historically, Black[1] people have put their faith in the belief that an education would lift them from social and economic penury (Ford, 1992a; Ogbu, 1987; Winks, 1971). Instead of being the great equalizer, however, schools have turned out to be a great divider, leaving Black students educationally and economically marginalized (Dove, 1993; Ogbu, 1987). Black students' school experience in Canada, the United States, and Britain, has been characterized by poor academic performance, underachievement, and high dropout rates (see Brathwaite, 1989; Dove, 1993; Lomotey, 1990). Educators and researchers point to the inequities these students encounter in school and in the rest of society as primary influential factors (e.g., Irvine, 1990; Mac an Ghaill, 1988; Ogbu, 1983, 1990b).

The literature review that follows is a description of Black students' educational experiences in the United States, Britain, and Canada. This review precedes a quantitative study of Black Canadian students' educational outcomes and the factors related to those outcomes.

Chapter 1 is a summary of the findings of U.S. and British studies pertaining to Black students' academic achievement and school experiences. The strategies that the students have developed to cope with their educational experiences in both countries, as well as the factors that mediate between their educational status and their school attitudes and performance, will be examined in this chapter.

Chapter 2 is a summary of the educational and economic experience of Blacks in Canada from the 1600s to the present day. Their current school performance will be examined as well as the factors that mediate such performance.

Chapter 3 is an outline of the nature of the current research and the hypotheses developed based on the information in chapters 1 and 2.

Chapter 4 is an account of how the study was carried out as well as a detailed description of the demographics and characteristics of the sample.

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[1] Black and African will be used interchangeably throughout this report.

Chapters 5 and 6 are presentations of the results of the study. The results of the analyses of variance and multivariate analyses of variance will be described in chapter 5. In chapter 6, the results of the regression analyses that were carried out will be presented.

A discussion of the results, the implications and shortcomings of the study, and an outline of new directions for future research is provided in chapter 7.

Chapter 1: Black Students' School Experiences in the U.S. and Britain

Black students face various external barriers to school success in the U.S. and in Britain (see Mac an Ghaill, 1988; Irvine, 1990). Large numbers of these students fail to flourish academically (Irvine, 1990; Lomotey, 1990; Steele, 1992). This persistent phenomenon has been a principal concern of Black parents and educators for decades (Jones-Wilson, 1990; Ogbu, 1990a). Researchers have pinpointed a number of social and institutional variables that they believe play a causal role in the academic stagnation of Black students. Among these is the hidden curriculum, which is the "unstated but influential knowledge, attitudes, norms, rules, rituals, values, and beliefs that are transmitted to students through structure, policies, processes, formal content, and the social relationships of school" (Irvine, 1990, p. 5). The hidden curriculum is seen as undermining the educational potential of Black students. It may be manifest in low teacher expectations or in tracking into non-academic programs. It may also be manifest in culturally biased assessment measures, in a culturally exclusive curriculum that ignores Africans' contributions to society, and in a lack of appreciation for, or understanding of the students' spoken language (see Dove, 1993; Gibson 1986; Gopaul-McNicol, 1993; Henry, 1994; Irvine, 1990; Lomotey, 1990; Mac an Ghaill, 1988; Ogbu, 1991b).

The above practices are believed to be detrimental to the academic well being of students (Irvine, 1990; Mickelson, 1990; Ogbu, 1990a; Steele, 1992). In the low-track programs in which Black students have been shown to be disproportionately represented, for instance, Irvine (1990) observed that the teachers tend to be inexperienced or incompetent, and the instruction inferior and ineffective. Educational practices that devalue Black children, Steele (1992) stated, can lead to them feeling hopeless and vulnerable in America's classrooms. Irvine (1990) declared that although schools purport to believe in equal treatment and equality of educational opportunity, through the hidden curriculum, they institute practices that achieve the opposite. Many Black students leave school unprepared to successfully negotiate the employment sphere. Some leave without the basic academic skills needed to secure even entry-level jobs (Gibbs, 1984, 1989).

Inequities in school practices, researchers and educators believe, may lead to Black students' alienation and disengagement from the educational process (Steele, 1992). Black students' school lives are characterized by negative attitudes toward school, failing to attend class, low motivation, low self-esteem, disruptive behaviour, and high failure and dropout rates (Ford, 1991, 1992a, 1992b; Irvine, 1990; Lomotey, 1990; Polite, 1994). Their academic performance lags behind that of their White peers (Clark, 1991; Irvine, 1990; Mickelson, 1990; Ratteray, 1990). The number of Black students who underachieve or drop out of school is staggering. A 1987 study by The Council of the Great City School reported the national dropout rate for African American students in urban schools to be close to 50% (Lomotey, 1990). Among the reasons given by Black male students (and also by White male students) for prematurely leaving is their dislike of school (Rumberger, 1987).

Disengagement from school has long-term consequences for students in terms of employment and life choices. Irvine (1990) reported a strong link between Black students' school achievement and teen parenthood and poverty. Dropping out of school or lacking basic academic skills makes it difficult for students to compete in a world that is becoming increasingly technologically oriented (Rumberger, 1987). School dropouts face a future characterized by persistent unemployment, dependency on social welfare programs, limited socioeconomic mobility, and alienation from society (Gibbs, 1984, 1989; Irvine, 1990; Rumberger, 1987).

School underachievement and failure. Dove (1993) maintained, are symptomatic of the oppression Blacks suffer at the hands of various Western institutions. Ford (1991) noted that inequitable treatment can impede Black students' academic motivation and achievement. Fordham and Ogbu (1986) believe that students' disengagement from school cannot be adequately understood outside of a historical and social context. The historical experience of Black people in both the educational and employment spheres, they believe, gave rise to a collective identity, which, in turn, shaped students' attitude toward and expectations of the role of school in their lives. The following will be an examination of the influence of inequities in the educational and occupational spheres on Black students' academic achievement and their role in shaping the students' cultural identity.

1.1 Employment, Culture, and Academic Achievement

Employment

According to Ford (1991, 1992a, 1992b), the American achievement ideology (AAI) posits that anyone, regardless of race, gender, and economic status, can achieve the "American dream" through hard work, perseverance, and a good education. Ford (1991) noted, however, that the existence of workplace discrimination has meant that the financial payoff for educational success is often not realized for Blacks and that the opportunities for employment and wealth are more limited for them than it is for members of the dominant group. Researchers maintain that a job ceiling exists in the workplace that blocks the upward employment mobility of Black workers, thus relegating them to lower-status jobs (e.g., Mickelson, 1990; Ogbu, 1991c).

Ford (1991) believes that students' awareness of occupational barriers leads them to execute a risk-return analysis. That is, they determine the amount of energy and effort to expend on academic pursuits based on their perception of the risk of failure versus the expected return. Ford (1991) noted: "Taken together, effort and attitude appear to influence or even determine achievement behavior" (p. 80). Mickelson (1990) also noted that Black students' academic achievement is linked to their beliefs in the rewards that it will bring. Students who expect the social/economic return on their education to be low may be less motivated, and be less likely to persevere, or to take school seriously than students who expect high returns, which may lead to underachievement (Ford, 1991; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). Fordham and Ogbu (1986) cited, as evidence, the decision of a high-ability female student in their study to decrease her academic efforts due to her belief that she will ultimately end up with a low-status job in her adult life. The greater than 50% unemployment rate for Black high school graduates in the U.S., Rumberger (1987) noted, provides them with little economic incentive to stay in school.

Black students' beliefs that an education is necessary for professional success but that, at the same time, for them, it is not sufficient leads to the "paradox of underachievement." This is a phenomenon wherein Black students subscribe to the AAI and place a high value on education and school success, but fail to work to their full potential (Ford, 1991, 1992a, 1993a; Ogbu, 1990a).

Even though students who participated in studies of academic achievement reported support for the AAI and stated that they valued education highly, they reported exerting little academic effort (Ford 1993a, 1993b; Ford & Harris, 1996). Ogbu (1991c) discovered in interviews with students that those who aspired to careers that required extensive educational preparation did not put any more effort into schoolwork and were not any more serious about schoolwork than those who aspired to unskilled employment.

The contention that Black students often value education but that they still fail to achieve academically, regardless, is supported by the results of other studies. Both Wilson and Wilson (1992) and Hallinan and Williams (1990) found in their studies that the Black students had higher educational aspirations than the White students had. Arroyo and Zigler (1995) reported that their African American participants expressed greater beliefs in the educational system than did their European American counterparts. Hallinan and Williams (1990) noted, however, that despite the greater aspirations of the Black students, their educational attainment was lower than that of the White students. Steele (1992) maintained that Black students underachieve even when they possess the knowledge and skills required for academic success.

Messages that children receive in the home, researchers believe, may help to sustain the "paradox of underachievement." Ogbu (1991a) noted, for instance, that Black parents transmit the message to their children that they will not receive the same societal rewards as their White peers for similar educational credentials. Even if not told directly, Ogbu (1990a, 1991a, 1991c) argued, children pick up messages about occupational barriers from adults' discussions about their experiences and frustrations with the job ceiling. The children's own observations of unemployment or underemployment in their communities, and the struggle of some community members to attain their goals can reinforce in them the belief that they will not be adequately rewarded for their academic efforts (Ford, 1991; Ogbu, 1991c). Fordham and Ogbu (1986) observed that when students witness adults enjoying the benefits of obtaining an education they respond positively.

The Black Collective Identity

According to Fordham and Ogbu (1986), the experiences of Black students in a society in which they have not received equal treatment in the economic or educational spheres have resulted in the emergence of a collective identity that is in opposition to that of the mainstream culture. The collective identity defines Blackness as a list of characteristics not thought to be possessed by and behaviours not thought to be engaged in by the dominant group. The behaviours identified by students as "Black" include listening to rap or rhythm and blues, and speaking Black English (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Kunjufu, 1988). Behaviours and characteristics believed to be the traditional domain of Whites are not sanctioned. Students identified some of these as listening to rock or classical music, reading or writing poetry, and visiting museums (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Kunjufu, 1988).

The collective identity also dictates the types of school behaviours and attitudes that are appropriate for Black students (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). Schools are generally controlled by the dominant group and, according to researchers and educators, the curriculum content reflects their interests and experiences (see Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Mac an Ghaill, 1988; Ogbu, 1990a). Ogbu (1991a) contended that Black students, therefore, identify the behaviours and practices required of students by schools with the dominant culture. The students, Ogbu (1992) argued, come to see school as a threat to their identity and as something to be rejected. Activities and behaviours that reflect a pro-school stance such as succeeding academically, studying, speaking standard English, regular attendance, regular completion of homework, persevering, attending to class lessons, and punctuality are not condoned for Blacks (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Ogbu 1992). The Black peer group guards this collective identity and maintains the boundaries between "Blackness" and "Whiteness." Black students who cross the boundaries are viewed as traitors by their peer group and are labelled 'oreos' or 'incognegroes' (Steele, 1992). The attribution of certain behaviours and symbols but not others as befitting one's race is known as cultural inversion. Cultural inversion typically occurs in domains over which Whites have control over entry and over judgements of competence, and in which Blacks

are not given equal opportunity to participate or to reap the rewards of success (Ogbu, 1991c, 1994a, 1994b). Because Black students identify success with Whiteness, argued Fordham (1988), there is a stigma attached to success for Blacks. Cultural inversion, Fordham and Ogbu (1986) noted, might operate at the level of the subconscious. Kunjufu (1988), for example, reported that students were often unable to articulate why obtaining good grades was "White" and being cool was "Black."

Ogbu (1991c) noted that cultural inversion affords students a measure of protection of their identity and self-worth. Unfortunately, cultural inversion and the collective identity leave little room for individual differences in values, beliefs, tastes, and preferences. Membership in the collective identity stifles students' potential and suppresses their talents as evidenced by the experiences of the students interviewed by Fordham & Ogbu (1986) and by Kunjufu (1988). Tensions arise between students who are immersed in the collective culture and those who try to separate themselves from it (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986).

Various studies suggest that students respond to occupational and educational inequities in a variety of ways that lead to different educational outcomes (Sanders, 1997). Withdrawal from and resistance to school, as outlined above, is only one form of adaptation to perceived discrimination in the educational and economic spheres. Other forms of adaptation include resistance within accommodation, biculturalism (or accommodation without assimilation), and racelessness. These will be examined in more detail below.

1.2 Alternative Forms of School Adaptation

Resistance within Accommodation

Some Black students respond to inequalities by developing a strong commitment to achieving academically and professionally (Sanders, 1997). In her study of early to mid-adolescent students in the southeastern U.S., Sanders found that the majority of students with a high awareness of racism and its educational and occupational implications responded in ways that facilitated academic success. These high-achieving students were highly motivated and viewed their success as a way to counter the existing stereotypes of Blacks as lazy and intellectually inferior. These students also had

strong positive racial identities. The views and attitudes of the students in Sanders' (1997) study are similar to those of a group of high-achieving British female students identified by Mac an Ghaill (1988). These students were pro-education but, like their anti-school male peers, they rejected what they saw as an oppressive school environment. Unlike the male students, however, they avoided conflict with school authorities. Like the students studied by Sanders, these British female students possessed habits that were conducive to academic success, e.g., good attendance, hard work, and a strong Black identity. They took pleasure in discrediting teacher stereotypes by performing at a high academic level. Although the female students did not agree with the anti-school activities of the male peer subculture, they were sympathetic to it. This, though, did not prevent them from being ostracized by other Black students and from accusations that they were trying to be "White." Mac an Ghaill (1988) described these female students' response to their school situation as "resistance within accommodation" (p. 11).

Biculturalism

Black students are required to simultaneously manage their own and the majority cultures, which are often quite dissimilar (Ford, 1991). Students who can negotiate easily between the two cultures are said to be bicultural (Clark, 1991). Bicultural students are able to maintain a school identity and a neighborhood identity, and to switch between the two when in the relevant environmental context. These students maintain friendships with academically oriented peers as well as with those who are not. When with neighborhood friends, they communicate using Black linguistic forms, but when at school, they communicate using Standard English (Ogbu, 1994a). Datnow and Cooper (1996) observed that the Black students in their study, who attended elite, predominantly White schools, often needed this dual identity in order to achieve academic success in school and still be accepted by non-school-oriented neighbourhood friends. Students unable to meet the demands of both their culture and the majority culture, Ford (1991) noted, are more likely to encounter greater school difficulties than are those who are able to do so. Ford (1991) also noted that underachievement is a more likely outcome when the values and beliefs of the students are very discrepant from those

embraced by the majority group. Female students, it appears, are more willing to adopt a dual identity than are male students. Ford and Harris (1997) reported that, although both male and female students valued their culture, female students, more so than male students, also recognized the importance of possessing a multicultural identity in which one values other racial/cultural groups. Perhaps because of this, the female students also had significantly higher grade point averages (GPAs) than did their male peers.

"Racelessness"

Fordham (1988) believes that, to excel in school, Black students adopt a "raceless" persona. That is, they reject the collective Black identity and shun the activities and behaviours that it defines as being Black. This rejection, Fordham noted, may take place on a conscious level or at the level of the subconscious. Black professionals and high-achieving students often adopt this persona in order to succeed in the workplace and school, respectively, but pay the price in social distance from their community (Fordham, 1988). Gibson (1986), too, noted that to be successful Blacks must dissociate from their culture and become "Europeanized in all but skin" (p. 106).

Of the various school adaptations described, the one that appears to be least understood and the most controversial is the notion of "racelessness." This concept as a coping strategy in schools requires further examination in order to understand it and the implications it has for Black students' success and cultural identity.

As noted above, Fordham (1988) claimed that students must divest themselves of their race in order to succeed. However, can such actions be said to be indicators of race rejection? Ford, Harris, Webb, and Jones (1994) challenged Fordham's assertion that the high-ability Blacks in her study rejected their culture. They challenged whether she had "captured the essence of this phenomenon" (p. 21). Some students did indeed reject what they saw as Black culture and separated themselves from other Blacks. However, Ford et al. (1994) believe that Fordham misinterpreted some statements she presented as indicators of racelessness in the students interviewed. For example, Fordham equated students' dislike of Black music with an expression of racelessness. Ford et al. instead saw it as a

reflection of individual differences, which Fordham left no room for in her interpretation. Ford and her colleagues reinterpreted the comments made by the high-achieving students and professionals as simple wishes to be judged by their ability, and for their race to have less salience. Racelessness appears, from Fordham's examples, to be a term that is better used to characterize the dominant cultures' view of Blacks who do not fit cultural stereotypes. The belief that Blacks are generally inferior intellectually to Whites, researchers asserted, is still persistent in North American society (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Irvine, 1990). High-achieving Blacks do not fit this stereotype and are viewed by majority group members as different from the other Black students; they are an exception to the rule. High-achieving Black students reported being given special treatment compared to other Black students. They also reported attempts by school administrators and teachers to separate them from their lower-achieving peers (see Fordham, 1988; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Kunjufu, 1988; Mac an Ghaill, 1988).

Part of the lack of clarity associated with the concept of racelessness can be attributed to the confusion surrounding the definition of culture. Cultures are distinguished from each other by religious practices, languages, religious and secular celebrations, dress, and so on (Phinney, 1990). I believe that the term *subculture* is a more accurate description of the anti-school behaviors and practices engaged in by students rather than *culture*. Therefore, all members of the *culture* will not consider all such practices and beliefs to be legitimate. Peer subcultures are probably very stereotypical. That is, they behave in ways that reinforce existing stereotypes of Blacks as aggressive, lazy, unintelligent, and as good athletes. Popular television shows appear to have significantly influenced and guided the evolution of Black peer subcultures by perpetuating such stereotypes. In television shows like *The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air,* for example, the view that to be cool is to be Black and to be smart is to be White is perpetuated. It is the cool, hip, athletic male that is most admired, and most popular with his male and female peers. The intelligent, academically oriented individual is the nerd who is not well liked by others. He cannot dance, he listens to "White music" and he is unfamiliar with Black lingo. In other words, he is "not Black enough." Kester (1994) believes that

loyalty to their culture often means that Black students must embrace the negative street image of themselves that is portrayed on television.

It could be argued that when students reject their peer group, it is likely that they are not rejecting their race, but instead, they are rejecting a stereotypical subculture characterized by behaviors and attitudes that can lead to economic and social marginalization in their adult lives. They appear to be rejecting efforts to pigeonhole them and to stymie their potential. That students reject some aspect of what is considered to be Black culture or subculture does not necessarily mean they reject Black people in general. Too often, judgements about loyalty to one's ethnic group are based on the music one listens to, where one lives, who one's friends are, as is evident by the phenomenon of cultural inversion, instead of being based on one's involvement in efforts to improve the circumstances of all Black people. Kester (1994) believes that the typical choice open to Black students is either to identify with a lifestyle associated with the majority group, who they perceive as controlling the system that blocks their success, or to identify with the negative image of African American lifestyle that is depicted by society.

The preceding argument is not a denial of the legitimacy of the concept of racelessness. I believe that it does exist as Fordham (1988) defines it. Most likely there are Blacks who do reject their culture and disassociate from everything considered Black, including their community. Ford (1991) noted that Blacks may develop the belief that by "figuratively becoming White" they can escape the hardships and the discrimination which keeps them in the lower echelons of society. They may believe that distancing themselves from their culture will lead to upward mobility. The problem lies in distinguishing between those who are actually "raceless" from those who dislike stereotypical aspects of what is considered to be Black culture. I maintain that it is important to avoid believing that all Blacks who make it do so at the expense of their identity, culture, and self-respect. It is important to remember the students who attain success by becoming bicultural, or who do so by resisting the process of schooling while maintaining high academic standards. For some students academic success can serve to reaffirm their cultural identity, as documented by Datnow and Cooper (1996).

Irvine (1990) maintained that the adaptation made by students to their situation depends on various factors. She noted, for example, that a strong self-image, high expectations, an internal locus of control, persistence, and viewing teachers as insignificant forces in their lives can be sources of resiliency for students. The actions and beliefs of the high-achieving female students in Mac an Ghaill's (1988) study, for instance, were influenced little by the actions and beliefs of peers and teachers, and they refused to bow to pressures from either. Sanders (1997) believes that the principal factor leading to the pro-achievement stance taken by students in her study was positive racial socialization. Sanders defines positive racial socialization as

> that which is positive toward one's racial (or ethnic, as the terms are often used interchangeably) group of membership, and that promotes a healthy racial identity as well as an awareness of the constructive responses to racism without promoting hatred or discrimination toward members of other racial or ethnic groups. (p. 91)

Positive racial socialization, she noted, stresses hard work, good education, and racial pride. The findings by Ford and Harris (1997) that higher achieving students had more positive racial identities than underachievers lends support to Sanders' assertion.

1.3 Variables that Mediate Students' School Adaptation

As is evident from the above discussion, not all Black students claim membership in the collective Black identity. Although many subscribe to the belief that schools are a threat to their cultural identity and, therefore, achieving academically should be resisted at all cost, others view educational accomplishments as an affirmation of their culture. Irvine (1990) noted that all Black students are not equally at risk for school failure and that not all of them manifest behaviors that reflect the operation of an undifferentiated Black culture. There are various factors that intervene between the school and occupational structures and the educational outcomes of Black children. These factors can either act as a buffer against the hidden curriculum or work in conjunction with it to further depress Black students' efforts, motivation, and performance, causing them to disengage from the school environment. They influence the adaptations that students make to their educational/social

situation. Some of the more salient factors will be examined below. These factors are peers, parents, gender, and socioeconomic status (SES).

Peer Subculture and Achievement

Clark (1991) noted that, in conjunction with individual ability and school environment, the peer network influences the academic attainment of Black students. According to Kester (1994), peers can determine students' feelings of school belonging to a greater degree than can the school program itself. Steinberg, Dornbusch, and Brown (1992) concluded from their study of ethnic differences in American adolescent school achievement that Black peer groups tend to discourage academic excellence among its members, a phenomenon Kunjufu (1988) has termed the "silent killer." As noted above, the Black peer group maintains the boundaries of the collective Black identity, keeping Blacks in and non-Blacks out. This peer subculture possesses an anti-achievement norm, i.e.; it opposes school norms and rejects schoolwork and school values. For members of the alienated Black peer subculture, a large portion of their time at school is spent socializing with friends and engaging in non-academic activities (Kunjufu, 1988). Members of this subculture often become embroiled in conflict and power struggles with school authorities (Mac an Ghaill, 1988).

The subculture can exert tremendous pressure on other Black students, especially high achievers, to conform to its values and norms under the threat of harassment, social exclusion, and physical violence. Their peer group sometimes subjects academically talented students to a barrage of verbal insults. Bright male students are labelled "sissies" and their "manhood" is brought into question (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Kunjufu, 1988). Bright female students become the object of gossip and are accused of being "stuck up." Perhaps most damning to the students, however, is the accusation that they are not "Black enough" or that they are trying to be or are "acting White" (Ford, 1991; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Kester, 1994; Kunjufu, 1988). High achievers often view themselves as "trailblazers" for their peers and may feel confused and disappointed by the lack of peer support for their achievements (Kunjufu, 1988).

Bright students are often put in the uncomfortable position of having to choose between conflicting alternatives, the peer network or school success (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Kunjufu, 1988). For some the choice is easy, but for others it is accompanied by considerable emotional trauma. Those who wish to maintain both their peer relations and their academic hopes are forced to adopt coping strategies that allow them to preserve their good standing with peers along with their good marks (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Kunjufu, 1988). These students understand that the line they must walk between academic success and friendship is a fine one (Kester, 1994). Students can become quite creative in the tactics they employ to negotiate this line. One tactic that is widely implemented is involvement in activities that are highly valued by the peer group such as sports or clowning in class. Others try to project the external impression that they put little effort into schoolwork, whereas yet others try to get the most return for the least effort. Finally, some students try to remain incognito by avoiding academic clubs, remaining silent in class, having irregular attendance, and studying in places where they are not likely to be observed by peers (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Kunjufu, 1988). One male student interviewed by Kunjufu (1988), for example, noted that his Black peers were less serious about school than were his White peers. He expressed fears about being seen by his Black peers while studying with White students.

Friends take precedence over school for some students. Kunjufu (1988) quoted one male student as saying, 'I would rather be down with my partners' (p. 4). Attracting the opposite sex and commanding respect are strong incentives, especially for male students, to put the peer group ahead of schoolwork. Kunjufu observed that male students perceived that it is the good athletes and fighters, and not the good students, who received the greatest respect from male peers and adulation from female peers. Likewise, male students were reportedly not fond of bright female students. Attempts to maintain good standing with the peer group led students to skip classes, to avoid studying, or to put into schoolwork only as much effort as was required to pass a course. Polite (1994) reported, for example, that Black male students in one U.S. high school often enrolled in non-academic or easy courses which allowed them more time to spend with friends. Similarly, Gibson (1986) noted that

many of the students in his study of the underachievement of West Indians in British schools viewed schools as a place for socializing rather than as a place for learning.

The power of the peer group was evident in Kester's (1994) study of Black middle school students in the U.S. She noted that in individual interviews students expressed pro-education sentiments, but they expressed anti-school attitudes during group interviews. Kester concluded that students behave according to what they perceive to be acceptable to their peers, even if such behaviours conflict with their own personal values. Ford (1993a) concluded, based on the results of her study of gifted Black students, that peer pressure significantly contributed to gifted students' underachievement.

Some students are more likely to give in to the peer group than are others. One female student, who successfully resisted the peer subculture, reported that being strong-willed and a loner enabled her to maintain high grades in a hostile peer environment (Kunjufu, 1988). Gifted achievers reported being less concerned with peer harassment and reported being less likely to choose peers over academics than gifted underachievers (Ford, 1993a). There are also gender differences in responses to the lure of the peer subculture. Kunjufu argued that the peer group has greater influence on male students that on female students. Ford (1992b) found in her study that gifted and non-gifted female students performed at higher academic levels than did gifted and non-gifted male students. The gifted male students had the lowest GPAs, lower than those of gifted and non-gifted female students, and lower than those of non-gifted male students. This finding suggests that Black male students, especially those with high potential, feel the most threatened by anti-school peers and, therefore, have the greatest need to decrease their productivity to peer-approved levels. Hare and Castenell (1985) theorized that "as black boys age and progressively lose in school evaluations, they shift toward peer evaluations, in search of higher possibilities of success and ego enhancement" (p. 212). The Black male students in Kennedy's (1995) study linked popularity to athletic status, whereas the Black female students linked popularity to academic achievement. Mac an Ghaill's (1988) research findings suggest that Black students' resistance to school intensifies in secondary school. Mac an Ghaill noted

that teachers frequently commented that they did not understand what went wrong with the "nice coloured boys" once they hit high school. Some of the students he interviewed claimed that they were good students in the first two years of high school, but negative treatment by teachers led to changes in their behaviour. They reported that teachers treated them as if they were stupid, so they acted that way. They viewed peers as more important than school because the peer group provided them with support, strength, and a sense of identity.

The "silent killer" phenomenon, Kunjufu (1988) believes, transcends the racial composition of schools, the socioeconomic background of students, and the organization of the school, i.e., public or private, and has reached "catastrophic proportions" (p. viii). The destructive nature of anti-achievement peer subcultures is evident in the suppression of academic potential, which has grave consequences for future employment and standard of life. Furthermore, Kunjufu maintained that the "silent killer" is extremely harmful to the psychological well-being of students who wish to succeed in school without being outcasts. These students may experience intense personal conflict and frustration. Much time and energy is wasted in developing strategies to demonstrate peer loyalty while maintaining good grades. Although some students are well aware of the forces that operate to reign in their academic potential, they are unable to avoid succumbing to those forces (Kunjufu, 1988).

As noted above, some Black students adapt to their social, educational, and economic positions in society by becoming involved in an anti-school subculture. This anti-school subculture, researchers noted, is interpreted by schools as evidence of pathology in the students, their homes, their community, or their culture (Dove, 1993; Lomotey, 1990; Mac an Ghaill, 1988). Such interpretations suggest a lack of understanding of the students and their experiences. Mac an Ghaill (1988) believes that the problem is not with the students' culture but with racism. Mac an Ghaill maintained that the anti-school activities engaged in by students are a legitimate response to perceived discrimination. Ford and Harris (1996) viewed anti-school attitudes, skipping class, and so on, as forms of passive resistance. Steele (1992) maintained that schools do not offer many incentives to Black students.

Instead, they often present these students with a choice which many find untenable, i.e., students are offered some reward and acceptance if they shed aspects of their identity, e.g., speech and appearance, and assimilate to the American mainstream.

The Black peer network does not always exert pressure against academic activities. In their study of Black students at predominantly White private schools, Datnow and Cooper (1996) found a tightly knit Black peer network that acted as an academic as well as a psychological and social support system for its members. The peer network highly valued hard work and academic achievement, and success was encouraged through role modeling and mentorship. Unlike in many public schools, smartness was equated with being cool and it was the smart students who were popular. Bright students were not made to feel as if they were selling out or "acting White," instead, the peer network affirmed students' racial identity. Accusations of "acting White" were leveled at students who distanced themselves from the Black peer network and interacted exclusively with White students inside and outside of school. Although peers thus encouraged success while at school, students at times encountered opposition from their neighborhood friends who often viewed them as selling out. The students reported being rejected by neighborhood friends or feeling a need to distance themselves from those friends in order to succeed academically. Ford and Harris (1996) noted that when Black students with a high achievement orientation are sheltered from the students not oriented in the same way, this allows them the chance to support and encourage each other academically. They reported that, in their study, the students in the self-contained gifted program reported fewer concerns about peer pressure than students in the regular education program. In the regular education stream, students who achieved at a high academic level endured teasing, physical confrontations, and isolation from their regular education peers.

As is obvious from the preceding discussion, peers can influence students' academic outcomes greatly. Peer groups can be a source of academic support, encouraging high academic effort and motivation among its members, or they can exert pressure against pro-school behaviour, forcing students to choose between group membership and academic success. Like peers, parents also have a

high degree of influence over students and can play an important determining role in their school outcomes. An examination of the role of parents follows.

Parental Support and Achievement

According to Ogbu (1991b), school officials commonly hold the misconception that Black parents are not encouraging of their children's educational endeavours and that they place little value on education. He noted that Black parents view education as a necessary vehicle for socioeconomic mobility and encourage their children to succeed in school. Wilson and Allen (1987) asserted that Black parents have instilled in their children a reverence for education. Ford (1991) argued that Black parents are aware of the barriers faced by their children inside and outside of school and transmit to them values of communal work and collectivism. They also encourage their children to compete with majority group members and to persist even when faced with formidable obstacles. Slaughter and Epps (1987), in a review of the literature on the role of African American parents in their children's schooling, maintained that parents have a direct influence on their children's academic achievements through the type of educational atmosphere they create in the home. They asserted that Black families "have been remarkably effective and resilient at helping their children cope with the schooling process" (p. 11). By indoctrinating their children with the appropriate values, skills, and motivation necessary for school success, parents can act as buffers against peer pressure and negative societal expectations (Clarke, 1991).

Steinberg et al. (1992) discovered, in their study of ethnic differences in achievement, that Black American parents were just as likely to value education as White, Asian, and Hispanic American parents. With parental support, children can reach the greatest heights. The gifted students in Ford and Harris' (1996) study, for instance, were more likely than were the students in regular education to report that their parents were highly achievement oriented. Sui-Chu and Willms (1996) analyzed parental educational involvement data, i.e., home discussion, school communication, home supervision, and school participation, from a national U.S. sample of grade eight students (Native American, Black, White, Hispanic, and Asian/Pacific Islander). Their analysis revealed that parental

involvement in the home, especially discussing school activities and assisting their children with academic program planning, had the strongest relationship to academic achievement. Furthermore, using the White students as a reference group, Sui-Chu and Willms found that Blacks had slightly higher levels of parental involvement than Whites except for school participation (i.e., volunteering at school and attending parent-teacher meetings). Spencer, Dupree, Swanson, and Cunningham's (1996) study of the effect of parental monitoring on the attitudes and experiences of Black adolescents in the southeastern U.S. revealed that 71% of the participants reported their parents to be the most important persons for their achievement of their occupational goals. The students cited parental encouragement, assistance, and transmission of values as especially important to their goal attainment. Finally, Brody, Stoneman, and Flor (1995) discovered, in a study of familial influences on 9-12 year old rural African American youths, that mothers' involvement with their children's school was directly linked to their children's academic competence (as measured by teacher assigned math and reading grades, and math and vocabulary scores on a standardized test of intelligence).

Although Black parents are often a source of resiliency, Ogbu (1991c) observed that they can increase their children's vulnerability by imparting contradictory messages. Black parents tell their children that an education is important for economic success. In their effort to increase their child's awareness of societal inequities, however, parents may also impart to children, directly or indirectly, the message that it will be more difficult for them to succeed than it will be for their White peers. Thus, the positive message about the necessity of an education for professional success may be offset by messages about the barriers that Black children will most likely encounter, which may lead them to believe that they cannot compete with members of the dominant culture (Ogbu, 1987, 1991c).

Often, parental influence must compete with that of peers. Steinberg et al. (1992) reported that, for the Black students in their study, the lack of peer support for academic attainment undermined parental encouragement of academic success. In the absence of parental support, peers can greatly influence students' academic motivation in a negative manner. Polite (1994) concluded from his longitudinal study of African American male students' educational experience at one predominantly

Black high school that the parents abdicated their educational responsibility for their sons. For these students, peers played a significant role in suppressing involvement in academic activities.

Steinberg et al. (1992) asserted that adolescents who receive both peer and parent encouragement for academic success perform better academically than do adolescents with only one of these sources of support. In turn, students who have either parental or peer support perform better than do those with no support. They noted that White and Asian students were more likely to obtain this dual support than Hispanic or Black students. The existing literature suggests gender differences in external support for academic achievement, i.e., that Black female students receive more support from both peers and parents than do male students. The issue of the role of gender in students' academic outcome will be highlighted next.

Gender and Achievement

Although the educational experiences of Black male and female students converge to some extent, there are some important differences. Black male students appear to have more negative experiences in school than do Black female students. They are more likely than are female students to be tracked into general-level and special-education programs (Irvine, 1990). Ford (1992b) described male students as "an endangered species in educational programs" (p.198). African American male students are also more likely than are African American female students to expend little effort in school (Ford, 1992a, 1992b), to have lower motivation, to score lower on standardized achievement tests (Irvine, 1990), and to have lower achievement attitude scores (Arroyo & Zigler, 1995). Garibaldi (1992) reported that Black male students tend to place last on academic performance measures, and that they rarely make the honour roll. He further noted that Black male students are also more likely than are other students to be held back, suspended, expelled, and to drop out, all out of proportion to their numbers in the American school system. It is important to note that Black female students also experience extremely high rates of the above outcomes, but not as high as those of their male peers (Garibaldi, 1992). Hare and Castenell (1985) asserted that "black males are probably the most feared, least likely to be identified with, and least likely to be effectively taught group" (p. 211).

Black male students appear to disengage early from the educational process. According to Garibaldi (1992), their academic failure starts early in their school careers and this eventually results in disinterest and dropping out. Although the same appears to be true for the female students, Garibaldi noted, the process does not occur as rapidly. Ford and Harris (1997) found that the female participants in their study had significantly higher GPAs than their male peers, and that 50% of the male students fit into their underachiever category as compared to 37% of their female peers. Hare and Castenell (1985) discovered, in their study of 10 and 11-year-old American students, that Black boys scored higher than did Black girls on measures of peer-related self-esteem and beliefs in the importance of social skills. In contrast, Black females scored higher than did their Black male peers on reading and math achievement and on achievement orientation. Polite (1994) reported that the African American male students in his study avoided school in various ways. For example, they typically chose courses that did not prepare them for work or college. Many chose only the courses required to graduate. Although the school in which the study took place was almost all Black, enrollment in academic courses was nearly 100% White. Some of the students reported that choosing nonacademic courses allowed them more time to spend out of class with friends. Of the 115 male students participating in Polite's study, only 52% graduated from high school and only 3% received a score high enough on the college entrance exam to gain admission to a four-year college.

Researchers noted that Black female students were more likely than were Black male students to believe that an education would pay off in the long run. Ford (1992b), for instance, reported that male participants were less likely than were their female peers to view education as a vehicle for economic and professional success. Ford (1992a) reported that male participants were more likely than were females to display the "paradox of underachievement." In other words, although both male and female students reported valuing education, male students were more likely than were female students to report expending little effort on their schoolwork. A greater number of male than female students held the opinion that school was a waste of time. Mac an Ghaill (1988) reported similar findings in British schools. He noted that, although male and female students were aware of barriers

to their success, the female students had greater faith in the ability of an education to deliver economic or professional rewards.

Ogbu (1978) noted that Black Americans appear to hold the belief that the difference between male and female students' school outcomes is linked to differences in the way they are treated in both the home and the larger society. He noted that members of the Black community believe that Black women are less feared by the dominant culture than are Black men, which affords the women a greater chance for societal participation. In comparison to men, women are believed to be favoured with respect to jobs and other societal rewards. The differential gender-based opportunity structure results in daughters receiving greater parental encouragement than do sons. Ogbu (1978) theorized that female students, recognizing that greater opportunities are open to them, develop work habits necessary for educational success. Cross and Slater (2000), too, believe that Black women have suffered less intense forms of employment discrimination than have Black men. They argued that the women are not seen as being as great a threat to the White male corporate structure as are the men. Thus, Black men have more limited employment opportunities and consequently have less incentive to do well in school and to pursue post-secondary education than do Black women.

Irvine's (1990) observation that the way that Black male students dress, walk, glance, etc., engenders fear and overreaction among school staff supports the belief that Black men are generally feared in society. However, the idea that Black women, because they are not feared to the same degree as men, are accorded preferential treatment is suspect. This theory of preferential treatment ignores the dismal socioeconomic condition of Black women, especially single mothers. This view also ignores the very likely possibility that Black women encounter sexism as well as racism which, when class is also taken into account, amounts to what Mac an Ghaill (1988) referred to as "triple subordination." The preferential treatment view cannot explain why White female students also have a more positive view of education than do White male students (see Arroyo & Zigler, 1995), even though White men are accorded greater privileges, power, and social rewards than are White women. Saltzman (1994), in an article about the gender gap in education, for example, reported that, despite

women's progress in the educational realm, the majority choose fields of study such as education and English literature, which lead to lower paying occupations. In contrast, men dominate higher-paying fields such as science, law, medicine, dentistry, and engineering.

The gender differences found are likely influenced by many factors acting in conjunction with each other including differing coping strategies, the peer subculture, sports, and the dearth of appropriate role models. According to Mac an Ghaill (1988), male students appear more likely than do their female counterparts to react in counter-productive ways to what they perceive as oppressive school conditions. One low-achieving British male student ascribed the relative school success of female students to the fact that they "have more brains and worked harder" (Mac an Ghaill, 1988, p. 144). The female students, in contrast, attributed their success to the strategies they employed in navigating an adverse school environment. They believed that the male students were more visible in their resistance to school. The female students also believed that the male students gave up too easily in the face of obstacles, and that they internalized negative stereotypes, which resulted in the self-fulfilling prophecy of low achievement.

The peer group, Kunjufu (1988) reported, has a greater influence on male than on female students. One high-achieving female student in Kunjufu's study, who successfully resisted the anti-school pressures of the peer subculture, observed that resisting the peer group is a more difficult task for her male peers. The findings of Senior and Anderson's (1993) study of Black adolescent peer groups in the U.S. suggested that female informants were more likely than were male informants to perceive their classmates as tolerant of achievement-oriented students. Lindstrom and Van Sant (1986) remarked, in reference to Black American male students, that "the intelligent, achieving young man may become a social outcast, trapped in a no man's land, unwanted. This experience can have a profound effect on the young person's identity formation" (p. 584).

Black male students are inundated by the media with the message that involvement in sports is a more feasible route to financial and social power than is involvement in academics (Edwards, 1973; Gaston, 1986). Gaston (1986) asserted that male students fall prey to the belief that it will be easier

for them to make it as an athlete than as a medical doctor. Therefore, they spend more time in the school gym than in the library, to the detriment of their schoolwork. He further declared that they are assisted in their academic demise by school staff who are more concerned with their athletic than with their cognitive development, who shower them with rewards for athletic achievement, and who maneuver them around academic obstacles. The great tragedy, Gaston (1986) insisted, is that if Black male students spent as much time and energy in preparation for medical school as they spent on sports, a career as a medical doctor would be more likely than would one as a professional athlete. Edwards (1973) noted that other occupations "hold greater potential for meeting the real political and material needs of both themselves and their people. Athletics, then, stifles the pursuit of rational alternatives by black people" (p. 44). Often, the Black male student with athletic aspirations finds himself in adulthood "on a fantasy island lacking the skills necessary to propel himself into the flow of mainstream America" (Gaston, 1986, p. 371). It appears that, unlike male students, female students are not sent the message that the road to professional sports stardom is open to them. Thus, while male students may view high school as a stepping stone to professional sports, female students may view it as a place to gain the skills necessary for future occupational success.

The lack of male role models in the school has been identified as another contributing factor to Black male students' underachievement relative to that of their Black female peers. Cross and Slater (2000) cited a study by the U.S. Department of Labor in which it was revealed that in 1999, 98% of kindergarten and 83.6% of elementary teachers in the U.S. were female. The preponderance of female teachers, Cross and Slater believe, put Black males at a disadvantage. They argued that, unlike Black girls, Black boys are viewed by female teachers as disciplinary problems and are thought to be incapable of achieving academically. This early negative treatment sets the tone for their underachievement throughout their school lives. Hare and Castenell (1985), too, pointed to the mismatch between Black boys and White female teachers as sharing part of the responsibility for their dismal educational showing. They noted that lower class, nonwhite children are least "likely to share the middle-class, white oriented values of their teachers" (p. 210). They further maintained that

> if the idea that commonality of characteristics is conducive to support and differences conducive to conflict, is sound, then black boys, and especially lower-class black boys, would theoretically experience the greatest potential conflict, in a middle-class, white female dominated public elementary school system. (p. 210)

They further speculate that Black males may also fare worse than Black females in the higher grades as well because, although white male teachers dominate higher-level grades, male teachers may view Black female student as less threatening than Black male students.

Socioeconomic Status and Achievement

The information that exists on the influence of socioeconomic status (SES) on Black students' academic outcomes does not lead to a definite conclusion about its importance. Some researchers suggest that children from poor families are more vulnerable to school-based inequities than are children from wealthier families. Irvine (1990) noted, for example, that the hidden curriculum in the schools attended by poor Blacks reinforces societal stereotypes that Black students, especially low-income students, are intellectually inferior. Irvine also observed that low-track educational programs are composed disproportionately of poor and Black students. Rumberger (1987) reported that children of low socioeconomic status and ethnic minorities have higher school dropout rates than do White students and those of high socioeconomic status. Ogbu (1994b) reported that middle-class Blacks tend to perform better in school than do low-SES Blacks. In an examination of data from the 1980 cohort of Black, White, and Latino sophomores from the High School and Beyond survey, Solorzano (1991) discovered that the higher the students' SES, the higher were their educational aspirations, their perceived parental educational aspirations for them, and their occupational expectations.

In contrast to the above findings, some researchers believe that SES is unrelated to academic experiences or outcomes, or that its effects are not as strong as are those of other variables. Kunjufu (1988) asserted that the "silent killer" phenomenon transcends socioeconomic status. Steele (1992) noted that poverty is not necessarily related to educational outcomes. He argued that poor Blacks often value education more than Whites. Furthermore, Blacks with ample financial resources, like their less economically endowed counterparts, experience academic difficulties and underachieve.

Hanson and Ginsburg (1988) found that the educational values that students (both Black and White), their parents, and their peers possessed were more strongly related to academic outcomes than was SES. In a study of race and gender differences in achievement orientation, Allen (1980) found that for Black and White high school seniors in the U.S. the strongest predictor of achievement orientation was parental expectation and the weakest predictor of it was SES. Brody et al. (1995) found both a direct and an indirect effect of SES on academic competence. The indirect effect resulted from the influence of SES on family interaction patterns. That is, families with greater financial resources tended to have less parental conflict and a higher level of support and harmony among its members than did families with less financial resources, all of which led to greater academic competence in the children. Slaughter and Epps (1987) asserted that even though low-SES Black families typically lack the resources needed to provide a home environment supportive of learning, such environments do exist in financially impoverished homes.

It appears that further investigation of the role of family income level on the academic outcomes of Black students is needed before firm conclusions can be drawn.

1.4 Comments on the Literature Reviewed in this Chapter

There are some methodological challenges in the study of Black students' school adaptation, including the obstacles inherent in defining cultural identity and in the danger of overgeneralization. Both will be discussed next.

Problems in Defining Cultural Identity

Fordham's (1988) identification of Blacks who do not buy into the peer subculture as "raceless" raises the question of how cultural identity should be defined. As discussed earlier, some Black students define their identity in terms of a list of behaviors and characteristics believed not to be possessed by Whites. It is likely that White students, too, delineate activities as being appropriate for their own and for other races. White students who listen to "Black music" and who dress like or hang out with Black students are accused of "acting Black" by both Black and White peers. The term often used to label such students are "wannabees." I believe that the problematic aspect of the current

perception of "Blackness" or Black culture by both the dominant and Black groups is that not all Blacks engage in the behaviors or hold the attitudes by which the whole group is defined. As noted earlier, defining a group's identity as a limited set of behaviours and attitudes leaves little room for individual variation. It also leaves open the possibility that individuals who do not subscribe to those behaviours and attitudes will be accused of abandoning their culture.

It is likely that there is not just one overarching culture but that that there are various subcultures that overlap to a greater or lesser degree in their beliefs, values, norms, and mores, both within and between racial/ethnic groups. Members of the anti-school subculture that was the focus of the earlier part of this section may share with "bicultural" students such things as pride in their race. However, as seen in Mac an Ghaill's (1988) study, the anti-school students differed from the academically oriented students in their evaluation of school.

Identity is difficult to define and so are values unique to only one culture. Phinney (1990) concluded from her review of research on ethnic identity that there is no one accepted definition of identity. Indicators of identity include language, friendship, religion, social groups, political ideology and activity, area of residence, music, television, sports, dress, books, food, traditional celebrations, and cultural and historical knowledge. She further noted that identity is dynamic and changes with circumstances. This evolution of identity is readily apparent in the labels African Americans have discarded or adopted for themselves over the decades (e.g., Negro, coloured, Black, African American). It is important to note that there are few, if any, characteristics or beliefs or values that can be said to define all members of a particular group.

Avoidance of Overgeneralization

It is important when working with or studying Black students to remember that they are not a homogenous group. Black students' reactions to their experiences vary, as do their attitudes, beliefs, and values. Submergence in the collective identity and participation in counter-school activities as an act of resistance do not characterize all Black students. In Senior and Anderson's (1993) study, for example, the students who engaged in counter-school activities were perceived by informants as

being disliked and disrespected by other students. Whereas peer groups can exert pressures against achievement, they can also encourage it, as was seen in Datnow and Cooper's (1996) study. Disengagement from school occurs for many reasons, only one of which is the collective identity. Ford (1993a, 1994) noted that Black students' underachievement is not always attributable to fear of peers' reactions, but also to other causes such as stress and test anxiety.

It is also important to note that many non-Black students have orientations toward peers and academics similar to those of Black students. The importance of peers in the lives of students is not unique to Blacks. The peer group is one of the most dominant socializing forces in the life of adolescents, regardless of racial group. Peers can exert pressures to conformity within and without the educational sphere (Clasen & Brown, 1985). Goodenow and Grady (1993) concluded from their study of academic motivation among Black, White, and Hispanic students in northeastern America that peers influenced academic motivation, sometimes in a negative manner. Peers are influential in determining students' enjoyment of school, time given to homework, and school behaviour (Steinberg et al., 1992). Anti-achievement sentiments and the desire for close affiliation with the peer group and for involvement in peer-approved activities, even at the expense of schoolwork, occur among non-Black groups as well. Decades ago, researchers identified this phenomenon among majority-group students. Braham (1965), for example, expressed concern about what he believed to be American students' preoccupation with popularity, status, and prestige, to the detriment of their schoolwork. He attributed this preoccupation as well as the dropout rate and the failure of students to pursue higher education to the existence and influence of an adolescent anti-intellectual subculture. Arroyo and Zigler (1995) reported that high-achieving European American students exhibited attitudes concerning academic success that were similar to those exhibited by high-achieving Blacks, e.g., both groups were concerned with how they presented to peers. Arroyo and Zigler concluded that the behaviors and attitudes that are said to characterize "racelessness" also applied to White students. They noted, however, that "racelessness" had greater psychological implications for the African American than for the European American students.

Goldberg and Chandler (1989, 1992) found that middle-class White male students in the U.S. linked popularity with their female peers to athletic ability or to being a part of the "in" crowd. Furthermore, they found that the students placed a similar value on athletic prowess as they did on academic prowess. Sometimes, the Black peer group has been found to have a greater orientation toward school than other cultural groups. In Kennedy's (1995) study of Asian, White, and Hispanic students in America, for example, the link between perceived popularity and athleticism was weaker for Black students than it was for other racial groups, while the link between popularity and academic status was strongest for Black female students.

The anti-achievement subculture and strong peer versus academic orientation also occurs among non-Blacks. Such a phenomenon may not be as pervasive among White students as it is among Black students, nor have the same devastating impact given the greater opportunities available to Whites. Furthermore, the emergence of an anti-achievement subculture among non-Black groups most likely stems from other sources and not from educational and economic discrimination which researchers (e.g., Mac an Ghaill, 1988) have identified as a central source for Black students. Berndt (1992) noted that the coercive influence of the peer group is mediated by the freedom of its members to withdraw and seek others with similar values. Steinberg et al. (1992) noted that high-achieving Black students reported having a more difficult time than did other students joining a peer group that had the same orientation to academics as they themselves did. The peer group may have an added importance for Black students, which makes it more difficult for them to disassociate from it than it is for White students. For many Blacks, in a world they perceive as hostile, the peer group may be seen as reaffirming and as vital to the maintenance of their cultural identity. Students may also see the peer group as important in their collective struggle against and resistance to inequities within schools and within the larger society.

The existence of the peer subculture and anti-achievement attitudes among non-Blacks does not minimize the importance of the issue for Black students. It also does not diminish the strength of the argument made by Black educators about the need for urgency in stemming the flow of Black

students whose futures, due to societal and peer pressures, are likely to be characterized by educational and economic marginalization.

1.5 Summary

According to many educators in the U.S. and in Britain, Black students have, for generations, had to deal with the hidden curriculum in schools which has ensured that the education they receive is inferior to that of their White peers. The hidden curriculum is reflected in low teacher expectations, educational tracking, and other school practices that bombard students with the message that their cultural experiences are not valued. Researchers believe that Black students also face the possibility of educational credentials not working to their advantage as they do for their White peers. Inequities in both the educational and occupational spheres have been seen as leading, over the decades, to the emergence of a Black collective identity that is in opposition to that of the majority group. The collective identity defines certain behaviours as being suitable for Blacks and others as unsuitable. Unsuitable behaviour includes high educational achievement. Students are reported to resist the subordinate role they believe that they are being prepared for by disengaging from the school process, as is evidenced by their high failure and dropout rates. The peer subculture becomes the gatekeeper between the White and the Black worlds. Students who cross over face ostracism and accusation of "acting White."

Students appear to adapt to their educational experiences in many ways. Some students become members of the anti-school subculture, others resist school while still valuing education, some distance themselves from their culture, and others develop a bicultural identity. There are a number of factors that may influence the adaptation students make to their school experiences. These include peer and parent support, gender, and SES. The role of SES is unclear. In contrast to the conflicting findings regarding the influence of SES, greater female than male persistence in the face of structural barriers, and higher academic performance by females than males have consistently been found. Parental support was also found to be consequential to success. Although parents generally have high aspirations for their children, they may sometimes transmit, based on their own experiences,

messages to students about the futility of obtaining an education due to workplace and other societal discrimination. This may have the unintended effect of dampening the students' own aspirations. The peer group also appears to have monumental significance for students. Peer groups that reject school norms and rules can, through coercion, force bright but vulnerable students to suppress their academic potential. Due to a need for peer confirmation of their identity and for peer affiliation, many students seem to succumb to such pressures. Other peer groups, however, encourage high levels of achievement. Students belonging to such peer groupings not only do well in school, but also they view their success as an affirmation of their cultural identity.

In studies of Black students' academic outcomes it is important to avoid confusing the concepts of culture and subculture. Such a confusion could lead to erroneous conclusions that students who reject the anti-school peer subculture are rejecting their culture. It is also important to avoid overgeneralizing the findings of studies of anti-school and anti-achievement attitudes among Black peer groups. Black students are heterogeneous in their response to their school circumstances, and failure or dropping out is not always a reflection of disengagement due to discrimination. Furthermore, many of the behaviors and attitudes of underachieving Blacks also exist among White students. The differences lie in the magnitude of the problem in both groups and in the implications it has for their life outcomes.

The next chapter will be an examination of the experiences of Black Canadian students. The history of Black immigration, employment, and education will be traced from the entry of Blacks to Canada to the present day. The main focus will be on their current experience in schools and the variables that play an important determining role in their educational outcomes.

Chapter 2: Black Students in the Canadian Context[2]

The findings presented in the previous chapter are British and American, the majority of them being American. The history and immigration patterns of Blacks in Canada are different from those of Blacks in the United States. Nevertheless, there exist strong historical connections between Blacks in both countries as well as parallels in Black people's experiences in the American and Canadian educational and employment spheres. However, to fully understand the Canadian context, it is important to directly examine the Black Canadian experience, and not just extrapolate from that of Black Americans. The following is an examination of Black settlement and education in Canada throughout the centuries.

2.1 Black Settlement in Canada

Early Blacks

The Black presence in Canada extends as far back as the first half of the 17th century (Hill, 1992; Spencer, 1970; Winks, 1971). The first Black residents were brought in as slaves by the French, who needed manpower for local industries. Slaves were used in a domestic capacity, to clear land, fish, mine, and build ships. Many were skilled tradesmen and they assisted in building towns like Halifax (Hill, 1992; Spray, 1972). Despite this, they were still without rights, and suffered injustices and abuses (see Hill, 1992; Winks, 1971). After the British seized control of Canada from the French, they continued the practice of importing slaves. Slavery continued well into the 19th century, and slaves were not emancipated until 1833 (Spencer, 1970; Tulloch, 1975; Winks, 1971). The next major group of Blacks made their way to Canada from the United States. They came as United Empire Loyalists, escaped slaves, free men and women, pioneers, and refugees from the U.S. Civil War. A smaller number, the Maroons, were deported from Jamaica and sent to Nova Scotia after years of

[2] Appendix A contains a description of some of the sources of information presented in this chapter. These sources are valuable for anyone wishing to learn more about the past and current experiences of Blacks in Canada.

successfully resisting enslavement on that island (Hill, 1992; Pachai, 1990; Tulloch, 1975; Winks, 1971).

Researchers reported that Blacks in Canada experienced discrimination in all spheres of life (see Tulloch, 1975; Winks, 1971). Blacks were enticed to Canada with promises of freedom and land if they fought on the side of the British during the American Revolution. However, unlike their White counterparts, Black Loyalists either did not receive land or received much smaller plots that were not conducive to farming. They were typically segregated from White settlements on land that lacked roads and a means of communication with the main towns (Pachai, 1990; Tulloch, 1975; Winks, 1971). According to Winks (1971), Blacks who settled in the Maritime provinces suffered even more than did those who settled in Upper Canada. Blacks residing in the Maritime provinces, Winks noted, lived in poverty and "near-peonage," and received little attention from the government.

Inequities in the living conditions of Blacks, particularly in the Maritimes, continued into the 20th century. In Nova Scotia, Black communities were especially destitute, lacking in even the basic amenities. Some communities, Winks (1971) noted, lacked adequate housing, and employment and educational opportunities for their residents were almost nonexistent. White Nova Scotians ignored the appalling environment many Blacks lived in stating that "Negroes lived in worse slums in the United States" (Winks, 1971, p. 453). Winks (1971) asserted that, "by 1970 the Negro in Nova Scotia—one tenth the population of the province—was one of the most overstudied underprivileged minorities in Canada" (p. 384).

Immigration in the 20th Century

In the first half of the 20th century, the Black population did not grow significantly due to Canada's racially exclusive immigration policy, which allowed Whites to enter freely but required Blacks to have extraordinary qualifications (Spray, 1972). Shortly after World War II, students came from the Caribbean to study in Canadian universities (Coelho, 1988; Winks, 1971). Starting in the latter half of the 1950s, Black women were allowed to enter Canada as domestics for White families.

Many were well educated and the domestic scheme offered the only opportunity for them to immigrate to Canada (Coelho, 1988; Foster, 1996; Gopaul-McNicol, 1993; Talbot, 1984). In the 1960s, changes were made to Canada's immigration policy so that education and skill, rather than race, became the criteria by which immigrants were accepted (Gopaul-McNicol, 1993; Spray, 1972; Tulloch, 1975; Winks, 1971). At this time, immigration increased significantly from the West Indies (Gopaul-McNicol, 1993; Richardson, 1994). There was an influx into Canada of skilled and educated Caribbean individuals (Winks, 1971). In the 1980s, many West Indian children immigrated to Canada to join their parents who had come before them (Coelho, 1988). The most recent Black immigrants are those who have sought refuge in Canada from unstable political situations in Africa[3] (Cheng, Yau, & Ziegler, 1993).

The Blacks who immigrated to Canada in the 20th century, like those who came before, encountered discrimination in all spheres of life: housing, employment, politics, education, law, and recreation (see Richardson, 1994; Spencer, 1970; Spray, 1972; Winks, 1971).

Employment

Blacks have played a crucial role in the development of Canada as a nation (see Hill, 1992; Winks 1971). Black Loyalists fought against the Americans in the American Revolution; they fought in the War of 1812 to prevent the annexation of Canada by the United States; they cleared land, farmed, assisted in building industries and founding provinces; and they played a key role in the industrial revolution creating wealth for the White population (see Foster, 1996; Hill, 1992; Noël, 1998; Tulloch, 1975; Winks, 1971). Despite their role in the building of Canada, Blacks were not viewed as "true" Canadians and occupied a subordinate position (see Spray, 1972; Winks, 1971). Restrictions were placed on their employment activities; for example, they were barred from skilled positions and forced to accept low-status jobs such as labourers and servants (Spray, 1972; Winks, 1971).

[3] See Appendix B for 1996 Census Canada statistics on the number of Blacks in Canada.

In the first half of the 20th century, Blacks continued to be excluded from high-status employment and were limited to low-paying occupations such as railway porters and domestics (Foster, 1996; Richardson, 1994). The well-educated Blacks who immigrated after the lifting of racial restrictions also encountered employment discrimination (see Anderson & Grant, 1987; Christensen, 1998). Anderson and Grant reported that Black immigrants often ended up with employment below their educational and skill levels. Finding fair employment was reportedly an especially difficult task for Maritime Blacks. In Halifax, for example, the unemployment rate for the Black population was double the rate of that of the White population. Blacks there were concentrated in unskilled, low-paying jobs (Winks, 1971).

2.2 Education

Black Education from the Beginning

Education has always been of vital importance to Black families, and many believed that education was the vehicle for social and economic elevation (Pachai, 1990; Spray, 1972). Those entering Canada from the United States in the 1800s believed that this move would provide them with the opportunity to obtain an education for their children, something that they had been denied in the U.S. Their dreams and hopes were soon dashed, however. Black children were barred or actively discouraged from attending the existing common schools (Hill, 1992; Spray, 1972; Winks, 1971). Despite paying taxes for the common schools, Blacks were forced to establish their own schools at their own expense or else do without. In Upper Canada, segregated schools were legislated by the government (Hill, 1992; Winks, 1971). The Common Schools Act of 1850 permitted the establishment of separate schools for the Black population in Canada West (Hill, 1992; Spencer, 1970). Even in situations where Blacks attended the same school as Whites, they were seated on separate benches or housed in separate buildings (Hill, 1992; Spencer, 1970; Winks, 1971).

Although the educational situation for Blacks was generally bleak, it varied from region to region. In Canada West, Toronto and London had the lowest levels of prejudicial attitudes, while St. Catharines, Chatham, Amherstburg, and Windsor were reported to have the greatest manifestations of

such attitudes (Spencer, 1970). In Chatham, the boundaries of the school district were redefined in order to prevent Black children from attending the common schools (Winks, 1971). Hill (1992) noted that the lower levels of prejudice in Toronto was in part due to it being the stronghold of the abolitionist movement in Canada, and in part to the slower movement of Blacks into the area, which resulted in the White population not feeling threatened. In Nova Scotia, segregation was allowed by law if it was deemed necessary and if it received the approval of the government. However, since widespread residential segregation already led to segregated schools, few such schools came into existence through this law (Spencer, 1970; Winks, 1971).

For the most part, semi-literate, inexperienced teachers, who were badly paid, taught in Black schools (Hill, 1992; Pachai, 1990; Winks, 1971). The curriculum was typically outdated and the instructional level poor. The buildings were dilapidated, leaky, and poorly heated in the winter (Hill, 1992; Pachai, 1990). Supplies were lacking, the books used were tattered, and the available ink was of poor quality (Spencer, 1970). The number of schools serving the Black population was insufficient and resulted in overcrowding (Spencer, 1970; Winks, 1971). Black schools were inadequately funded because the communities were generally too poor to maintain them and they received very little help from provincial governments (Hill, 1992; Spencer, 1970; Winks, 1971). Black schools were often forced to close their doors due to the numerous problems that plagued them, e.g., a lack of teachers and a lack of funding (Hill, 1992; Spencer, 1970; Spray, 1972; Winks, 1971). These schools were typically surrounded by uncertainty and the communities were never sure whether they would open (Pachai, 1990). Many communities did not have schools available for months or even years at a time and, in some rural areas, no schools were available at all (Spencer, 1970; Winks, 1971). Pachai (1990) noted of Nova Scotia that, "a pattern of irregular, interrupted and inferior education developed throughout the province where separate schools existed" (p. 80).

In the latter part of the 19th century, Blacks were increasingly allowed access to the common schools. However, segregated schools continued into the 20th century (Winks, 1971). The Blacks in the Maritimes seemed to have fared worse than did those in other provinces. In certain regions of the

Maritimes, Black students did not receive an education until well into the 1900s. In Birchmount, Nova Scotia, for instance, Black students were excluded from the education system until 1936. In Hammond's Plains, Nova Scotia, at the conclusion of the 1950s, the school buses still stopped only in the White sections of town, cutting off the means by which Black students could attend school (Winks, 1971). The act legislating separate schools in Ontario remained on the books until 1964 (Spencer, 1970; Winks, 1971). The last segregated school in Ontario did not close its doors until 1965 and in Alberta, one separate school persisted well into the 1960s (Talbot, 1984; Winks, 1971). In Nova Scotia, segregated schools were not struck from the books until 1954. However, de facto segregation continues to exist in secluded communities (Calliste, 1994; Pachai, 1990; Winks, 1971).

There was division in Black communities over the issue of segregated schools (Pachai, 1990; Spencer, 1970). Some community members welcomed such schools. Hill (1992) noted that the desire for an education often outweighed the resentment of segregated schools. Many Black leaders, however, realized that segregated schools were just another tool used to structure inequality and fought vehemently against them. Black schools were viewed as inferior to common schools and numerous petitions were made to end segregation (Pachai, 1990; Spencer, 1970).

Black educators believe that the education system has marginalized Blacks throughout the country (e.g., Brathwaite, 1989). The Black Learners Advisory Committee of Nova Scotia (BLAC, 1994), for instance, asserted that historical evidence suggested that "through educational policy and practice, there has been a deliberate effort to create, and maintain, an educational underclass of Black Nova Scotians" (p. 63). Black students, especially those in Nova Scotia, typically left school earlier than White students, usually by the end of the 6th or 7th grade (Winks, 1971). By the 1960s, those who remained in Halifax schools were, on average, older than the White students in the same grade (Winks, 1971). Black Nova Scotians, given their experiences, were found to perform at a lower educational level than their White peers (Winks, 1971). The separate and unequal educational facilities provided for Black students prompted a class action lawsuit against the Halifax County and Digby School Boards in 1975 (BLAC, 1994; Calliste, 1994). Despite the struggles and the obstacles

encountered, the Black individual was "convinced that all he needed to do to become accepted was to elevate himself by obtaining an education, and he believed that this schooling would ultimately be procured" (Spencer, 1970, p. 265).

Black Education in the Latter Part of the 20th Century

BLAC (1994) asserted that the hope that desegregation would lead to racial equality in the schools has not been realized, and reported that some educators believe that the situation has worsened progressively. Black Canadian students encounter many barriers to educational success. For example, the practice of tracking large numbers of Black students into non-academic and special-education programs, as is common in American schools, also exists in Canada (see BLAC, 1994; Brathwaite, 1989; Coelho, 1988). Black high school students in Toronto, for example, were discovered to be enrolled in general-level courses at higher rates than White or Asian students (Cheng, Tsuji, Yau & Ziegler, 1989) and were less likely than their Asian and White peers to be enrolled in advanced-level courses (Cheng, Yau, & Ziegler, 1993). In a recent survey of high school students in Toronto, Cheng and Yau (1999) found that Blacks were still underrepresented in educational programs for university-bound students.

The Consultative Committee on the Education of Black Students in Toronto Schools (Consultative Committee, 1988) reported that parents believe that streaming has detrimental effects on students' self-esteem and confidence, and results in their continuing to choose less challenging educational levels throughout their school careers. Many of the students in the non-university-stream courses in Toronto schools did not recognize the relationship between different academic levels and post-secondary options (Yau, Cheng, & Ziegler, 1993). Cheng et al. (1993) noted that the low-academic track students were at risk of dropping out.

In addition to educational tracking, other road blocks to Black Canadian students' educational success include: a Eurocentric curriculum, which refuses to acknowledge Blacks as part of Canadian history, teachers who are ignorant of or do not respect their culture, biased academic assessments, unfair discipline, inappropriate or inadequate educational guidance, a lack of Black teachers, and low

teacher expectations (see BLAC, 1994; Brathwaite, 1989; Calliste, 1994; Coelho, 1988; Consultative Committee, 1988; Dei, 1995, 1996a, 1996b; Glaze & Wright, 1998; Kakembo & Upshaw, 1998). BLAC believes that low teacher expectations are the greatest of the barriers faced by the students.

Disengagement

Dei (1995) reported that Black students in Canada often disengage from the educational process. According to several studies, Black students experience a sense of alienation in schools (see BLAC, 1994; Coelho, 1988; Dei, 1998). They acknowledged feeling disliked, unappreciated, disrespected, unwelcome, and targeted by teachers (Dei, 1996a, 1996b, 1998). They reported being overlooked and excluded from participation in class (BLAC, 1994). Students further reported having a lack of trust in White teachers (James, 1994) whom they perceived to be vindictive, racist, mean, and authoritarian (Solomon, 1985). They viewed principals to be unfair and unapproachable (Consultative Committee, 1988). Black students underachieve, fail, and drop out in large numbers (Brathwaite, 1989; Coelho, 1988; Dei, 1995, 1997; Richardson, 1994).

An unsupportive and insensitive school environment can impede Black students' academic success. BLAC (1994) asserted that "because African Canadian children perceive that they are viewed differently, labelled, and receive different opportunities, consciously or subconsciously their educational and career aspirations are negatively affected" (p. 43). Black students were found to have lower educational aspirations than their White and Asian peers. A larger proportion of the Black students planned to attend community college rather than university. While 56% of Whites and 64% of Asians planned to attend university, less than half of Blacks (approximately 40%) had such aspirations (Cheng et al., 1993). While 14%-16% of the general school population had community college aspirations, the rate for Black students was 34%. Similarly Cheng and Yau (1999) found that, whereas 17% of the general population had community college aspirations, the rate for foreign-born Blacks (and Filipino students) was 30-40%. A large proportion of Caribbean-born blacks (14%) had plans to enter the work force after high school as compared to 7% of the general population (they

were exceeded in proportion, however, by Portuguese and Aboriginal students, 17% and 19%, respectively).

Both immigrant children and those with well-established roots in Canada leave school without a proper education, Coelho (1988). BLAC (1994) asserted that Nova Scotian schools fail to prepare Black students for post-secondary education, especially in the sciences and technology. Parents feel that school practices such as streaming block students' access to higher education and to professional careers, and lead to dead-end jobs (Consultative Committee, 1988). Parents further believe that the high dropout rates are attributable to their children being tracked into basic-level programs, which do not appropriately challenge them. Students who drop out cite, among other reasons for leaving, boredom, a lack of challenge in school, and feeling neglected and ignored (Consultative Committee, 1988). The dropout rate in basic-level programs is reported to be as high as 80% (see Brathwaite, 1989; Coelho, 1988). Solomon (1996) reported that many Black students drop out of school prior to acquiring the skills and competencies necessary for participation in an increasingly complex workplace. Students with limited educational skills face a future characterized by unemployment, stratification into low-paying jobs, and poverty (Brathwaite, 1989; Christensen, 1998).

2.3 The Education-Employment Connection

For African Canadians, education and employment are inextricably intertwined. For West Indian immigrants, for example, education is seen as the vehicle to propel them up the socioeconomic ladder (Gopaul-McNicol, 1993; Solomon, 1992). However, both the occupational and educational spheres have been implicated in the reproduction of the social marginalization of Blacks. BLAC (1994) argued that the poor educational outcomes of Black students are a result of systemic discrimination within the education system. Contributing factors include lack of employment opportunities, racism in the work place, a lack of parental involvement, and a lack of resources for students. The systemic barriers experienced by Black Canadians are believed by researchers to be greater for those living in the Maritime provinces. Winks (1971), for example, observed that by 1970, Nova Scotian Blacks were one of the most disadvantaged groups in Canada (Winks, 1971). In 1962,

investigators of the dismal living conditions of Halifax Blacks noted that their poor educational achievement "arose from 'the need for money, the belief that education would be of little help to [Negroes] in seeking employment... lack of intellectual stimulation among their peers, friends quitting school early, inferior educational facilities... lack of a normal family pattern,' and other class differentials" (Winks, 1971, p. 389). Dei (1995) reported that students who viewed the employment condition to be dismal questioned the relevance of education. James (1994) noted that Black high school students sometimes expressed pessimism about the usefulness of an education in obtaining employment.

2.4 Factors Influencing the Educational Outcome of Black Canadian Students

As with African American students, there are a number of factors that are thought to intercede between the inequities experienced by African Canadian students and their educational outcome. These include the peer group, family demographics, parents' support, gender, and country of origin. Each will be examined in turn below.

Peer Support

Coelho (1988) noted that students who do not see themselves reflected in the authority figures of their schools are unlikely to identify with the power structure of the classroom or the values espoused by teachers. In such cases, the approval of the peer group may become more important to students than the approval of teachers. In order to be successful, students need peers who are pro-education and who share their aspirations and belief in the educational system. If students' peers reject the school as a socializing agent, bright students may reject success, which would result in alienation from their peer group and which would not necessarily lead to membership in the dominant group's peer network (Coelho, 1988).

Black students have been found to form cohesive cliques, which provide them with the acceptance and understanding that is often lacking in the schools (Christiansen, Thornley-Brown, & Robinson, 1982). Coelho (1988) noted that peers can be a source of support for students who are still unsure of their way in society. She further noted that when with their peers students "are not 'on

trial', as they often are in the classroom" (p. 84). Solomon (1985, 1992) documented the emergence of a Black peer subculture among male students of Caribbean descent in a Toronto school. This subculture was characterized by involvement in counter-school activities and conflict with school authorities. Members of the subculture disregarded and showed contempt for school rules. These students constructed an identity for themselves that was in opposition to that of the dominant group. They came into conflict with higher-achieving Blacks, whom they accused of "acting White" (Solomon, 1992). In contrast, those students "wishing to pursue socially prestigious activities, tend to de-emphasize sub-cultural behaviours and identify more with dominant culture values" (Solomon, 1985, p. 55).

Family Demographics

Socioeconomic status appears to be an important factor in the education of Black Canadian students. Lower-income Caribbean students, Coelho (1988) observed, have more difficulties in school than do those from more affluent families. The children of middle-class Caribbean immigrants have fewer problems adjusting to school than do children from lower-income homes. Parents in higher-income brackets were better able to compensate intellectually for the negative messages the children received from school and society in general. In contrast, Coelho (1988) noted, working-class families appeared to depend on the schools to nurture and support their children; this support has not always been forthcoming. Dei (1995) noted that preoccupation with financial difficulties can interfere with students' education. Among the reasons students gave for dropping out of school was a lack of financial resources (Consultative Committee, 1988; Dei, 1995). Calliste (1980) found that, across ethnic groups (Anglo-Canadian, South-European, and West Indian), the higher-SES students in her study were more likely to have higher achievement and higher educational and occupational expectations than were lower-SES students. Cheng et al., (1989) discovered that Black students of high SES were more likely than were those of lower SES to enroll in advanced-level programs. Black students with professional parents had a greater chance of success and a lower chance of being at risk than those whose parents were not professionals (Yau et al., 1993). BLAC (1994) reported that low-

income parents are less able than are others to procure a good education for their children due to the many problems associated with poverty, e.g., poor health and nutrition, which may interfere with students' learning.

It appears from the above reports that SES is a critical variable for Black students' success. However, Cheng et al. (1989) noted from their study of students in Toronto that the relationship between SES and academic performance was more clearly delineated for White students than for Black students. For White students, SES was positively related to academic performance. However, Black students, regardless of SES, performed at a lower academic level than Whites or Asians. Nevertheless, when the number of parents in the home was controlled for, SES turned out to be a less important variable than was previously believed. Regardless of SES, Black children from two-parent homes outperformed Black students from mother-only households (Cheng et al., 1989).

Parent's educational level may also be important for Black students' educational outcome. Ornstein (2000) noted, in his examination of the socio-demographics of ethno-racial groups in Toronto, that parents with lower educational levels were disadvantaged in comparison to parents with higher educational levels in terms of advising their children and in dealing with their children's schools. Ornstein further reported that ethno-racial groups with more highly educated parents had more young people with post-secondary education and lower proportions of individuals who had not completed high school. Cheng et al. (1993) reported that university-educated parents were more likely than were parents without university education to have children who were high achievers. Furthermore, students in advanced-level programs were more likely to have university-educated parents than were students in basic-level and general-level programs.

Parent Support

There is a general perception among school officials and others that Black parents do not have an interest in their children's school lives (Coelho, 1988; Foster, 1996; Glaze & Wright, 1998). Coelho (1988) pointed out, however, that Caribbean individuals of all social classes value education highly. Glaze and Wright (1998) also noted that, contrary to prevailing opinions, Blacks have always

placed a high value on education. A lack of active participation does not indicate a lack of interest on the part of parents. There are a myriad of factors that may affect parents' involvement in their children's education. The burden of single parenthood, and economic demands, e.g., working two jobs or night shifts, limits the time some parents have to attend PTA meetings or other school functions (Consultative Committee, 1988). Christiansen et al. (1982) noted that some parents may be afraid to leave work in order to attend school meetings. Parents who are unfamiliar with the school system may find it intimidating (Christiansen et al., 1982; Coelho, 1988). Their lack of formal education may lead them to believe that they cannot assist their children with school. They may lack the necessary information or the confidence in their ability to effectively advocate for their children or to offer them guidance (see BLAC, 1994; Consultative Committee, 1988). Some parents find the school environment unwelcoming and believe that their concerns are not recognized (Brathwaite, 1996). Brathwaite (1996) reported that some parents do not feel empowered when dealing with school staff. BLAC (1994) contended that parents, as well as students, may be alienated from the school system.

Calliste (1980) reported that the majority of students in her study, regardless of race, perceived their parents as playing a substantial role in their future educational goals. She noted, however, that Black students were less likely than were White students to view their parents as having a great influence on their educational goals. Black parents in Cheng et al.'s (1993) study had lower aspirations for their children than did non-Black parents. A smaller percentage of Black than other parents expected their children to attend university (65% for Whites, 76% for Asians and 51% for Blacks) and a larger percentage of them expected their children to attend college (14% for Whites, 11% for Asians, and 29% for Blacks). This, however, could be a reflection of parents' perceptions of their own educational opportunities in Canada. Dei (1995) concluded from his research that students tend to perceive their parents, especially their mothers, as role models. He also noted that students expressed a desire for their parents to be proactive in their relationship with schools and not wait until a crisis occurs before becoming involved.

Although there is heterogeneity in the beliefs and actions of Black parents regarding education, in general they seem to view education as important for their children. The importance of education to parents is evidenced in their continuous lobbying over the years for equitable treatment of their children in the schools (Brathwaite, 1989). Brathwaite (1996) noted that "the Black community, including parents, has been one of the communities most vigorously engaged in education activism" (pp. 116-117). Glaze and Wright (1998) also noted that Black parents have not waited for others to address their concerns but have actively lobbied for changes.

Despite the efforts of parents and community leaders over the years to change the educational situation of Black students, progress has been slow. BLAC (1994) reported that Black parents are making the same demands on the schools now that they did over one hundred years ago. Brathwaite (1989) observed that putting policy into practice has proved to be a most difficult task. Part of the reason for the lack of progress, BLAC asserted, is that governments and schools have done little to address the discrimination from which spring many of the problems that have developed over the years. They have also "failed to deal with the specific social, cultural, and economic contexts which connect the difficulties faced by these students to broader social issues" (Dei, 1998, p. 72).

Gender

As detailed in chapter 1, Black female students in the U.S. and Britain do not appear to be as educationally at risk as are male students. The same appears to be true in Canada. Calliste (1980) found that, across the ethnic groups studied, female students were more likely than were male students to view good grades as a very important ingredient for attaining success in life. However, unlike in the U.S. and British studies, Calliste found that male students had higher expectations for post-secondary education and for their later occupation than did female students.

Later studies showed that Black female students were more likely than were their male peers to enroll in advanced-level courses (Cheng et al., 1989). The reverse was true for general-level and basic-level programs (Cheng et al., 1989; Cheng et al., 1993). Black female students also outperformed Black male students academically (Cheng et al., 1989), spent more time on homework,

and were more likely to aspire to a university education (Cheng et al., 1993). It is important to note that these male/female differences also held for the other ethnic groups surveyed. BLAC (1994) reported that Black Nova Scotian females were more likely to obtain some form of post-secondary education than were Black males.

Country of Birth

The majority of Black students in Toronto schools are foreign-born (Cheng et al., 1989; Cheng et al., 1993). Blacks born in Canada were more likely to enroll in advanced-level programs, to have accumulated more credits, and to have higher achievement than those born outside of Canada (Cheng et al., 1989). Between 1987 and 1991 the number of students emigrating from the Caribbean decreased while those from Africa increased (Cheng et al., 1993). African-born students were found to enroll in advanced-level courses at higher rates than Caribbean-born Blacks, and they spent more time on their homework than did Canadian-born Blacks. Caribbean-born students were more likely than were all other groups (Black and non-Black) to be enrolled in basic-level courses. More Canadian-born Blacks aspired to university than did Blacks born in Africa or the Caribbean: 50, 41, and 29 percent, respectively (Cheng et al., 1993). Cheng and Yau (1999) found that African-born students were more positive than all other racial/ethnic groups, except for Tamils, in their responses to questions about their perceptions of school. In contrast, Canadian-born Blacks were more "lukewarm" in their responses to questions about their enjoyment of school and their feelings of belonging than other students, with the exception of Korean and Aboriginal students.

Given the multicultural nature of many Canadian, and especially Toronto, schools ethnic identity is an essential variable to be considered when examining the educational achievement of Canadian students. More recent immigrants may differ in crucial ways from members of their same ethnic group who have been in Canada for a longer time, or for a number of generations. Waters (1994) examined motivation and attitudes among second-generation Caribbean students in New York City. She discovered that students' motivation, beliefs, and perceptions of opportunities in the U.S. were tied to their identity. Typically, Caribbean parents believed that hard work and perseverance

would lead to success even in the face of racism. Caribbean youth who identified with Black Americans, however, rejected their parents' immigrant beliefs about the opportunities open to anyone willing to work hard. They believed racism and discrimination to be insurmountable barriers to upward mobility. The saw the opportunities open to them as being very limited. These students de-emphasized their Caribbean ethnicity and viewed themselves as American. They adopted the subcultural oppositional stance that their Black American peers took toward academics and school authority. In contrast, those students who retained a strong sense of their Caribbean ethnicity internalized their parents' belief about the link between perseverance and upward social mobility. These students distanced themselves from Black Americans, viewing them as inferior in terms of their attitudes and actions. "Ethnic-identified" students attributed their success to their cultural values of hard work, high value placed on education, and strict parental discipline.

Waters (1994) noted that social class played an important role in the identities that the students adopted. Students who lived in poor inner city neighborhoods were more likely to be "American-identified," while those who maintained a strong ethnic-Caribbean identity were more likely to be middle-class.

Caribbean and African immigrants in Toronto may have issues surrounding their identity that are similar to those of the Caribbean immigrants in New York City. The findings that academic and school attitudes and behaviours vary among the different Black ethnic groups in Toronto by Cheng et al. (1993) suggests that ethnicity and immigration play a role in the educational status of Black students in Canada.

2.5 Summary: Black Canadian Adolescents and the Education System

Black people have a presence in Canada that extends back to the 17th century. Although they have played a pivotal role in the development of Canada, they have not had the opportunity to reap the rewards of their efforts either educationally or economically. Blacks appear to occupy the lower strata of the workforce regardless of their educational credentials. Black children's school lives are

characterized by academic failure, lack of motivation, and dropping out. This situation is often seen as stemming from their treatment in schools, which is reported to include low teacher expectations and educational tracking into non-academic programs. Many leave schools without the skills needed for survival in the workplace.

Factors such as peer influences, family demographics, parental support, gender, and country of birth appear to be important to the educational experiences of Black students. The Black peer group, for instance, is often seen as critical for students' sense of self-worth. Peers provide them with a sense of belonging and support. The peer group, however, may engage in counter-school behaviour as a means of resistance to their treatment in the schools and as a response to their feelings of alienation. The peer group can, therefore, act in a manner that further suppresses the achievement of its members. The influence of SES is not clear. It appears that lower-income students bear the brunt of the hidden curriculum. However, low SES does not necessarily lead to poor outcomes and other family variables may be more influential. Parents' education may also have implications for academic performance. That is, students with highly educated parents may have an advantage over those with parents with lower educational levels. Parental support also appears important for the success of Black students. It is not clear, however, if parental support is as defining for Black students as it is for White students. Black parents may not have as high aspirations for their children as White and Asian parents. This may reflect their personal experiences with the Canadian educational and employment institutions. Black parents, however, do highly value education and that they have worked tirelessly over the years for changes to a system that they believe has not treated their children equitably. Black female students appear to be at less risk educationally than male students and African-born students also appear to be at less risk than other Black students.

The next chapters will contain descriptions of the research carried out in which the educational outcomes of Black Canadian students and several of the factors believed to influence these outcomes were examined.

Chapter 3: The Current Study

As documented in chapter 1, the general school experience of Black Americans and Black Britons tended to be negative and characterized by low academic achievement, and by high failure and drop out rates. In both the U.S. and Britain many studies have been carried out to examine this phenomenon as evidenced by the review of the literature presented in chapter 1. Despite documentation of educational experiences of Black Canadian students that is similar to that of their American and British counterparts, surprisingly few studies have been conducted with the aim of trying to understand the factors that influence their educational performance and experiences. It is my intent to add to the existing Canadian data concerning Black students' educational experiences.

It is the aim of this study to examine factors that are related to the educational outcomes (i.e., educational aspirations and expectations, marks, and value placed on academic success) of Black students and to determine how predictive such factors are of these outcomes. The factors that will be investigated are those that have been identified by researchers as important for Black students, i.e., demographic, cultural, parental, and peer (see Coelho, 1988; Ford, 1991; Kunjufu, 1988; Ogbu, 1994a; 1994b). It is also the aim of this study to determine how differences among Black students are related to their educational outcomes as well as to the factors that influence those outcomes. Two such differences that will receive attention in this study are region of Canada in which students reside and gender.

The current study has several unique features, which differentiate it from past studies. First, existing Canadian studies of Black students (e.g., Dei, 1995; Solomon, 1992) employed a qualitative method. These studies provided important insight into various aspects of Black students' educational experiences in Canada. The current study employs a quantitative method in studying this issue. This enables me to look at a variety of educational outcomes and influential factors as well as to statistically examine the relationship between those outcomes and factors. It also enables the use of a large sample size, which, in turn, ensures that the results will not be influenced excessively by any idiosyncrasies of a single participant or small group of participants. The large sample size also allows

for the exploration, not only of commonalties among Black students, but also of differences. A second unique feature of the current study is the inclusion of cultural variables as predictors of Black students' educational outcomes. A third feature is the exploration of gender differences in educational outcomes. As noted in the previous two chapters, researchers reported significant gender differences with male students appearing to be more at-risk academically than female students. Thus, gender is an essential factor to consider in any study of Black Canadian students.

A fourth unique feature is the comparison of Blacks in different parts of Canada. As is evident from chapter 2, the first Black migrants to Canada settled mainly in the Maritime provinces, particularly in Nova Scotia. Blacks who immigrated to Canada in the 20th century tended to settle in large urban cities like Toronto. Even though present day Blacks in Nova Scotia and Toronto share collective experiences of discrimination in the Canadian educational and employment spheres, they have had a different socio-historical presence in Canada. Blacks residing in Nova Scotia appear to have suffered more intense forms of educational and occupational discrimination than Toronto Blacks. Furthermore, the majority of Blacks in Toronto is Caribbean-born or is the offspring of parents born in the Caribbean. A large number of Blacks have also immigrated to Toronto from Africa (see Appendix B for Census information). As a result, Toronto Blacks have not had the same centuries long exposure to educational and occupational stratification in Canada as Nova Scotian Blacks. As a result, their current living situation appears to be even more onerous than that of Blacks in Toronto (see Appendix C for a brief examination of the present-day socio-demographic characteristics of the Nova Scotia and Toronto Black communities). BLAC (1994) noted that, from birth on, most African Nova Scotians face tremendous barriers including destitution, alienation from schools, classism, and racism. The unique historical and present-day position of Blacks in Toronto versus that of Blacks in Nova Scotia makes these groups ideal for a comparison of Black students' educational situation in Canada.

It is hoped that this study, with its quantitative measures, will add to the existing body of knowledge concerning Black students by providing comprehensive information about the aspirations,

expectations, and academic attitudes and performance of Black Canadian students and about the factors that affect them. Such knowledge may lead to the planning of effective educational, psychosocial, and economic interventions that will benefit these students and lead to a greater number of academic and professional successes. The following is an outline of the hypotheses developed based on the literature reviewed in chapters 1 and 2 on the experiences of Blacks in Britain, the U.S., and Canada.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: Female and Toronto students will report greater parental support than will male and Nova Scotia students, respectively.

Sub Hypotheses:

a) Female and Toronto students will report greater parental emphasis placed on academic achievement than will male and Nova Scotia students, respectively.
b) Female and Toronto students will report greater value placed on academic success by their parents than will male and Nova Scotia students, respectively.
c) Female and Toronto students will report greater parental expectations of high achievement for them than will male and Nova Scotia students, respectively.
d) Female and Toronto students will report greater parental aspirations for them than will male and Nova Scotia students, respectively.

Hypothesis 2: Female and Toronto students will report higher academic outcomes than will male and Nova Scotia students, respectively.

Sub Hypotheses:

a) Female and Toronto students will report receiving higher marks than will male and Nova Scotia students, respectively.
b) Female and Toronto students will place greater value on academic success than will male and Nova Scotia students, respectively.
c) Female and Toronto students will have higher educational expectations than will male and Nova Scotia students, respectively.
d) Female and Toronto students will have higher educational aspirations than will male and Nova Scotia students, respectively.

Hypothesis 3: Female and Toronto students will report stronger educationally affirming cultural beliefs than will male and Nova Scotia students, respectively.

Sub Hypotheses:

a) Female and Toronto students will report a stronger belief in the achievement ideology than will male and Nova Scotia students, respectively.
b) Female and Toronto students will report a stronger belief in the possibility of Blacks attaining success in Canada than will male and Nova Scotia students, respectively.

c) Female and Toronto students will report a greater orientation to academic activities than to friends/social activities, while male and Nova Scotia students will report the opposite.

Hypothesis 4: Female and Toronto students will report greater peer support for academic effort than will male and Nova Scotia students, respectively.

Hypothesis 5: Students of parents with higher educational or socioeconomic status will report better educational outcomes than will students of parents with lower educational or socioeconomic status, respectively.

Sub Hypotheses:

a) Students of parents with higher educational or socioeconomic status will report higher marks than will students of parents with lower educational or socioeconomic status, respectively.
b) Students of parents with higher educational or socioeconomic status will place a higher value on academic success than will students of parents with lower educational or socioeconomic status, respectively.
c) Students of parents with higher educational or socioeconomic status will have higher educational expectations than will students of parents with lower educational or socioeconomic status, respectively.
d) Students of parents with higher educational or socioeconomic status will have higher educational aspirations than will students of parents with lower educational or socioeconomic status, respectively.

Hypothesis 6: The set of variables, parental, peer, cultural, and demographic, will prove to be a significant predictor of each of the educational outcomes (i.e., average mark, aspirations, expectations, and value of academic success) for students.

Hypothesis 7: The parental variables will prove to be stronger predictors of academic outcome for students than will the cultural, peer, or family demographic variables.

Chapter 4: Method

4.1 Participants

Four hundred and thirty African Canadian high school students participated in the current study. The majority, 287, were from Metropolitan Toronto and the remaining 143 were from Nova Scotia. The Toronto students were recruited through various recreational, employment, educational, and cultural programs. The Nova Scotia students were recruited mainly through cultural programs or events in Halifax Regional Municipality and, therefore, they will be referred to as the Halifax sample from this point forward. Sampling from such varied sources ensured a good representation of students with respect to factors such as socioeconomic status, grade, peer group affiliation, academic achievement, and cultural orientation.

4.2 Measures (see Appendix D)

A series of questionnaires, the majority of them Likert-type scales, were administered to the students. The questionnaires measured various demographic, predictor, and academic outcome variables. Efforts were made to select the soundest measures available. When such measures were not available, they were designed specifically for the study. Since there is a margin of error inherent in all measures, some of the core constructs were measured by more than one instrument.

Demographic Questionnaire

This is a 22-item questionnaire used to obtain information from participants concerning their gender, parents' occupation, parents' education, and other variables expected to influence their valuation of school, their educational aspirations and expectations, and their academic performance.

Parental Variables

Parental Emphasis on Achievement

Parental emphasis on achievement was defined most clearly by Brown, Mounts, Lamborn and Steinberg (1993) for a study of parental influence on adolescent children's peer group affiliation. The 15-item Parental Emphasis on Achievement measure they developed was used to assess concrete parenting behavior as reported by participants, as well as participants' beliefs of how important

certain academic behaviors were to their parents. Five of the questions were asked separately for each parent, e.g., "How often does your mother help you with homework when asked?" and "How often does your father help you with homework when asked?" Items were scored using a five-point scale and participants' responses on the items were averaged to obtain a mean score, with 1 being low and 5 being high. The internal consistency of the measure was reported by Brown et al. (1993) to be acceptable, $\underline{\alpha} = .84$. In the current study, the alpha was 0.85, 0.84, for the Toronto and the Halifax samples, respectively. The alpha for the full sample (the Toronto and Halifax samples combined) was 0.84.

This measure was employed in the current study as an indication of parental involvement in their children's academic lives, and was modified slightly. Brown and his colleagues did not include the actual value attached to each number on their 5-point scale, and so a response of "never" was assigned to the number one and "always" was assigned to the number five. Furthermore, students were asked, "What is the lowest semester grade you could get in each of these subject areas without your parents getting upset?" The subjects listed were English, math, science, and social studies. No actual grade choices were given. In the current study, students were provided with grade letter choices ranging from A to F, with A being the equivalent of the response 5 for the other questions on the scale, and F being the equivalent of the response 1. Furthermore, history was substituted for social studies since social studies is not always offered at the high school level for the current sample, but history typically is.

The following set of parental scales was adapted from Fuligni (1997). These measures were used in his study of the influence of various psychosocial factors on the academic achievement of students from immigrant families in the United States. All of these measures were shown to have good internal consistency replicated across four ethnic groups: Latino, East Asian, Filipino, and European. The scales were used in the current study to assess participants' perceptions of their parents' valuation of education and their parents' educational expectations and aspirations for them.

Parents' Value of Academic Success (Fuligni, 1997)

This 5-item scale pertains to students' perceptions of how strongly their parents valued academic success. Students rated statements like "Getting an A on almost every test" on a 5-point scale according to how important they were to parents, with a value of 1 equal to "not important to my parents" and a value of 5 equal to "very important to my parents". The internal consistency of the scale was reported to be .82. The reliability of the scale for students from the four ethnic groups on which it was used originally ranged from .78 - .84. Minor modifications were made to this scale that were more appropriate to a Canadian context. The term "university" was substituted for the term "college" since they are not used interchangeably in Canada. The alpha for the current sample was .89, .87, and .89 for the Toronto, Halifax, and full samples, respectively.

Parents' Educational Aspirations (Fuligni, 1997)

This is a 1-item measure that was used to solicit students' report of the educational height their parents desired for them. Students were instructed to "Put a check mark beside the statement that best describes your parents(s)' aspirations for you." The choices were as follows: 1 = finish some high school, 2 = graduate from high school, 3 = graduate from a two-year college, 4 = graduate from a four-year college, and 5 = graduate from law, medical, or graduate school. The item "graduate from a four-year college" was changed to "graduate from university" for the same reason mentioned above.

High Parental Expectations (Fuligni, 1997)

This measure pertains to students' perceptions of the level of academic performance that their parents expected of them. The 4 items on this measure were rated on a 5-point scale with 1 being "almost never" and 5 being "almost always." The measure included items such as, "I feel that my parents will be disappointed if I don't get very high grades." The internal consistency for this measure was reported by Fuligni to be, $\underline{\alpha} = .77$, and the reliability across the four ethnic groups ranged from .63 - .82. A reliability analysis revealed the alpha for the Toronto, Halifax, and full samples to be .77, .84, and .82, respectively. Item 4, "My parents would not be satisfied if I received a B+ on a test,"

was deleted from the measure. This deletion increased the alpha levels which otherwise would have ranged from a low of .71 for the Toronto sample to a high of .74 for the full sample.

Peer Influences

Peer Support for Academics

This 4-item scale was also adapted from Fuligni (1997) and it was used to measure students' perceptions of how much help and encouragement they received from their peers for their academic endeavours, e.g., "Share class notes and materials." The frequency with which their peers engaged in certain academic behaviors was rated from 1 (almost never) to 5 (almost always). The internal consistency for the scale was reported to be .79; the reliability for the different ethnic groups ranged from .74 - .81. Reliability analysis for the current sample revealed alpha levels of .80, .76, and .79 for the Toronto, Halifax, and full samples, respectively.

Cultural Influences

These scales are called cultural because the attitudes they measure, I believe, have been shaped by students' cultural and historical experiences in Canada.

Ideology

The Ideology scale was taken from Ford's (1991) Self-Perceptions of School Achievement Among Black Students Survey. The scale was designed by Ford for her study of the psychological, social, and cultural factors that influence the academic achievement of gifted, African American students. It was used to examine the degree to which Black students believe in the American achievement ideology, i.e., that hard work in school will result in upward mobility for all, regardless of race. The items, e.g., "Anyone can do well in school if he or she tries," were rated on a 4-point scale from "strongly agree" (4) to "strongly disagree" (1). The lower the score, the weaker is students' belief in the American achievement ideology. The original scale had 11 items, which, in Ford's study, had an acceptable reliability of .77.

Some modifications were made to the scale to make it appropriate for a Canadian sample. For example, any references to the president of the United States were changed to the Prime Minister of

Canada. Also, an open-ended item on Ford's full survey asked students to state what he/she aspires to be. An item on the ideology subscale referred back to this open-ended question; "If I work hard in school, I can become (fill in whatever occupation student answered on the open-ended questionnaire)." Given that the open-ended question was not asked in the current questionnaire, the latter statement was reworded as, "If I work hard in school, I can become what I want to be." Also, questions that did not fit with the 4-point rating scale were left out in order to simplify the demands on the respondents. Nine items from the ideology subscale were used in the current study. The alpha values for the Toronto, Halifax, and full samples, respectively, were .83, .81, and .82.

Principal factors extraction with varimax rotation was performed on items from a larger scale examining Black students' school attitudes, which was created for the current study. The following two cultural factors, i.e., Friend/Social versus Academic Orientation and Belief in the Possibility of Blacks Attaining Success, were extracted. The loading of the items on the factors are presented in Appendix E.

Friend/Social versus Academic Orientation

This 5-item scale, developed for the present study, was used to examine the degree to which students are oriented to academic achievement versus peers and social activities. The items, e.g., "My friends are more important than my getting good grades in school," were rated from "don't agree" (1) to "very much agree" (5). The higher the score, the more oriented students are to non-academic pursuits rather than to academic activities. Alpha values for the current sample were .76 for the Toronto participants, .73 for the Halifax participants, and .75 for all participants combined.

Belief in the Possibility of Blacks Attaining Success

This 6-item scale, developed for this study, contains statements which pertains to students' willingness to interact with others outside their cultural group, and their beliefs concerning the possibility of Blacks attaining success in Canada, e.g., "No matter how smart a Black person is, she/he will still not get a good job." The items were also rated on a 5-point scale from "don't agree" (1) to "very much agree" (5). The higher the score, the greater the belief that success for Blacks will

be elusive. Reliability analyses revealed the alphas for the current participants to be .70 for the Toronto, .76 for the Halifax, and .72 for the full sample.

Outcome Measures

The outcome variables are grades, educational ambitions (aspirations and expectations), and value of academic success. The following is a description of the way in which these were measured.

Average Marks

Two items included in the Demographic Questionnaire were used to measure students' average marks. Students were required to indicate on a letter scale, ranging from F to A+, their average grade throughout high school and their average grade received on their last report card. A numerical value of 1 was assigned to F and a value of 6 was assigned to A+ for the purposes of analysis.

Educational Ambitions

Two items taken from Fuligni (1997) were used to measure this construct. The first item asked students how far they expected to go in school (Educational Expectations) and the second item asked students how far they wished to go in school (Educational Aspirations). Students were given five choices ranging from "Finish some high school" (1) to "Graduate from law, medical or graduate school" (5). Minor modifications were made to the choices to fit within a Canadian context, i.e.; "graduate from a 4-year college" was changed to, "graduate from university."

Value of Academic Success

This scale was taken from Fuligni (1997). It includes the same 5 items as those on the parents' value of academic success scale with the difference that it was used to assess how strongly students themselves valued doing well and succeeding in school. Students rated each statement according to how important it was to them. The internal consistency was reported by Fuligni to be .86. The reliability of the scale for the four ethnic groups on which it was used ranged from .84 - .90. The alphas for the current participants are .87 for the Toronto participants, .85 for the Halifax participants, and .87 for the full sample.

4.3 Procedure

In Toronto, various organizations that exclusively served the Black community or that had large numbers of Black adolescent patrons were contacted and the nature and purpose of the study were presented to the directors or group leaders. The leaders or directors, in turn, spoke to potential participants and distributed consent forms (see Appendix F for the Toronto consent forms). Students under the age of sixteen were required to obtain parental consent as well as to give their own consent. These forms were returned prior to or on the day of the study. In optimal situations, I was able to meet with students ahead of time, discuss the study in detail, and answer any questions they had. The questionnaire was group administered and students were encouraged to offer verbal as well as written comments about the items on the questionnaire. Each student was assigned a code number to place on the questionnaire in order to ensure the confidentiality of his/her responses. The questionnaire required one to one and a half hours to complete. As the questionnaires were handed in, a research assistant and myself checked them for missing information.

The Halifax data was collected by a research assistant who resides in that city. This assistant has ties to the Black community through her volunteer work. The Halifax participants were recruited in a similar manner as the Toronto students. The consent forms used for the Halifax students were similar to those used for the Toronto students with only minor modifications.

After completing the questionnaire, all students were remunerated for their time. The data were collected between the summer of 1998 and the spring of 1999.

4.4 Description of Sample

Demographics

Country/Region of Birth

The majority of participants, 57.5% of the Toronto and 90.8% of the Halifax, was born in Canada. A significant percentage of the Toronto students, 28.8%, was born in the West Indies as compared to only 2.1% of the Halifax students. Only 8.1% of the Toronto students and 4.2% of the

Halifax students were born in Africa. The breakdown of the sample by country/region of birth is presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Country/Region of Birth of Participants

	Sample region	
Country/region of birth	Toronto	Halifax
Canada	164	129
West Indies	82	3
Africa	23	6
United States	8	2
Europe	4	0
Middle East	4	2
Missing	2	1
Total	287	143

Even though more than half of the Toronto students was born in Canada, only approximately 5% (N = 278) have at least one parent who was born in Canada. In contrast, 89.4% (N = 142) of the Halifax students have at least one parent who was born in Canada. The region/country of birth of participants' parents is presented in Table 2.

Table 2

Country/Region of Birth of Participants' Parents

	Toronto		Halifax	
Country/Region of Birth	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers
Canada	13	9	128	113
West Indies	235	223	4	10
Africa	32	33	7	11
United States	1	2	1	4
Europe	3	4	1	0
Middle East	1	1	1	1
South/Central America	0	1	0	0
Australia	0	1	0	0
Missing	2	13	1	4
Total	287	287	143	143

Gender

The gender distribution of the full sample was 209 male and 221 female students. The Toronto sample was composed of 135 male and 152 female students. The Halifax sample was composed of 74 male and 69 female students. Chi-square analysis revealed no significant difference in the proportion of male and female participants across the two regions, χ^2 (1, N = 430) = 0.85, $p > .05$. Similarly, the proportion of male and female participants did not differ significantly within each region: χ^2 (1, N = 287) = 1.01, $p > .05$, and χ^2 (1, N = 143) = 0.18, $p > .05$, for the Toronto and Halifax sample, respectively.

Age

The students ranged in age from 14 to 22 years old. An independent samples t-test did not reveal a significant difference between the mean ages of the Toronto sample (M = 17.10, SD = 1.43, N = 285) and the Halifax sample (M = 17.12, SD = 1.41, N = 142); t (425) = -0.15, $p > .05$. Gender

differences in age were also not significant. For the full sample male students, $M = 17.11$ ($SD = 1.51$, $N = 207$), and for the female students, $M = 17.10$ ($SD = 1.32$, $N = 220$); $t\ (410) = 0.08$, $p > .05$. The mean age of male ($SD = 1.55$, $N = 134$) and female ($SD = 1.32$, $N = 151$) participants in the Toronto sample was equivalent, $M = 17.10$; $t\ (263) = -0.01$. For the Halifax sample male students, $M = 17.14$ ($SD = 1.47$, $N = 73$), and for the female students, $M = 17.10$ ($SD = 1.35$, $N = 69$); $t\ (140) = 0.150$, $p > .05$.

Grade

The grade level of the participants ranged from 9 to OAC (Ontario Academic Credit). OAC's are university preparatory courses and students enrolled in these typically spend 5 years in high school (i.e., 1 year beyond grade 12). The OAC students are all from the Toronto sample. Unlike Ontario high schools, Nova Scotia high schools go up to grade 12. Fourteen participants, 10 from Toronto and 4 from Halifax, enrolled in courses at two different grade levels. These participants were classified in the lower of the two grades, i.e., students taking grade 9 and 10 courses were listed as being in grade 9. The largest proportion of the full sample was enrolled in grade 12 (31.9%). The largest proportion of the Toronto sample was in grade 12 (30.7%) and the largest proportion of the Halifax sample was in grade 10 (38.0%).

Chi-square analysis revealed a significant difference between the distribution of male and female students across grade for the full sample, $\chi^2\ (4, N = 429) = 10.39$, $p < .05$. An examination of the cells revealed a larger proportion of male than female students in the lower grades, i.e., the gender makeup of grades 9 and 10 combined was 60.7% male and 39.3% female. The gender proportion in the higher grades, 11 to OAC combined, was not as disparate, i.e., 44.2% male and 55.8% female. Regional comparisons were not made due to the fact that all of the OAC students were in the Toronto sample, which would make the results of the chi-square test difficult to interpret.

Given that the great disparity in the distribution of male and female students across grade levels appeared to hold mainly for grades 9 and 10, grade was dichotomized into "lower" and "higher" for the within region analyses. Grades 9 and 10 comprised the "lower" category and grades

11 to OAC comprised the "higher" category. An examination of the Toronto sample revealed a significant difference in the gender distribution across grades, χ^2 (1, N = 287) = 4.14, p < .05. The pattern for the Toronto sample mirrored that of the full sample, with male students constituting a larger proportion of the lower grades than female students, i.e., 60.4% versus 39.6%. In the higher grades, the percentages were more similar, 44.5% male and 55.6% female. Gender differences were also evident in the Halifax sample, χ^2 (1, N = 142) = 4.24, p < .05. The lower grades were comprised disproportionately of male students (60.9%) and the higher grades had a higher percentage of female than of male students (56.4% and 43.6%, respectively).

Parents' Educational Level

Participants were asked to list the highest education level obtained by their parents. Education level was ranked on a 5-point scale (1 = Elementary School, 2 = High School, 3 = College, 4 = University, 5 = Graduate School). Students were not asked how many years their parents completed at each level. Therefore, if a participant noted that his/her parent had a high school education, it is not known if that parent actually completed high school.

Very few parents were reported to have only an elementary education (defined as grades 1-8). The percentage was 8.6 for both mothers and fathers. The largest percentage of mothers (44.8%) and fathers (39.3%) were reported to have, at most, a high school education. The proportion of mothers reported to have attended college was 27.3% and for fathers it was 25.7%. Approximately 19.2% of mothers and 26.5% of fathers were reported to have a university education (undergraduate or graduate).

Chi-square analysis revealed differences in the distribution of mothers' education across regions, χ^2 (3, N = 417) = 31.52, p < .001. The greatest difference was apparent at the high school and college levels. The Toronto sample reported that 36.6% of their mothers had, at most, a high school education as compared to 61.0% of the Halifax sample. In contrast, 35.1% of the Toronto sample reported that their mothers had reached the college level as compared to 12.1% of the Halifax sample.

The percentages reported by the Toronto sample and Halifax sample for elementary (8.0% and 9.9%, respectively) and university (20.3%, and 17.0%, respectively) were similar. A similar pattern arose for fathers, χ^2 (3, N = 374) = 28.89, p < .001. The Toronto sample reported that 32.1% of their fathers had, at most, a high school education as compared to 52.7% of the Halifax sample. In contrast, the Toronto sample reported that 33.7% of their fathers had a college education as compared to 10.7% of the Halifax sample. The elementary education values for the Toronto sample and Halifax sample were, respectively, 7.0% and 11.5%, and the university education values, respectively, were 27.2% and 25.2%.

Mothers' and fathers' educational levels were compared with each other, within each region. In the Toronto sample, fathers had a higher education level than mothers in 72 cases; the reverse was true in 47 cases. However, in 122 cases, mothers and fathers had equivalent education levels. In the Halifax sample there were also more instances of fathers having a higher level of education than mothers (32 cases) than there were of mothers having a higher educational level than fathers (23 cases). In 75 cases they had equivalent levels of education.

Occupational Status[4]

Parents' occupation was coded using the Socioeconomic Index for Occupations in Canada (Blishen, Carroll, & Moore, 1987). Each occupation was assigned an index value; the higher the value, the higher the occupational status. Parents who were reported to be students and parents whose occupation was unclassifiable based on participants' description were removed from the occupational data set. Retirees, homemakers, the unemployed, and those on government assistance were left in.

[4] Regional and gender differences in parents' occupational status are presented in Appendix G.

The occupational indexes were grouped into class intervals. The higher the class interval, the greater the occupational status. A total of seven class intervals were created for this particular sample. The first interval consists of the non-workforce group and the seventh interval consists of professionals. The interval schedules employed in the current study is somewhat different from that created by Blishen and McRoberts (1976). Blishen and McRoberts created six groupings; individuals not in the workforce were excluded. Such individuals were included in the current study and a separate category created for them. It was believed that important information about the socioeconomic status of the participants would be lost if parents not currently in the workforce were omitted.

As noted earlier, the first class interval consisted of those out of the workforce (e.g., the unemployed, homemakers, and those on government assistance). The second class interval included jobs such as those in the food services industry, janitorial work, and taxi driver. Class interval three included employment as factory workers, plumbers, and bus drivers. The fourth class interval included electricians, mechanics, and supervisory positions. Class interval five included nurses, bookkeepers, and health inspectors. Class interval six included city planners, computer engineers, counsellors, social workers, and managerial positions. Finally, class interval seven included employment as university professors, architects, and doctors.

The largest percentage of mothers, overall, were in the lowest occupational status group (28.6%), the non-labour market category, and the second largest percentage of mothers was in the fifth class interval (21.9%). The largest percentage of fathers was in the second class interval (31.8%) and the second largest proportion of fathers was in interval four (18.2%). The highest class interval for mothers was interval six and that for fathers was interval seven. Only 7.9% of mothers and 3.1% of fathers were in their highest occupational class intervals, interval six and interval seven, respectively.

When regional occupational stratification was examined, the largest percentage of Toronto mothers was found to be in the fifth class interval (24.2%). A similar percentage of Toronto mothers

was in the first (22.7%) and third (22.2%) class intervals. The largest percentage of mothers in the Halifax sample was in class interval one (39.8%) and the second largest was in category five (17.6%). Of the Toronto fathers, 27.0% were reported to be in interval two and the second largest percentage was in category four (23.9%). In the Halifax sample, the largest proportion of fathers (39.4%) was in interval two and the second largest (28.3%) was in interval one. Of the eight fathers in their highest occupational interval, five were from Halifax sample and the remaining three were from Toronto. Of the 25 mothers in their highest occupational interval, 19 were from Toronto and six were from Halifax (see Table 3 for the percentages of parents in each class interval).

Table 3

Percentage of Parents in Each Occupational Class Interval

	Toronto		Halifax		Full Sample	
	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Fathers
Class interval 1	22.7	8.2	39.8	28.3	28.6	15.9
Class interval 2	10.6	27.0	13.9	39.4	11.7	31.8
Class interval 3	22.2	18.2	10.2	10.1	18.1	15.1
Class interval 4	11.1	23.9	13.0	9.1	11.7	18.2
Class interval 5	24.2	9.4	17.6	3.0	21.9	7.0
Class interval 6	9.2	11.3	5.6	5.1	7.9	8.9
Class interval 7	0.0	1.9	0.0	5.1	0.0	3.1
n	207	159	108	99	315	258

Many of the students were unable to provide useful, codeable descriptions of their parents' occupations. Given the potential inaccuracies in students' reports of their parents' employment, and the information that would be lost by omission of uncodeable cases, parents' educational level rather than parents' occupational status was used as the key demographic variable in the subsequent analyses.

Parental Influences

Parents' Educational Aspirations

It is important to note that 79.5% of parents in the total sample were reported by participants to have university aspirations for them. According to their off-spring, 44.9% wished for their children to obtain an undergraduate degree and 34.6% wished for their children to obtain a graduate degree. Only 13.1% had college aspirations and 7.4% had high school aspirations for their children (1.6%, were reported to wish that their children finish some high school, and 5.8% wished for their children to graduate from high school).

In the Toronto sample, 3.8% of parents were reported to have high school aspirations for their children (0.7% for completing some high school and 3.1% for graduating from high school). Of the Toronto students, 13.6% reported that their parents had college aspirations and 82.6% reported that their parents had university aspirations for them (42.5% for an undergraduate degree and 40.1% for a graduate degree). Finally, 14.8% of Halifax parents were reported to have high school aspirations for their children (3.5% to finish some high school and 11.3% to graduate from high school). Halifax participants reported that 12.1% of their parents had college aspirations for them and 73% of parents were reported by the Halifax students to have university aspirations (49.6% wished for their children to have an undergraduate degree and 23.4% wished for their children to have a graduate degree).

Parental Emphasis on Achievement

As noted earlier, five questions on the Parental Emphasis on Achievement scale were repeated for each parent. This allowed for a determination of the number of parents who were involved in participants' educational activities. If a value greater than one was chosen for either parent for any of the 5 questions pertaining to that parent, the parent was considered as being involved in the child's academic life. The majority of participants, 67.8%, reported that both of their parents were involved to some extent in their education. A smaller percentage, 28.7%, reported that their mother alone was involved and only 2.1% reported that their father alone was involved in their academic lives.

Parental Emphasis on Achievement: active parental involvement. The Parental Emphasis on Achievement scale is the only one of the parental scales that included items eliciting information on active parental involvement rather than just parental attitudes. The items on the measure that referred specifically to active parental involvement were identified using a judgmental process, and extracted, i.e., items 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, and 10. The reliability for these 8 items was found to be .84. A univariate analysis of variance was carried out to determine if there were any gender or regional differences in how actively parents were involved in their children's school lives. No gender differences were obtained; however, the Halifax sample reported significantly greater active parental involvement than did the Toronto sample. The analysis is presented in Appendix H.

Outcome Variables

Average Marks

As noted earlier, there were two self-reported measures of marks, average mark throughout school and average mark on last report card. The distributions for both average mark throughout school and average mark on the last report card are quite similar. The largest percentage of students reported their average mark throughout school (40.9%) and on their last report card (36.2%) to be a B. A grade of C was reported by 31.8% of students as the average mark received on their last report card and by 32.8% of students as their average mark throughout school. An average grade of D on their last report card was reported by 12.0% of the students and it was reported as their average grade throughout school by 9.3% of students. Few students reported receiving an average grade of F, either on their last report card (3.1%) or as their average mark throughout school (0.5%). Approximately 15.1% reported an average grade of A on their last report card and 15.2% reported receiving an average grade of A throughout school. Finally, only 1.9% reported receiving an A+ as their most recent average on their last report card and 1.4% reported having an A+ average throughout school.

Educational Ambitions

The largest percentage of students aspired to a university education (36.9% for an undergraduate degree and 45.6% for a graduate degree). When expectations were compared,

however, a similar percentage of students who aspired to an undergraduate degree expected to obtain one (38.5%) but only 29.8% expected to obtain a graduate degree. Few students had community college aspirations (13.7%) but 23.7% expected to obtain a community college education. Even fewer students aspired (0.9%) or expected (0.9%) to obtain only some high school education. Similarly, few students aspired to (2.8%) or expected (6.8%) to only complete high school.

Chapter 5: Gender and Regional Differences

The first set of analyses conducted on the data focused on gender and regional differences in academic outcomes: peer influences, parental variables, and cultural variables. A series of MANOVAs and an ANOVA were used for these purposes.

Prior to carrying out the actual analyses, screening runs were completed to test the normality of the distributions of the variables and homogeneity of variance-covariance matrices. Seven of the distributions were found to be skewed, i.e., those for parents' value of academic success, students' value of academic success, ideology, friend/social versus academic orientation, both parents' and students' educational aspirations, and belief in the possibility of Blacks attaining success. The non-normality of these variables resulted in the failure of homogeneity of variance-covariance matrices. Five of the variables were transformed in order to remedy the failure of normality and of homogeneity of variance-covariance matrices. Parents' value of academic success was squared, while students' value of academic success was cubed. The outliers were dropped from both ideology and friend/social versus academic orientation, and a cube transformation applied to the former and a natural log transformation applied to the latter. Finally, a natural log transformation was applied to belief in the possibility of blacks attaining success. The untransformed means of these variables will be reported in subsequent tables. Both the parents' and students' educational aspirations variables were collapsed into three categories (college and less, university, and postgraduate) in order to improve normality and remedy the violation of the assumption of homogeneity of variance-covariance matrices.

At the end of this chapter are additional analyses. The first explores the influence of parent's educational level on educational outcomes. Parents' educational level was collapsed into three categories: high school or less, college, and university, and consisted of the higher of either mothers' or fathers' educational level. The second examines the role of country/region of birth in students' reported parent and peer support, cultural attitudes/beliefs, and educational outcomes.

5.1 Gender and Regional Differences in Parental Support for Education

A 2 x 2 between - subjects multivariate analysis of variance was performed on the four parental variables: parents' value of academic success, high parental expectations, parental emphasis on achievement, and parents' educational aspirations. The independent variables (IVs) were gender (male and female) and region (Toronto and Halifax). Results of the evaluation of homogeneity of covariance matrices, using Box's M test, was satisfactory [F (30, 196062) = 1.16, $p > .05$)].

According to Wilks' Lambda statistic, the combined dependent variables (DVs) were found to be significantly related to both gender, F (4, 338) = 2.88, $p < .05$, and region, F (4, 338) = 13.67, $p < .001$, but not to their interaction, F (4, 338) = 1.00, $p > .05$. Female participants and the Toronto students reported overall greater parental support than male participants and the Halifax students, respectively.

Univariate analyses revealed a significant main effect of gender on parents' educational aspirations, F (1, 341) = 9.72, $p < .01$, and on value of academic success, F (1, 341) = 5.11, $p < .05$, with female students reporting higher parental educational aspirations and greater parental valuation of academic success than male students. Significant regional differences were found for parental educational aspirations, F (1, 341) = 12.08, $p < .01$; for high parental expectations, F (1, 341) = 48.9, $p < .001$; and for parents' value of academic success, F (1, 341) = 25.33, $p < .001$, with the Toronto students reporting higher levels of these than the Halifax students. Descriptive data are provided in Table 4.

Table 4

Descriptive Statistics for Gender and Regional Differences in Parental Support for Education

		Toronto		Halifax		Gender		Region	
		Male students	Female students	Male students	Female students	Male students	Female students	Toronto students	Halifax students
Parental emphasis on achievement (15 – 75)	M	43.64	45.03	44.33	43.87	43.91	44.63	44.37	44.11
	SD	11.34	11.04	10.83	11.50	11.12	11.18	11.18	11.11
	n	104	115	66	60	170	175	219	126
Parents' value of academic success (6 – 30)	M	26.37	27.59	24.02	25.08	25.45	26.73	27.01	24.52
	SD	4.95	3.73	5.23	5.05	5.18	4.38	4.38	5.15
	n	104	115	66	60	170	175	219	126
Parents' educational aspirations (1 – 3)	M	2.03	2.43	1.89	2.00	1.98	2.28	2.24	1.94
	SD	0.73	0.71	0.75	0.69	0.74	0.73	0.75	0.72
	n	104	115	66	60	170	175	219	126
High parental expectations (3 – 15)	M	11.17	11.66	9.05	9.15	10.35	10.80	11.43	9.10
	SD	2.66	2.8	3.15	3.51	3.03	3.28	2.74	3.32
	n	104	115	66	60	170	175	219	126

Note: The range of scores attainable for each variable is provided in parentheses.

5.2 Gender and Regional Differences in Educational Outcomes

A 2 x 2 between - subjects multivariate analysis of variance was performed on the four outcome variables: average mark on last report card, educational expectations, educational aspirations, and value of academic success. The independent variables were gender (male and female) and region (Toronto and Halifax). Results of the evaluation of homogeneity of covariance matrices, using Box's M test, were satisfactory [F (30, 232183) = 1.33, $p > .05$)].

According to Wilks' Lambda statistic, the combined DVs were significantly affected by gender, F (4, 410) = 4.39, $p < .01$, and region, F (4, 410) = 17.71, $p < .001$, with female students and Toronto students reporting greater academic outcomes than male students and Halifax students, respectively. The gender by region interaction was not significant, F (4, 410) = 0.8, $p > .05$.

Univariate analyses revealed significant gender main effects for all four DVs: average mark on last report card, F (1, 413) = 5.66, $p < .05$; educational expectations, F (1, 413) = 9.19, $p < .01$; educational aspirations, F (1, 413) = 8.91, $p < .01$; and value of academic success, F (1, 413) = 11.48, $p < .01$. Female students reported higher average marks, greater educational expectations and aspirations, and greater valuation of academic success than did male students.

Significant regional main effects for three of the four DVs were obtained: average mark on last report card, F (1, 413) = 32.09, $p < .001$; educational expectations, F (1, 413) = 6.12, $p < .05$; and value of academic success, F (1, 413) = 43.56, $p < .001$, with Toronto students reporting higher average marks, greater educational expectations, and greater value of academic success than did the Halifax students. The gender by region interactions were not significant. The descriptive statistics are presented in Table 5.

Table 5

Descriptive Statistics for Gender and Regional Differences in Educational Outcomes

		Toronto		Halifax		Gender		Region	
		Male students	Female students	Male students	Female students	Male students	Female students	Toronto students	Halifax students
Average mark on last report card (1 – 6)	M	3.57	3.89	3.06	3.22	3.38	3.69	3.74	3.14
	SD	0.93	0.92	1.01	1.28	0.98	1.08	0.93	1.14
	n	129	149	72	67	201	216	278	139
Educational expectations (1 – 5)	M	3.77	4.17	3.64	3.82	3.72	4.06	3.98	3.73
	SD	0.92	0.87	0.92	1.04	0.92	0.94	0.91	0.98
	n	129	149	72	67	201	216	278	139
Educational aspirations (1 – 3)	M	2.11	2.46	2.21	2.31	2.14	2.41	2.30	2.26
	SD	0.78	0.68	0.77	0.68	0.78	0.68	0.75	0.73
	n	129	149	72	67	201	216	278	139
Value of academic success (6 – 30)	M	25.39	26.95	22.31	24.07	24.28	26.06	26.23	23.16
	SD	4.69	3.70	5.34	4.63	5.13	4.22	4.25	5.07
	n	129	149	72	67	201	216	278	139

Note: The range of scores attainable for each variable is provided in parentheses.

5.3 Gender and Regional Differences in Cultural Beliefs/Attitudes

A 2 x 2 between - subjects multivariate analysis of variance was performed on the three cultural variables: ideology, friend/social versus academic orientation, and belief in the possibility of Blacks attaining success. The independent variables were gender (male and female) and region (Toronto and Halifax). Results of the evaluation of homogeneity of covariance matrices using Box's M test revealed that this assumption was not met [F (18, 279297) = 2.40, $p < .01$]. The results of the MANOVA, therefore, must be interpreted with caution.

According to Wilks' Lambda statistic, the combined DVs were significantly related to both gender, F (3, 395) = 11.94, $p < .001$, and region, F (3, 395) = 8.48, $p < .001$, with female and Toronto students, in general, reporting more educationally affirming cultural beliefs than male and Halifax students, respectively. No significant gender by region interaction was apparent.

The univariate tests revealed significant gender main effects for ideology, F (1, 397) = 18.46, $p < .001$ and for friend/social versus academic orientation, F (1, 397) = 27.96, $p < .001$, with female students reporting greater beliefs in the achievement ideology and male students reporting greater orientation to friends/social activities than to academics.

Significant regional main effects were found also for ideology F (1, 397) = 19.8, $p < .001$, and for friend/social versus academic orientation F (1, 397) = 14.4, $p < .001$, with Toronto students expressing greater beliefs in the achievement ideology and Halifax students reporting greater orientation to friend/social activities rather than to academic achievement. A significant gender by region interaction was found for belief in the possibility of Blacks attaining success, F (1, 397) = 4.12, $p < .05$, with Toronto male and Halifax female participants expressing greater doubts about the opportunity for Blacks to attain success in Canada. Descriptive data are presented in Table 6.

Table 6

Descriptive Statistics for Gender and Regional Differences in Cultural Beliefs/Attitudes

		Toronto		Halifax		Gender		Region	
		Male students	Female students	Male students	Female students	Male students	Female students	Toronto students	Halifax students
Ideology (9 – 36)	M	30.36	32.92	29.00	30.30	29.87	32.09	31.74	29.63
	SD	4.78	3.30	4.87	4.82	4.85	4.03	4.24	4.87
	n	122	142	71	66	193	208	264	137
Friend/social versus academic orientation (5 – 25)	M	9.93	7.68	11.08	9.25	10.36	8.18	8.72	10.20
	SD	4.14	2.92	3.92	3.75	4.08	3.28	3.70	3.93
	n	122	142	71	66	193	208	264	137
Belief in the possibility of Blacks attaining success (6 – 30)	M	13.99	12.17	13.80	14.26	13.92	12.83	13.01	14.02
	SD	5.01	3.96	5.18	5.20	5.06	4.49	4.56	5.18
	n	122	142	71	66	193	208	264	137

Note: The range of scores attainable for each variable is provided in parentheses.

5.4 Regional and Gender Differences in Peer Support for Academics

A 2 x 2 one-way analysis of variance was performed on peer support for academics. The independent variables were gender and region. F_{max} was computed to test for the assumption of homogeneity of variance. The ratio of the largest cell variance to the smallest was less than 2 to 1. This is much smaller than the ration of 10 to 1 that is considered acceptable, especially if the ratio between the smallest and largest cell size is 4 to 1 or less (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996).

Significant main effects for both gender, $F(1, 425) = 16.54$, $p < .001$, and region, $F(1, 425) = 8.67$, $p < .01$, were found, with female and Toronto students reporting greater peer support for academics than male and Halifax students, respectively. No significant gender by region interaction was found. Descriptive statistics for the interaction and main effects are presented in Table 7.

Table 7

Descriptive Statistics for Gender and Regional Differences in Peer Support for Academics

		Toronto		Halifax		Gender		Region	
		Male students	Female students	Male students	Female students	Male students	Female students	Toronto students	Halifax students
Peer support for Academics (4 – 20)	M	13.04	15.26	12.36	13.50	12.80	14.71	14.21	12.91
	SD	4.29	3.61	4.54	3.69	4.38	3.72	4.09	4.18
	n	135	152	74	68	209	220	287	142

Note: The range of scores attainable for the peer support variable is provided in parentheses.

Additional Analyses

5.5 Differences in Academic Outcomes by Parents' Educational Level

A between - subjects multivariate analysis of variance was performed on the four outcome variables: average mark on last report card, educational expectations, educational aspirations, and value of academic success. The independent variable was parents' educational level (high school or less, college, and university). Results of the evaluation of homogeneity of covariance matrices, using Box's M test, was satisfactory [F (20, 550702) = 1.13, $p > .05$)].

According to Wilks' Lambda statistic, the combined DVs were not found to be significantly related to the independent variable, F (8, 802) = 1.66, $p > .05$. The univariate analyses revealed no significant main effect of parents' educational level for any of the academic outcome variables. The descriptive statistics are presented in Table 8. This analysis was repeated using SES instead of parents' educational level. It is presented in Appendix I.

Table 8

Mean Differences in Educational Outcomes by Parents' Educational Level

	High school			College			University		
Dependent variables	M	SD	n	M	SD	n	M	SD	n
Average mark on last report card (1 – 6)	3.37	1.1	152	3.60	0.94	122	3.66	1.07	133
Educational expectations (1 – 5)	3.84	0.97	152	3.84	0.93	122	4.05	0.91	133
Educational aspirations (1 – 3)	2.29	0.72	152	2.21	0.75	122	2.40	0.73	133
Value of academic success (6 – 30)	24.66	4.81	152	25.43	4.87	122	25.59	4.61	133

Note: The range of scores attainable for each variable is provided in parentheses.

5.6 Country/Region of Birth Differences in Educational Outcomes

The majority of participants were born in Canada as noted in Table 1. However, many of those born here have ancestry in the Caribbean or Africa. Given Waters (1994) finding of generational differences in the attitudes and expectations of Caribbean immigrants in New York city and the cultural differences in school behaviour and attitudes found by Cheng et al. (1993), country/region of birth was examined to determine if it influenced students' educational outcomes. The students were divided into four groups: Canadian-born with Canadian-born parents (Canadian/Canadian); Canadian-born with Caribbean-born parents (Canadian/Caribbean); Caribbean-born with Caribbean-born parents (Caribbean/Caribbean); and African-born with African-born parents (African/African). In each case, both mother and father were born in the same region or country. Students whose parents were born in different countries/regions, e.g., mother born in the Caribbean and father born in Africa, were excluded since it was not known which parent's cultural value is dominant in the home, and thus, which group to assign the students to.

Between-subjects multivariate analyses of variance were conducted with region/country of birth as the IV and educational outcomes, parental support for education, and cultural attitudes/beliefs, as the DVs. An ANOVA was conducted with peer support as the DV. The means and standard deviations for the analyses are reported in Tables 9-12.

Educational Outcomes (see Table 9)

According to Wilks' Lambda statistic, the combined DVs were significantly related to country/region of birth, $F(12, 895) = 6.51$, $p < .01$. Univariate analyses revealed significant main effects for all four outcomes: value of academic success, $F(3, 341) = 15.5$, $p < .001$; average mark on last report card, $F(3, 341) = 7.2$, $p < .001$; educational aspirations, $F(3, 341) = 3.15$, $p < .05$; and educational expectations, $F(3, 341) = 5.51$, $p < .01$. Post hoc testing using Tukey B revealed the following: the Canadian/Canadian group reported placing significantly less value on academic success than the other groups; the Canadian/Canadian group reported receiving lower average marks than the other groups; the Caribbean/Caribbean group reported significantly lower aspirations than

the African/African group; and the African/African group reported significantly higher educational expectations than the other groups.

Parental Support for Education (Table 10)

According to Wilk's Lambda Statistic the combined DVs were significant, F (12, 762) = 6.54, p < .001. Univariate analyses reveal significant main effects for parents' value of academic success, F (3, 291) = 11.4, p < .001; parents' educational aspirations, F (3, 291) = 8.75, p < .001; and parents' expectations of high academic achievement, F (3, 291) = 18.97, p < .001. Post hoc testing using Tukey B revealed that the Canadian/Canadian group reported significantly less parental value placed on academic success than the other groups, while the African/African group reported significantly greater parental value placed on academic success than the Caribbean/Caribbean group. The African/African group reported significantly higher parental aspirations than the other three groups. Finally, the Canadian/Canadian group reported significantly lower parental expectations of high academic achievement than the other three. No group differences for parental emphasis on achievement were found.

Peer Support for Academics (see Table 11)

A significant main effect for country/region of birth was found, F (3, 352) = 6.5, p < .001. Post hoc testing using Tukey B revealed that the African/African group reported significantly higher peer support for academic effort than the other groups.

Cultural Beliefs/Attitudes (see Table 12)

According to Wilk's Lambda Statistic the combined DVs were significant, F (9, 794) = 3.92, p < .001. Univariate analyses revealed main effects for ideology, F (3, 328) = 9.24, p < .01 and friend/social versus academic orientation, F (3, 328) = 4.94, p < .01. Post hoc testing using Tukey B revealed that the Canadian/Canadian group reported significantly weaker belief in the achievement ideology than the other groups. The African/African group reported significantly less orientation to friends/social activities than to academics than the other groups.

In general, it appears that the African/African students are faring better than other students in terms of parental and peer support, cultural beliefs/attitudes, and educational outcomes. In contrast, the Canadian/Canadian students appearing to be faring worse than the other students.

It should be noted that the assumption of homogeneity of covariance matrices was not always met, i.e., for the educational outcomes and the parental support for education analyses. In addition, there was great disparity in the cell sizes; therefore, the results must be interpreted with caution.

Table 9

Descriptive Statistics for Country/Region of Birth Differences in Educational Outcomes

		Canadian/Canadian (n = 114)	Canadian/Caribbean (n = 131)	Caribbean/Caribbean (n = 74)	African/African (n = 26)
Dependent variables					
Average mark on last report card (1 – 6)	M	3.15	3.64	3.76	3.73
	SD	1.20	0.98	0.86	0.92
Educational expectations (1 – 5)	M	3.68	3.99	3.77	4.42
	SD	1.02	0.90	0.93	0.58
Educational aspirations (1 – 3)	M	2.28	2.32	2.10	2.58
	SD	0.71	0.74	0.81	0.50
Value of academic success (6 – 30)	M	22.86	25.79	26.05	27.39
	SD	4.89	4.44	4.81	3.66

Note: The range of scores attainable for each variable is presented in parentheses.

Table 10

Descriptive Statistics for Country/Region of Birth Differences in Parental Support for Education

		Canadian/Canadian (n =104)	Canadian/Caribbean (n = 113)	Caribbean/Caribbean (n = 60)	African/African (n = 18)
Dependent variables					
Parental emphasis on achievement (15 – 75)	M	44.59	44.69	43.72	47.94
	SD	11.12	10.63	12.71	8.15
Parents' value of academic success (6 – 30)	M	24.02	27.04	26.28	28.83
	SD	5.35	4.21	5.26	2.23
Parents' educational aspirations (1 – 3)	M	1.9	2.21	2.08	2.78
	SD	0.7	0.73	0.81	0.43
High parental expectations (3 - 15)	M	8.65	11.28	11.47	11.83
	SD	3.27	2.89	2.7	2.92

Note: The range of scores attainable for each variable is presented in parentheses.

Table 11

Descriptive Statistics for Country/Region of Birth Differences in Peer Support for Academics

		Canadian /Canadian (n = 117)	Canadian/Caribbean (n = 135)	Caribbean/Caribbean (n = 78)	African/African (n = 26)
Dependent variables					
Peer support for Academics (4 – 20)	M	13.16	13.9	14.24	16.96
	SD	4.06	4.0	4.1	3.9

Note: The range of scores attainable for each variable is presented in parentheses.

Table 12

Descriptive Statistics for Country/Region of Birth Differences in Cultural Beliefs/Attitudes

		Canadian/Canadian (n =112)	Canadian/Caribbean (n = 125)	Caribbean/Caribbean (n = 70)	African/African (n = 25)
Dependent variables					
Ideology (9 – 36)	M	29.48	31.74	31.60	33.28
	SD	4.64	4.11	4.64	3.10
Friend/social versus academic orientation (5 – 25)	M	10.13	8.77	8.81	7.76
	SD	3.88	3.51	4.30	2.95
Belief in the possibility of Blacks attaining success (6 – 30)	M	13.77	12.99	13.80	12.68
	SD	5.21	4.4	4.65	5.51

Note: The range of scores possible for each variable is presented in parentheses.

Chapter 6: Prediction of Educational Outcomes from Family, Peer, and Cultural Variables

Hierarchical multiple regressions were conducted to examine how well the demographic (i.e., parents' educational level), parent, peer, and cultural variables predicted academic outcome. The predictor variables were entered in blocks, with the demographic variable constituting one block, the peer variable constituting another block, the four parent variables constituting a third block, and the cultural variables constituting a fourth block.

The demographic variable was entered first and constituted Model 1. Entering parents' educational level first made it possible to determine how much additional variance the other variables explained. The parental variables were entered next as they were expected to have a strong influence on various behaviours and attitudes in adolescents, including educational outcomes. The parental variables along with the demographic variable composed Model 2. The peer variable was entered third, as peers were also believed to be influential and it, in addition to the previous variables, composed Model 3. Finally, the cultural variables were entered as the final block since these are relatively new variables and their influences are not well known. All the variables together composed Model 4. Given the large number of predictor variables and, therefore, the need for a large sample size, the analyses were carried out using the combined sample (both the Toronto sample and Halifax sample), rather than by region. Each analysis was run separately for male and female students, however. The transformed variables and the non-collapsed version of the parental educational level variable (i.e., elementary, secondary, college, undergraduate, and graduate) were used.

The regression analyses were carried out a second time but with male and female students combined. The results are presented in Appendix J. In another set of regression analyses, SES was used as the defining demographic variable instead of parental educational level; those results are presented in Appendix K.

Prior to conducting the regression analyses, the zero-order correlations among the variables were examined (Appendix L). A stronger regression result is obtained if the IVs are strongly correlated with the DVs but uncorrelated with each other (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996). Although

some of the IVs were significantly correlated with each other, their r values were quite small. Correlation values greater than .6 would be cause for concern, but as is evident in Appendix L, the correlations were not very strong. Therefore, it is justifiable to include all of the predictor variables in the regression.

6.1 Predictive Value of the Demographic, Parent, Peer, and Cultural Variables

Educational Aspirations

R^2 was not significantly different from zero for Model 1 (i.e., the demographic variable only), but it was significantly different from zero after each of the other sets of variables were entered, parental, peer, and cultural. After all the variables were entered, multiple $R^2 = .33$, F (9, 145) = 8.04, $p < .001$ for male participants and multiple $R^2 = .31$, F (9, 151) = 7.65, $p < .001$ for female participants. The set of variables accounted for 33% of the variance in educational aspirations for male students and 31% for female students.

The increment in R^2 was significant only for the addition of the parental variables to the equation for both male and female students; the peer and cultural variables did not add significantly to the strength of the prediction. Of the parental variables, only parental emphasis on achievement and parental aspirations contributed to the prediction of academic outcomes for male students and only parents' aspirations contributed significantly to the prediction of academic outcomes for female students. The regression statistics are presented in Table 13.

Table 13

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analyses for Variables Predicting Students' Educational Aspirations

		Male students (n = 155)					Female students (n = 161)				
Step	Variables	t	R^2	ΔR^2	F	ΔF	t	R^2	ΔR^2	F	ΔF
1			0.00	0.00	0.29	0.29		0.02	0.02	2.53	2.53
	EDUC	-0.54					1.59				
2			0.33	0.33	14.57**	18.11**		0.30	0.28	13.27**	15.72**
	PAREMP	2.44*					0.31				
	PAREXP	-0.82					0.05				
	PARASP	7.31**					6.38**				
	PARVAL	-0.07					0.99				
3			0.33	0.00	12.19**	0.51		0.30	0.00	11.06**	0.31
	PEERS	-0.72					0.56				
4			0.33	0.00	8.04**	0.16		0.31	0.01	7.65**	0.89
	IDEOL	-0.46					0.31				
	ORIENT	-0.38					1.55				
	BELIEFS	-0.35					-0.28				

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

Note: EDUC = Parents' educational level. PAREMP = Parental emphasis on achievement. PAREXP = High parental expectations. PARASP = Parents' educational aspirations. PARVAL = Parents' value of academic success. PEERS = Peer support for academics. IDEOL = Ideology. ORIENT = Friend/social versus academic orientation. BELIEFS = Belief in the possibility of Blacks attaining success.

Educational Expectations

R^2 was not significantly different from zero for Model 1 (with parents' educational level only), but it was significantly different from zero for Models 2, 3, and 4. After all the variables were entered, multiple $R^2 = .31$, $F(9, 145) = 7.35$, $p < .001$ for male participants, and multiple $R^2 = .31$, $F(9, 151) = 7.46$, $p < .001$ for female students. The set of variables predicted 31% of the variance in educational expectations for male students and 31% for female students.

The increment in R^2 was significant only for the addition of the parental variables to the equation for both male and female participants. No further significant increment was found after that. Of the parental variables, only parents' educational aspirations contributed to the prediction of academic outcomes for male participants. Parents' educational aspirations, parental emphasis on achievement, and belief in the possibility of Blacks attaining success all contributed to the prediction of academic outcomes for female participants. The regression statistics are presented in Table 14.

Table 14

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analyses for Variables Predicting Students' Educational Expectations

		Male students (n = 155)					Female students (n = 161)				
Step	Variables	t	R^2	ΔR^2	F	ΔF	t	R^2	ΔR^2	F	ΔF
1			0.02	0.02	3.21	3.21		0.01	0.01	1.31	1.31
	EDUC	1.79					1.14				
2			0.29	0.27	12.43**	14.45**		0.28	0.27	12.12**	14.71**
	PAREMP	0.68					2.07*				
	PAREXP	1.01					0.95				
	PARASP	6.01**					6.27**				
	PARVAL	0.54					-1.03				
3			0.31	0.02	11.20**	3.87		0.28	0.00	10.12**	0.37
	PEERS	1.97					0.61				
4			0.31	0.00	7.35**	0.07		0.31	0.03	7.46**	1.82
	IDEOL	0.41					-0.14				
	ORIENT	0.26					0.18				
	BELIEFS	0.02					-2.30*				

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

Note: EDUC = Parents' educational level. PAREMP = Parental emphasis on achievement. PAREXP = High parental expectations.

PARASP = Parents' educational aspirations. PARVAL = Parents' value of academic success. PEERS = Peer support for academics.

IDEOL = Ideology. ORIENT = Friend/social versus academic orientation. BELIEFS = Belief in the possibility of Blacks attaining success.

Average Mark on Last Report Card

R^2 was significantly different from zero for Models 2, 3, and 4 for male and for female students. After all the variables were entered, multiple $R^2 = .17$, $F\ (9, 143) = 3.24$, $p < .01$ for male students and multiple $R^2 = .15$, $F\ (9, 150) = 2.98$, $p < .01$ for female students. The set of variables predicted 17% of the variability in average mark on last report card for male and 15% for female participants.

After Step 1, with parents' educational level in the equation, the increment in R^2 was not significant. In Model 2, with the parental variables added to the regression, the increment in R^2 was significant. This was true for both male and female participants. Addition of the peer and cultural variable did not significantly increase R^2. Of the parental variables, only parental emphasis on achievement contributed to the prediction of academic outcomes for male students and parental emphasis on achievement and high parental expectations contributed to the prediction of academic outcomes for female students (see Table 15 for the regression figures).

Table 15

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analyses for Variables Predicting Students' Average Mark on Last Report Card

		Male Students (n = 153)					Female students (n = 160)				
Step	Variables	t	R^2	ΔR^2	F	ΔF	t	R^2	ΔR^2	F	ΔF
1			0.00	0.00	0.17	0.17		0.02	0.02	2.86	2.86
	EDUC	042					1.69				
2			0.16	0.16	5.71**	7.08**		0.13	0.11	4.54**	4.89**
	PAREMP	3.36**					3.01**				
	PAREXP	1.94					1.99*				
	PARASP	0.23					1.63				
	PARVAL	1.23					-1.84				
3			0.16	0.00	4.75**	0.10		0.13	0.00	3.81**	0.29
	PEERS	-0.32					0.54				
4			0.17	0.01	3.24**	0.37		0.15	0.02	2.98**	1.26
	IDEOL	0.42					-0.77				
	ORIENT	-0.68					-1.32				
	BELIEFS	0.98					-1.09				

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

Note: EDUC = Parents' educational level. PAREMP = Parental emphasis on achievement. PAREXP = High parental expectations. PARASP = Parents' educational aspirations. PARVAL = Parents' value of academic success. PEERS = Peer support for academics. IDEOL = Ideology. ORIENT = Friend/social versus academic orientation. BELIEFS = Belief in the possibility of Blacks attaining success.

Value of Academic Success

R^2 was not significantly different from zero with the demographic variable alone in the equation for male participants; however, it was significantly different from zero for all subsequent models. In contrast, R^2 was significantly different from zero for female participants after each variable or set of variables was entered. After all the variables were entered, multiple $R^2 = .62$, $F(9, 143) = 26.32$, $p < .001$ for male students and multiple $R^2 = .49$, $F(9, 151) = 15.88$, $p < .001$ for female students. The set of variables predicted 62% of the variance in value of academic success for male and 49% for female participants.

For male students, the increment in R^2 was significant in Models 2 and 3, when the parental variables and the peer variables were added, respectively. A different pattern emerged for female participants. The increment in R^2 was significant in Model 1 for the demographic variable, in Model 2 when the parent variables were added, and in Model 4 when the cultural variables were added. The addition of peer support for academics, in contrast, did not significantly increase the predictive power of the set of variables in the female students' data.

For the male participants, parental emphasis on achievement, parents' value of academic success, and peer support for academics all contributed significantly to the prediction of academic outcomes. For female students, the demographic variable, the parental variables, with the exception of parental emphasis on achievement, and the friend/social versus academic orientation variable contributed significantly to the prediction of academic outcomes. The regression statistics are presented in Table 16.

Table 16

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analyses for Variables Predicting Students' Value of Academic Success

		Male students (n = 153)					Female students (n = 161)				
Step	Variables	t	R^2	ΔR^2	F	ΔF	t	R^2	ΔR^2	F	ΔF
1			0.01	0.01	1.31	1.31		0.03	0.03	4.83*	4.83*
	EDUC	1.15					2.20*				
2			0.59	0.58	42.42**	52.25**		0.40	0.37	20.85**	24.15**
	PAREMP	4.65**					1.46				
	PAREXP	1.19					2.68**				
	PARASP	1.75					2.05*				
	PARVAL	8.46**					4.43**				
3			0.62	0.03	39.57**	10.94**		0.41	0.01	17.59**	1.18
	PEERS	3.31**					-1.09				
4			0.62	0.00	26.32**	0.55		0.49	0.08	15.88**	7.81**
	IDEOL	1.25					1.85				
	ORIENT	0.12					-2.77**				
	BELIEFS	0.64					0.12				

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

Note: EDUC = Parents' educational level. PAREMP = Parental emphasis on achievement. PAREXP = High parental expectations. PARASP = Parents' educational aspirations. PARVAL = Parents' value of academic success. PEERS = Peer support for academics. IDEOL = Ideology. ORIENT = Friend/social versus academic orientation. BELIEFS = Belief in the possibility of Blacks attaining success.

6.2 The Strength of Parental Variables as Predictors versus Other Variables

In order to determine how important the parental variables were as predictors in contrast to the other variables, each variable or set of variables was entered into the regression last to determine their unique contribution to the regression model. The unique variance that is explained by each of the predictors of academic outcome is presented in Table 17.

Educational Aspirations

Peer support for academics, the cultural, and the demographic variables added little predictive power to the regression equation after all of the other variables were accounted for. In contrast, the parental variables increased R^2 by 30% for male and 26% for female students. Thus, for educational aspirations, the set of parental variables was a more important predictor for both male and female participants than were the other variables.

Educational Expectations

As with educational aspirations, parents' educational level and the cultural variables added little predictive power to the regression equation. Peer support resulted in only a minimal increase in R^2 for male students. The parental variables, however, increased R^2 by 22% for male and 23% for female students. Thus, the set of parental variables was a stronger predictor of academic expectations for students than were the other variables.

Average Mark on Last Report Card

The addition of the parental variables last to the regression resulted in a 13% increase in R^2 for male students and 9% for female students. The increase in R^2 that resulted from the addition of each of the other variables last to the regression equation was not significant. The set of parental variables was a stronger predictor of average mark on last report card than either the demographic, peer, or cultural variables.

Value of Academic Success

The demographic variable added little predictive power to the regression equation for both male and female students. The peer variable resulted in a small but significant increase in R^2 of 2% for male

students. After all of the other variables were accounted for, the set of cultural variables resulted in an increase in R^2 of 8% for female students. However, the parental variables were the strongest, increasing R^2 by 40% for male and 27% for female students.

Table 17

Unique Variance Explained by Each Predictor or Set of Predictors of Educational Outcomes

	Variable(s) entered last	Unique variance explained	
		Male students	Female students
Educational aspirations	Demographic variable	0.00	0.00
	Parent variables	0.30**	0.26**
	Peer variable	0.00	0.00
	Cultural variables	0.00	0.01
Educational expectations	Demographic variable	0.01	0.00
	Parent variables	0.22**	0.23**
	Peer variable	0.02	0.00
	Cultural variables	0.00	0.03
Average mark on last report card	Demographic variable	0.00	0.00
	Parent variables	0.13*	0.09*
	Peer variable	0.00	0.01
	Cultural variables	0.01	0.02
Value of academic success	Demographic variable	0.00	0.01
	Parent variables	0.40**	0.27**
	Peer variable	0.02**	0.01
	Cultural variables	0.00	0.08**

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

6.3 The Association of Gender and Region with Students' Educational Outcomes

Further multiple regressions were performed to examine the educational outcomes of the participants. Regressions were conducted in which the educational outcomes of males and females and of Halifax and Toronto students were compared. The parents' education, parental support, peer support, and cultural variables were added to the equations to examine the extent to which they could account for any of the observed gender or regional differences in educational outcomes.

The gender and the regional variables were dummy coded with males and Toronto students equal to 1 and females and Halifax students equal to 0. Gender and then Region were entered into the regression. Each of the predictor variables was subsequently entered in blocks in the following order: parents' education, parental support, peer support, and cultural variables.

Educational Aspirations (see Table 18)

The female students had significantly greater educational aspirations than did the male students. After controlling for parental support, the difference between males and females decreased although it was still significant. The other variables were not significantly related to students' educational aspirations and could not explain the gender differences in aspirations.

The regional difference in students' educational aspirations became greater after controlling for differences in parental support. It increased from non-significance to significance at the .05 level, with the Halifax students having higher aspirations than did the Toronto students. The other variables were not significantly related to educational aspirations and their inclusion did not result in changes to the significance of the regional differences beyond that accounted for by the parent variables.

Educational Expectations (see Table 19)

Female students had significantly greater educational expectations than did male students and Toronto students had significantly greater educational expectations than did Halifax students. Inclusion of the parent variables reduced the gender and regional differences to non-significance. The other variables were not significantly related to students' educational expectations. They did not result in changes in the significance of the gender and regional differences beyond that produced by the parent variables.

Average Mark on Last Report Card (see Table 20)

Female and Toronto students had significantly higher marks than male and Halifax students, respectively. The addition of the parent variables resulted in very little change to the significance of either the gender or the regional differences. The same was true of the other variables.

Value of Academic Success (see Table 21)

The significant gender difference in students' value of academic success, in favour of females, was decreased to non-significance once the set of parental variables was controlled. The addition of the cultural variable further reduced the gender difference. Neither parent education nor the peer variables resulted in any substantial changes in the gender differences in value of academic success.

The parent variables decreased the effects of region somewhat but did not reduce its significance level. The addition of the cultural variables reduced the regional effects even further, i.e., from significance at the .01 level to that at the .05 level. Neither the parent education nor the peer variables resulted in substantial changes in regional differences.

Table 18

Association of Gender and Region with Students' Educational Aspirations

Independent Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6
Gender	-.32**	-.32**	-.33**	-.15*	-.15*	-.16*
	-.22	-.22	-.22	-.10	-.10	-.11
Region		.02	-.00	-.17*	-.17*	-.16*
		.01	-.00	-.11	-.11	-.10
Education			.06	.00	.00	.00
			.08	.00	.01	.00
Parent variables:						
Value of success				.00	.00	.00
				.05	.05	.05
Aspiration				.53**	.52**	.52**
				.53	.53	.53
High parental expectation				-.00	-.00	-.00
				-.01	-.01	-.01
Emphasis on achievement				.01	.01	.01
				.09	.09	.10
Peer support					.00	.00
					.00	.00
Cultural variables:						
Ideology						-.00
						-.02
Friend/social versus Academic Orientation						.03
						.02
Belief in the possibility of Blacks Attaining Success						-.06
						-.03

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

Note: The unstandardized regression coefficients are presented first for each variable and the standardized regression coefficients (betas) are presented below them. Multiple $R^2 = .35$.

Table 19

Association of Gender and Region with Students' Educational Expectations

Independent Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6
Gender	-.34**	-.32**	-.33**	-.13	-.11	-.11
	-.18	-.17	-.18	-.07	-.06	-.06
Region		.30**	.27*	.06	.05	.06
		.15	.14	.03	.03	.03
Education			.08	.02	.02	.01
			.09	.02	.02	.01
Parent variables:						
Value of success				-.00	-.00	-.00
				-.02	-.03	-.03
Aspiration				.59**	.58**	.57**
				.47	.46	.46
High parental expectation				.02	.02	.02
				.07	.07	.07
Emphasis on achievement				.01*	.01	.01
				.10	.08	.08
Peer support					.02	.02
					.09	.08
Cultural variables:						
Ideology						.00
						.00
Peer/social versus academic orientation						.07
						.03
Belief in the possibility of Blacks Attaining Success						-.22
						-.09

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

Note: The unstandardized regression coefficients are presented first for each variable and the standardized regression coefficients (betas) are presented below them. Multiple $R^2 = .32$.

Table 20

Association of Gender and Region with Students' Average Mark on Last Report Card

Independent Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6
Gender	-.40**	-.37**	-.37**	-.31**	-.31**	-.30*
	-.19	-.17	-.18	-.14	-.15	-.14
Region		.60**	.59**	.53**	.53**	.52**
		.27	.27	.24	.24	.24
Education			.05	-.02	-.02	-.02
			.05	-.02	-.02	-.02
Parent variables:						
Value of success				-.00	-.00	-.00
				-.06	-.06	-.06
Aspiration				.10	.10	.09
				.07	.07	.06
High parental expectation				.04	.04	.04
				.11	.11	.11
Emphasis on achievement				.03**	.03**	.03**
				.27	.27	.27
Peer support					-.00	.00
					-.00	.00
Cultural variables:						
Ideology						-.00
						-.04
Friend/social versus academic orientation						-.12
						-.04
Belief in the possibility of Blacks Attaining Success						-.05
						-.02

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

Note: The unstandardized regression coefficients are presented first for each variable and the standardized regression coefficients (betas)are presented below them. Multiple $R^2 = .21$.

Table 21

Association of Gender and Region with Students' Value of Academic Success

Independent Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6
Gender	-2560.80**	-2218.00**	-2299.90**	-935.90	-765.10	-180.40
	-.16	-.14	-.15	-.06	-.05	-.01
Region		5360.70**	5156.90**	2235.20**	2169.30**	1604.30*
		.33	.32	.14	.14	.10
Education			597.60	55.70	51.50	88.80
			.08	.01	.01	.01
Parent variables:						
Value of success				16.50**	16.39**	15.76**
				.45	.45	.43
Aspiration				1315.90**	1231.90*	1115.4*
				.13	.12	.11
High parental expectation				231.50	220.70	225.05
				.09	.09	.09
Emphasis on achievement				133.80**	124.54**	108.31**
				.19	.18	.16
Peer support					120.77	98.35
					.06	.05
Cultural variables:						
Ideology						.072*
						.11
Friend/social versus academic orientation						-1580.5
						-.08
Belief in the possibility of Blacks attaining success						253.07
						.01

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

Note: The unstandardized regression coefficients are presented first for each variable and the standardized regression coefficients (betas) are presented below them. Multiple $R^2 = .54$.

Chapter 7: Discussion

7.1 Summary and Discussion of the Analyses of Variance Results

Gender Differences

Overall, female students reported greater educational support from their parents than did male students. When the individual parental variables were examined, the greater support reported by female students applied only to aspirations and to value of academic success. That is, female participants reported that their parents had higher academic aspirations for them and that their parents placed a higher value on their academic success than did their male peers. Both male and female students, however, reported similar levels of parental expectations of high achievement and parental emphasis on achievement.

The greater parental support that female students reported receiving may be a result of their more positive academic status as compared to that of male students. As noted earlier, Black female students tend to have a less difficult time in school than Black male students. They are less likely to be tracked into low-level academic programs; they are less likely to become entangled in conflict with school authority; and they tend to achieve at a higher academic level than do Black male students. Parents' awareness of this state of affairs may lead them to believe that their daughters will achieve a greater success than will their sons; therefore, they may hold higher aspirations for them and place greater value on their academic success. Parents reportedly have similar expectations for high academic achievement for their sons and daughters despite having greater aspirations and placing greater value on their daughters' success. It is possible that parents hold as high expectations for their sons as they do for their daughters in the hope that it will motivate their sons to strive for higher levels of success.

Female students reported more positive educational outcomes than did male students. Specifically, the female participants reported receiving higher average marks, placing a higher value on academic success, having higher educational expectations, and having higher educational aspirations than did their male peers. Black male students, as noted above, typically have a more

difficult time in school than do female students, as evidenced by their being tracked in greater numbers into dead-end educational programs and their greater involvement in counter-school activities. This may have led to their having less positive academic outcomes relative to their female peers. In contrast, female students typically hold more positive attitudes toward school, which may have led them to work harder, thereby achieving higher marks. Furthermore, their more positive attitude may have led to their expecting to go further in their education, and to their valuing academic success more. Greater perceived parental support for their daughters may also enhance their views of school and their determination to succeed.

Female students reported stronger belief in the achievement ideology than did male students, and a greater orientation to academics rather than to friends/social activities. They held similar beliefs as male students about the possibility of Blacks attaining success in Canadian society, however. Again, female students' greater positive cultural attitudes and beliefs may result from their differing experiences in schools and society from male and Halifax students, respectively. Female students, for example, may take note of the fact that more male than female students end up in non-academic programs and view their future more optimistically.

Female students reported greater peer support for academics than did male students. It is important to note that male students also reported peer support for academics; the levels reported by them, however, were not as great as those reported by female students. The greater peer support reported by female students may be related to their greater general orientation toward education than to friends or social activities. Female peer groups are less involved in sports than male peer groups and this may allow them more time to spend together in academic ventures. Furthermore, male students often build camaraderie through, and support each other in sporting activities. Many view sports as a more realistic vehicle to financial and social success than academics. Thus, male students may spend more time and effort in the pursuit of such activities with peers.

It is important to note that the gender differences in educational outcomes obtained in the current study in favour of females are not unique to Black students. A number of researchers have

found that, within the dominant cultural group, female students outperform their male peers in almost every academic realm. Female students are more likely than are males to enroll in advanced-level academic programs, to receive higher marks from elementary school onward, to have stronger commitments to school, to be placed on the honour roll, and to enroll in and graduate from college (see Kleinfeld, 1999; Saltzman, 1994; Sommers, 2000) Male students, in general, are more likely than are female students to present with academic and behavioral impairments and to be placed in special-education classes (Kleinfeld, 1999). They are also more likely to be suspended, to be held back, and to drop out of school (see Sommers, 2000). Male students are at an advantage in standardized test scores received for math and sciences, (Saltzman, 1994) and in the number of academic honours received in those areas (Kleinfeld, 1999). The math and science gap has been decreasing, however (Kleinfeld, 1999). Barker (1997) discovered at one British school that girls achieved higher grades than did boys across subjects. No significant differences in their intellectual abilities were found, however. Barker reported that, in general, the academic performance of students at all-female schools tends to be superior to that of students at all-male schools.

As noted in chapter 1, various explanations for the gender gap among African Americans have been proposed. These included preferential treatment for Black females in the job sphere, the influence of peers and the media, and the lack of male teachers. There have also been explanations advanced for the gender gap among majority group members, some of which are similar to those identified for Black students. Cross and Slater (2000) believe that White female students' success may be attributed to their taking advantage of the greater professional opportunities opened to women in general in recent years. Barker (1997) reported that the staff at the school examined in his study explained male underachievement in terms of the attitudes boys bring with them to school. The staff argued that boys engaged in attempts to assert their masculinity and to set themselves apart from girls through disruptive behaviour. Boys also sought peer approval and status by challenging school authorities. Kleinfeld (1999) asserted that gender differences may be due to the varying development patterns, interests, and competence that boys and girls bring to the classroom.

It is important to note that the gender gap exists within and not between races. That is, although females tend to outshine males in the academic realm, Black students as a whole, perform at a lower academic level than White students (Irvine, 1990; Mickelson, 1990). White students also have greater high school completion and college participation rates than do Black students (Bennett, 1995). African American students are "considered among the groups most at-risk academically" (Saltzman, 1994, p. 92). Furthermore, Kleinfeld (1999) noted that African American male students fare worse than do other students. Cross and Slater (2000) asserted that the gender gap in the attainment of college degrees at the masters' level in favour of women is not as great for White men as it is for Black men. They maintained that the higher achievement by females in institutions of higher education occurred earlier for Blacks than for Whites.

Black men are in a disadvantaged position socially, economically, and politically as compared to White men. Thus, it is likely that the gender gap in education has different social and economic ramifications for them than it does for White men. A decline in Black men's academic performance and achievements may lead to them having even less access to society's resources than they currently do, which has implications not only for them but also for future generations of Black male students and for the Black community as a whole.

Regional Differences

With regard to regional differences, the Toronto students reported higher parental educational aspirations, greater parental expectations of high achievement, and greater value placed on academic success by parents than did the Halifax participants. Students in both regions reported similar levels of parental emphasis on achievement. The regional differences in parental support of education were in the direction expected. The relatively lower parental aspirations, lower parental expectations of high achievement, and lower parental value placed on success reported by Halifax participants as compared to Toronto participants is most likely a reflection of the more depressed educational and economic situation of Blacks in Halifax, as documented in chapter 2. Halifax parents' awareness of the difficulties their children face in school and of the limited economic opportunities in the province

of Nova Scotia may dampen their aspirations and expectations for their children. This may also lead them to place a lower value on education as a vehicle for socioeconomic mobility relative to the Toronto parents.

The Halifax students reported greater parental active involvement in their school lives than did the Toronto students. This is surprising given that I had expected that parent who were reported to hold greater aspirations and expectations for their children would also be reported to be more actively involved in their children's education. This higher level of reported parental involvement may be related to the long history that Halifax parents have of advocating for changes in the school system.

Toronto students held greater belief in the achievement ideology than did Halifax students, and they were also more likely to be oriented to academics rather than to friends/social activities. Both the Toronto and the Halifax students reported similar beliefs about Blacks making it in Canada. Finally, Halifax male and Toronto female participants were less likely to believe that it was difficult for Blacks to succeed in Canada than were Toronto male and Halifax female students.

Halifax students, living in economically depressed conditions, may not have as much faith in the education system to bring about their success, and thus may focus more time and energy on peers rather than school. It is surprising, though, that no regional (or gender) differences in the beliefs about Blacks succeeding in Canada emerged. It appears that, regardless of their beliefs about their own possibilities for educational advancement or their hopes and expectations, students perceive that, as a people, Blacks can succeed in Canada.

Regional differences existed too for peer support, with the Halifax students reporting less peer support than did Toronto students. As seen earlier, Halifax students reported less parental support and less positive educational outcomes. Therefore, it is not surprising that they also reported less peer support. If students do not have a high degree of faith in the ability of education to deliver them from their circumstances, then it is not likely that they will encourage each other in academic endeavors as much as students who can clearly see success for themselves in the future.

Toronto students reported higher average marks, greater value placed on academic success, and higher educational expectations than did the Halifax students. Students in both regions had similar academic aspirations. The regional differences in favor of the Toronto students may, again, have been informed by the more onerous circumstances that the Halifax students find themselves in, as compared to Toronto students. Although I expected that Toronto students would have higher aspirations than would the Halifax students, it is not surprising that they do not. Students' aspirations are what they wish to accomplish academically. Their expectations are how far they believe they will go, given various barriers, external or internal. It is only natural that students, regardless of their circumstances, would wish to reach great heights. Even though the Halifax students have as high aspirations as Toronto students, they do not expect to get as far. This aspiration-expectation imbalance may be due to the reality of their circumstances. As outlined in chapter 2, some Nova Scotian communities did not have access to an education until well into the 20th century. Such conditions certainly have enormous implications for the students.

The present day situation of Blacks in Nova Scotia has improved somewhat but they are still lagging behind the majority of Nova Scotians in terms of education, employment, and income (see Appendix C). BLAC (1994) noted that their high school completion rate is low, that their unemployment rates are high, and that many families live far below the poverty line. Present day conditions may influence educational outcomes. BLAC maintained that the high poverty rates for Black students can decrease their educational aspirations and lead to generalized feelings of hopelessness.

BLAC (1994) noted that Black Nova Scotians fare worse than other Nova Scotians socially and economically. Similarly, Ornstein (2000) reported that Blacks in Toronto do not fare as well as other ethno-racial groups in the city, especially the European majority, in terms of employment, income, and poverty rates. Although the information provided by the BLAC (1994) and Ornstein (2000) studies (see Appendix C) are not perfectly comparable, it does appear that Black Torontonians have an advantage over Black Nova Scotians in terms of education. BLAC (1994) reported that the high

school completion rate among Black Nova Scotians is low. In contrast, Ornstein noted that Toronto Blacks have a higher high-school completion rate than the general Toronto population, although their university graduation rate is much lower. The unemployment rate for Black Nova Scotians is higher than the overall rate for Black Torontonians. Black Torontonians also appear to generally be better off in terms of the type of occupations in which they are employed. Thus, the regional differences in educational outcomes, parental and peer support, and cultural beliefs/attitudes found in the current study may be a result of differences in their present day socio-demographic climate. It is important to note that the more favourable circumstances of Toronto Blacks emerge when they are examined as a homogeneous group. When partitioned into African and Caribbean Blacks, the Africans appear to be at greater disadvantage than the Nova Scotia Blacks.

Cultural differences may also have had an influence on regional variations in parent and peer support, cultural attitudes/beliefs and educational outcomes. Toronto Blacks are more heterogeneous in their ethnic origins than Nova Scotian Blacks, which may have influenced regional responses to the various measures. Blacks in Nova Scotia are mainly of Canadian descent (meaning that they have been in Canada for many generations) while in Toronto, the Black population are mainly of Caribbean and of African descent (see Appendix B). The African students in the current study are first generation, while the Caribbean students in the study are first and second generation Canadian. There is also a negligible group of Toronto students, 2.4% of the sample, who are third generation or greater (i.e., the students and both of their parents were born in Canada). It is possible that the various Black ethnic groups in the study have cultural values and beliefs concerning education that differ from each other. As outlined in chapter 2, Waters (1994) found differences in beliefs about opportunities for success and academic motivation among second generation Caribbean youths in New York city based on their cultural identity.

The examination of the influence of country/region of birth on parental and peer support, cultural variables, and educational outcomes (see chapter 5), in general, suggested that there are cultural factors at work which are related to the circumstances surrounding Black's migration to

Canada and to the values they bring with them or the values that are shaped by their experience in Canada. The African-born students, in general, reported having more educational support than the other groups, more positive beliefs about educational success, and more positive educational outcomes. The Canadian-born students with Canadian-born parents appeared to be faring worse than the other groups in terms of support, attitudes, and outcomes. That the African students perceive greater support and had more positive attitudes and beliefs concerning education was surprising given that, in terms of social position, they appear to be more disadvantaged than the Toronto Caribbean Blacks and the Nova Scotian Blacks. The Africans in Toronto, as noted by Ornstein (2000), have extremely high levels of unemployment and poverty. This suggests that the observed differences among students go beyond their socio-demographic situation in Canada. It is possible that coming from countries that are in the midst of social or economic upheaval may increase the motivation of the African students to aim higher and to have more positive views of the opportunities available in Canada. Furthermore, the African students may have cultural attitudes, beliefs, expectations, concerns and so on, that are different from that of their Caribbean and Canadian peers. Dei (1995) noted in his study of dropouts in Toronto, for instance, that African-born students tended to be more concerned about issues of religion, language and culture, while the Caribbean students were more concerned about stereotypical portrayal of Blacks as troublemakers. Diversity in the concerns and focus of students from different ethnic group may be related to their differing educational successes.

It will be important to see what happens to Black students over time in Canada. Will the African-born students start to resemble the Canadian-born students whose ancestors have been here for generations or will they still maintain cultural values and attitudes that are different from that of the Canadian-born students? Waters (1994) reported that, over time, Caribbean youth tended to think of themselves in more American terms. She noted that in time, there might be few distinctions between the Black Americans and the Black Caribbean immigrants to New York City. This same type of assimilation may be true for Blacks in Canada. Ornstein (2000) reported a "'racialization' of

identity as the children of visible minority immigrants are 'Canadianized' and start to lose touch with their parents' distinct national identities" (p. 27).

Further evidence for the belief that cultural factors also influence educational experiences comes from the case of Portuguese students in Toronto. The study carried out by Cheng and her colleagues (1993) revealed that the Portuguese students were similar to Black students in terms of low academic performance. Ornstein (2000) reported also that the educational attainment of the Portuguese population was low. He noted that they had a high percentage of young people who did not complete high school. Despite being among the European groups with the least education, however, they had higher incomes and lower poverty rates than many better-educated groups. Thus, the low level of education of the Portuguese group does not appear related to the conditions under which they exist in Canada. Instead, it is likely a reflection of cultural attitudes about the utility and value of education.

Family demographics

Parents' level of education had no significant effect on any of the academic outcome variables. I believed that parents with higher levels of education would possess the skills necessary to help their children negotiate the school system. I also believed that more highly educated parents would be able to assist their children with schoolwork and assignments, and that they would be role models for their children. This type of support would then translate into positive educational outcomes. This appeared not to have been the case in the current study. It appeared that, regardless of educational level, parents support their children to a similar extent.

Unlike the current study, some past studies have found a direct influence of parental education on students' academic outcomes. Wilson and Allen (1987) found from a survey of 19-28 year old African Americans that their mothers' education level was positively and significantly related to their own educational attainment as measured by the number of years of schooling they had completed. Wilson and Wilson (1992) discovered that parents' level of education was positively related to students' educational aspirations. An indirect influence of parental education level on students'

academic outcomes has also been found. Brody et al. (1995), for example, reported that maternal education did not directly influence African American students' academic competence. Instead, maternal education influenced maternal school involvement, which, in turn was positively linked to academic competence.

It is important to note that the finding of the current study of no significant influence of parental educational level on students' academic outcomes, in contrast to the findings of other studies, may be related to the types of academic outcome measured as well as to the age of the participants studied.

7.2 Summary and Discussion of the Regression Results

Predictors of Academic Outcomes

Overall, the full set of demographic, parental, peer, and cultural variables predicted a significant amount of the variance in all of the academic outcomes. The set of variables was strongest in predicting the value of academic success, where it accounted for 49% of the variance for female students and 62% for male students. The full set of predictors were weakest in explaining average marks on last report card, where it accounted for only 17% of the variance for male students and 15% of the variance for female students. Most of the predictors were attitudinal and, therefore, it is not surprising that they are stronger predictors of attitudinal outcomes for students. Marks are behavioural, and positive attitudes about school do not necessarily translate into good marks. Parental assistance with school work, tutorial help, encouragement of good study habits, etc., would most likely be better predictors of their children's actual academic performance.

Although the whole set of variables (i.e., the demographic, parental, peer, and cultural) taken together significantly predicted students' academic outcomes, the parental variables carried the most weight. Not all of the parent variables, however, appeared to be important. The ones that most consistently appeared to add to the strength of the set of parental variables as predictors of academic outcome were parents' educational aspirations and parental emphasis on achievement. Parents' expectations of high achievement did not appear to be as important as the other parent variables. The peer variable resulted in a significant increase in predictive power only for male students, while the

cultural variables resulted, in a significant increase only for female students. Of the cultural variables, the friend/social versus academic orientation and the belief in the possibility of Blacks attaining success variables contributed to the prediction of academic outcomes for female students.

Each predictor variable (or set of variables) was entered last into the regression equation in order to determine its unique contribution to the predictive power of the regression model after all of the other variables were accounted for. The set of parent variables consistently added significantly to the predictive power of the regression equation for all four of the academic outcomes for male and female participants, after all of the other predictor variables were accounted for. The demographic variable did not add significantly to the regression equation for any of the academic outcomes. The addition of the cultural variables last resulted in a significant increase (8%) in the predictive power of the set of variables but only for female students' value of academic success. The peer variable increased the power of the regression equation but only for male students' value of academic success. The amount of this increase, although significant, was small, i.e., 2%. The unique variance explained by the parental variables was much greater than that explained by the other variables. The strength that the parent variables added to the equation was greatest for male students' value of academic success, and smallest for female students' average mark on their last report card.

Peer support appeared to be predictive only for male students and only for a specific outcome, namely students' value of academic success. The cultural variables appeared to be predictive only for female students' value of academic success. As noted earlier, female students held more positive cultural attitudes than did male students. It is not surprising then that the cultural variables predict to some extent the value female students place on academic success. If female students believe schoolwork will lead to success later in life, then it is likely that they will value academic achievement. The demographic variable, i.e., parents' educational level, was not as important as was expected. Parental support of academic activity is the most powerful predictor of students' academic outcomes in the current data. It is not surprising that parent support has a greater impact on students' academic outcomes than the other variables. Parents have the ability to shape their children's

worldview and to influence their decisions and paths in life. Parents, directly or indirectly, transmit values and attitudes to their children, which have consequences for their educational outlook and performance.

Gender and region were entered into regressions and the other variables added, i.e., parent education, parent and peer support, and cultural attitudes and beliefs, in an effort to determine their effects on the previously discovered gender and regional differences in educational outcomes. None of these factors were able to explain away the gender and regional differences in students' average mark on their last report card. The inclusion of the parent variables reduced the significance of the gender differences to non-significant for both students' value of academic success and in their educational expectations and the significance of the regional difference in students' educational expectations. The inclusion of the set of parental variables slightly reduced the gender difference for students' educational aspirations and regional differences in students' value of success but not significantly; and it increased the regional differences in students' educational aspirations. In general, gender and regional differences in educational outcomes (with the exception of average mark on last report card) were statistically explained in part by parents' support, specifically by parents' educational aspirations. For the most part, gender and regional differences could not be explained by the other variables in the regression.

7.3 Essential Issues to Consider in Interpretation of Results

There are a number of important findings that must be considered when interpreting the main analyses. Female students appear to have a more positive academic outlook and greater academic success than do male students. They generally outperform and hold more pro-education attitudes than their male peers, which is in accordance with the results found in the studies of Blacks in the U.S., Britain, and Canada as examined in chapters 1 and 2. Toronto students have a more positive academic outlook than do Halifax students. However, it is imperative to note that the academic outcomes, parental and peer support, and cultural beliefs reported by male students are low only relative to those reported by female students. Similarly, the academic outcomes, parental and peer support, and

cultural beliefs reported by the Halifax students are low only in relation to those reported by Toronto students. In general, students and parents (as reported by participants) have quite positive attitudes towards school and achievement. In fact, the problems with skewness of the data reported in chapter 6 is a direct result of the fact that the majority of students responded in a similar and positive direction to many of the variables. The strong positive findings here are similar to those of other studies. Solorzano (1991), for example, reported that the Black students in his study had high educational aspirations as well as high occupational aspirations. Furthermore, they perceived their parents to have even higher educational aspirations for them than they themselves had. The Black students' educational aspirations and perceived parental aspirations were typically higher than were those of White students. Spencer et al. (1996) reported that the majority of students in their study had high professional aspirations, with 77% aspiring to a professional career, and that 70% did not believe that being an African American would be a barrier to their professional goals. Wilson and Allen (1987) reported high motivation for educational attainment among the individuals sampled as evidenced by their high rate of high school completion (90%), with 54% of those having some post-secondary education.

In order to obtain an accurate picture of where students stand it is necessary to look at their mean numerical scores on the various measures. When the scores are examined, those of the male students and the Halifax participants do not appear to be exceptionally low. The regional differences in scores constitute a useful example of the generally positive response of participants to the items on the scales. As noted earlier, students, regardless of region, perceive that their parents generally have high aspirations for them, with most reporting that their parents wish for them to attend university. A maximum score of 15 can be obtained for the variable high parental expectations. Toronto parents averaged 11.4 and Halifax parents averaged 9.1. Thus, students' perceive their parents to have moderate expectations of them to achieve at a high academic level. A maximum score of 30 can be obtained for parents' value of academic success. The Toronto parents averaged about 27 and the Halifax parents averaged about 25.6, indicating that students perceive that their parents generally

placed a high value on academic success. Unlike the other parental variables, parents' emphasis on achievement appeared to generally be low. Parents in both regions averaged approximately 44 out of a possible 75. Four of the items on the scale pertained to the lowest grade students could obtain in specific subjects without their parents becoming upset. Many students commented on the questionnaire that their parents were satisfied as long as they tried their best. Therefore, low scores on these four items may have depressed the total score on the scale. When the items on the parental emphasis on achievement scale measuring active roles taken by parents are examined, their involvement still appeared to be somewhat low. A maximum score of 40 is possible on the 8 items that measured active involvement. The Toronto parents averaged 19.9 and the Halifax parents averaged 21.8. Taken together, the results indicate that students perceive that their parents were more highly supportive in terms of attitudes than they were in their actions. Again, there may be a variety of reasons for this finding. Dei (1995) reported that some students he interviewed noted that they often did not seek help from their parents because their parents were often busy and they did not wish to bother them. Other students reported that they did not think their parents would be able to help since they had exceeded their parents' educational level, or they were afraid that asking for help would elicit pressures from their parents to succeed academically. It is possible that the low active parental involvement scores in the current study are a result of students not soliciting help from their parents. Students often commented on the questionnaire that they did not ask their parents for help with homework or with choosing courses. The Halifax students made it especially clear that a lack of parental involvement did not indicate parental disinterest in their education. Many noted that their parents lacked the level of skill or knowledge necessary to assist them with their homework or with other school responsibilities. Some students also noted that their parents' lack of literacy skills or familiarity with the school system typically meant that they were often unaware of events transpiring at school.

On the peer measure, Toronto students averaged 14.4 out of a maximum of 20 points, and the Halifax students averaged just over 13, suggesting moderate peer support for academics. The

maximum score attainable on the ideology scale is 36. The Toronto sample averaged just over 31.6 and the Halifax sample averaged about 29.7. Thus, both groups have strong beliefs that education is the key to social and economic mobility. The maximum score on the Belief in the Possibility of Blacks Attaining Success scale is 30, with higher scores indicating greater belief that it would be difficult for Blacks to become successful. The scores for both the Toronto sample and the Halifax sample are low (13.1 and 14, respectively), indicating that, in general, neither group believes that it will be especially difficult for Blacks to achieve success. Finally, the maximum score possible on the Friend/Social versus Academic Orientation scale is 25, with a high score indicating low investment in academics as compared to friends or social activities. The Toronto sample averaged 8.8 and the Halifax sample averaged 10.2, which indicates that both groups have a higher orientation to academics than they do to peers or social activities.

In terms of outcomes, students generally have high educational expectations and aspirations. They also place a high value on academic success. Of the maximum score of 30 possible for the Value of Academic Success scale, Toronto students averaged just over 26.2 and Halifax students averaged just over 23.2. Their reported average marks, however, are not particularly high, with the majority attaining Bs or Cs.

Thus, overall, students do not appear to have rejected education. They tend to have strong beliefs in it and to value it highly. Furthermore, they perceive the same of their parents. They also appear to be quite optimistic about their chances for success later on. However, the question then should be whether the students attain success in school. In chapter 1, it was noted that Black students often highly valued education but still did not exert the effort needed for success and, consequently, still underachieved or failed in large numbers. Hence, just because the current participants appear positive about school does not mean they are faring well. There is some evidence that the paradox of underachievement, as described by Ford (1992a), is at work here. The only indicator available in the current study of how well or poorly students are actually faring in school is their average mark. When students' self-reported marks are examined, it is evident that few report themselves to be A-students.

Thus, even though the participants value academic success and have high educational aspirations and expectations, many are not obtaining the marks necessary for acceptance to university, which they expect to or wish to attend. Yau et al. (1993) found that students sometimes did not make the link between their academic program and post-secondary education. Solomon (1992), too, found that although some students had high expectations, they had no clear idea of how to work toward achieving their goals. They did not seem to realize that their career goals were often incompatible with their academic placement.

I suspect that many of the students in the current study who have high educational aspirations and expectations are not enrolled in the courses or in the type of educational programs that lead to post-secondary institutions. I further suspect that many of the students may not be aware of the discrepancy between their academic program and their ambitions and, therefore, may not be realistic about their chances of obtaining their goals. According to the Consultative Committee (1988), a 1982 Board of Education study in Toronto found that 50% of Black grade 8 students reported university expectations, yet 34.6% of them were in special education classes. Knowing students' academic program placement would have provided a clear picture of how realistic students' aspirations and expectations are and of their chances of securing admission to post-secondary institutions. Furthermore, it was noted earlier that male students tend to be clustered in the lower grades while female students tend to be clustered in the upper grades, even though their mean ages were not significantly different. This suggests that male students are not accumulating the credits needed to graduate, which puts them at risk of dropping out. Again, in order to know how well students are actually faring in school, other variables such as number of credits obtained need to be examined, as well as the academic program level at which they are working. Attitudinal variables alone cannot provide a complete picture.

Although the current study found gender differences in academic outcomes in favour of female students, male students were still quite optimistic about their educational future and placed a high value on academic success. Without further, in-depth examination it will be difficult to determine

what implications this gender gap will have for the social, economic, and educational future of Black Canadians in general, and Black Canadian males in particular. It will also be difficult to determine if the explanations advanced for gender differences among American Blacks can be generalized to Canadian Blacks. Whatever the reasons for the gender gap among Black Canadians, it is incumbent on parents, the community, and the schools to ensure that both male and female students reach their full academic potential. Kleinfeld (1999) noted that schools have an important role to play in ensuring that all students have the chance to develop their intellectual capacity to the fullest in a variety of domains. It is also incumbent on the students to set high expectations for themselves and to work to realize their goals.

7.4 Implications of Results

The findings of the present study have implications for the steps necessary at school and at home for helping Black students to achieve greater levels of success. Parents have a pivotal role to play in their children's educational lives, as is evident from the results. Participants in the current study perceive that their parents want the best for them educationally. They appear to have internalized their parents' attitudes and goals. In previous studies, students reported appreciating parental involvement in decisions concerning their education and wishing for parents to share their achievements with them. Furthermore, students reported that they receive more respect from teachers when their parents are involved (Consultative Committee, 1988). It is, therefore, imperative that parents take an active role in their children's school lives, and make themselves and their aspirations and expectations for their children known to the children's teachers and school administrators. Parents also need to take a greater role in guiding their children on such issues as academic placement and choosing courses. Students have reported receiving successful educational placement due to parental intervention and support (Consultative Committee, 1988). Parents have a responsibility to learn about school policies and theirs and their children's rights in the educational system in order to become effective advocates for their children and to provide the appropriate kinds of support. Students also have reported being discouraged when parents believe that teachers know best and,

therefore, do not challenge teachers (Consultative Committee, 1988). Again, it will be incumbent upon parents to be aware of what is happening in their children's school lives, to make the effort to find out from their children the issues facing them, and to advocate for their children. Clark (1983) outlined a list of family attributes that he discovered, in his study of achievement and failure among poor Black Americans, were related to academic success. These include parents contacting the school frequently, regular discussions about school, the establishment in the home of achievement-centered rules and norms, and parents engaging in "achievement-training" activities with their children.

Many parents do take direct action in their children's lives. Some do not, however, and there are many reasons why, including their own feelings of powerlessness and inefficacy, or resentment of their treatment by school staff who they believe blame them for their children's academic problems (Consultative Committee, 1988). Schools have the responsibility of listening to parents, making them a part of the decision making process concerning their children, and assisting them in helping their children. They also must ensure that a welcoming environment for parents is provided and that parents and parents' opinions are respected. This would not only empower parents, but also children, because they would see that schools care enough about them to encourage parental involvement. Schools also need to recognize that parents may feel intimidated due to a lack of education or unfamiliarity with the school system. Teachers and administrators, therefore, need to be patient with parents and to take the time to explain the working of the educational system to them. Many Black families are in dire financial circumstances and parents may be working two or three jobs, which limits their ability to attend school functions. Schools should not consider such absences to mean that parents are not interested in their children's education. Schools should be sensitive and flexible and try to work around parents' busy schedules. Finally, it is important to note that even though parents may not show up at school meetings, they may be involved in their children's education in different ways. Brathwaite (1996) contends that the contributions parents make to their children's education often go unacknowledged.

Some parents may not involve themselves in their children's school lives because their children do not share with them information about school. As noted earlier, some participants reported that they did not solicit help from their parents concerning school matters. In such cases, parents need to take the initiative in offering help to their children. Again, schools can be of assistance in this matter by helping parents to become familiar with school policies and rules and in imparting to parents the various ways in which they can support their children.

Despite the generally discouraging experiences of Black students within the schools, as reported by a myriad of past studies, Black students are still quite positive about school and their chances for future success as is evident in the current study. Participants desire to succeed academically and professionally. They are hopeful about their future and believed their parents are just as hopeful for them. They also believe their parents value education as much as they themselves do. Schools can capitalize on this by encouraging and motivating students to do well, and also by setting high standards for them. Teachers and schools need to rid themselves of any perceptions they may hold that Black students and their parents do not care about education or that they have low aspirations.

There appears to be a discrepancy between students' aspirations and expectations and their marks in this study. This type of discrepancy has been found in other studies. Solorzano (1991), for example, reported a gap between the educational aspirations of the students surveyed and the educational attainment (number of years of college completed) of their ethnic group as a whole. This gap was found to be greater, however, for Blacks than for Whites. He questioned whether Black students had equal opportunity to fulfill their aspirations. He noted that this gap raises the question of what impact having high educational and employment aspirations had on students in the face of limited educational and employment opportunities. He contended that such a gap might not bode well for students' school outcomes. Students, as noted earlier, may not even be aware of the discrepancy and how it will affect them later in life. Schools have a responsibility to make sure that students are aware of the implications of the academic programs they are enrolled in, and of the courses, marks,

and credits needed for post-secondary education and professional careers. As noted by Solomon (1992), many students are not aware of the path they need to take in order to achieve their goals. Researchers have reported that schools do not always appear to provide the appropriate guidance for such students. It is important for parents and teachers to set high standards for students and to help them to see the link between their marks and their post-secondary options. Role models of Black individuals who attained success through high academic achievement may help to reinforce the link between good grades, high effort, and good study habits and later life success.

The peer group appears to be important in predicting male students' value of academic success. When students cannot obtain a sense of self-worth from schools, they may turn to the peer group instead. Schools can assist in ensuring that the influence of the peer group is positive by rewarding and recognizing students for academic effort and achievement, and by providing an environment where students feel welcomed and respected. Such efforts on the part of schools can decrease the likelihood of the emergence of an anti-school peer subculture or decrease the power that it has over students. The relationship between students and teachers is especially important in making the school experience pleasant. Kester (1994) noted that ignoring the need for strong teacher-student bonding bestows greater power on the peer group. Teachers have the ability to meet students' need to feel important, included, and cared for.

Male and Halifax students, given their relatively weaker outcomes and relative lower peer and parental support compared with female and Toronto students, will need extra encouragement and effort from parents and teachers in order to motivate them and to keep them on a positive educational track. Special programs may need to be put into place that focus on providing role models and mentors for these students. In order to keep Black students motivated, they must see clearly the benefit of education in terms of financial and social position. They must believe that they will not be discriminated against in the workplaces they have prepared for.

Level of parental education did not influence students' outcomes. Children from homes where parents had little education and those from homes with highly educated parents reported similar

outcomes. The ability of poorly educated parents to appreciate the importance of education for their children and to assist their children in reaching their goals should not be underestimated.

When home, school and community all work together in the interest of the Black child, success is the most likely outcome, even in the face of poverty or other obstacles. Lee (1989) explored factors related to Black students' educational success in the face of harsh social and economic realities. In one rural American county, despite a lack of educational funding and other economic hardships, the community, the schools, and the home all worked in unison to produce educational success among students. The variables related to student achievement included: few racially related problems, academic success being a source of personal pride, positive teacher-student relations, peer support and encouragement of academic effort, and a high value placed on education. Adults in the community encouraged educational achievement and provided guidance. The schools played an important role in the community and were the centre of social activity. School activities built and strengthened peer networks and fostered positive racial identity.

Although intervention for Black students should include the home, school, and community, it must go beyond those agencies. What is necessary for lasting changes in the direction Black students are headed, Ogbu (1974) argued, is equal educational opportunity. This term encompasses not only equal learning conditions favourable to all children but also the equal distribution of rewards and opportunity, without discrimination, based on educational qualification. Equal educational opportunity cannot occur with school reforms alone. Although some school reforms will be beneficial, they cannot reverse the adaptation of students to their educational and social situation. Black children will be motivated to succeed in school only when equal educational opportunity becomes a reality and when they believe limitations will not be placed on their advancement (Ogbu, 1974).

7.5 Limitations of the Current Study

There are a number of limitations that must be considered with respect to the present study. First, it is not clear at this point how well the results of the current study would generalize to Blacks in other parts of Canada given the heterogeneity of the population in terms of the pattern of settlement in Canada, language, and country of origin. Differences were found between the Halifax Blacks, the majority of whom have been here for centuries, and the more recent Toronto Blacks, many of whom are recent immigrants or are the children of immigrants from the Caribbean and Africa. There are other Black settlements across Canada that are just as old as the ones in Halifax, e.g., British Columbia, Ontario, New Brunswick, and which share commonalties with them (see Spray, 1972; Winks, 1971). It would be important to know how students in these other communities would compare to the Black students in Halifax and in Toronto. The Caribbean population itself is quite heterogeneous, with individuals coming from islands with different languages, cultures, etc., and who tend to immigrate to different places in Canada (e.g., Haitians tend to immigrate to French speaking areas of the country). They may come here with different values and expectations. The majority of Caribbean participants came from countries in which English is spoken. It is possible that the results would not generalize to students from islands where English is not the dominant language.

Second, the majority of participants reported receiving an average mark of B or C in their coursework. However, students were not asked at what academic level they were taking their courses. A grade of B in advanced-level programs and a grade of B in general or basic-level programs have different implications in terms of post-secondary options. Knowing students' educational streams would have allowed comparisons of academic outcomes by academic levels. Students in vocational or basic-level programs are not being prepared for university. It would be important to know if such students receive the same level of support from peers and parents and if they have the same aspirations, educational values, and cultural beliefs as university-bound students. It is possible these students would place lower value on academic achievement if they believe they are destined to end up in low-paying, low-status occupations. Academic level is a vital piece of information that is missing.

It would have provided a more comprehensive context in which to interpret the results of the current study. For instance, if a large number of the students were streamed into basic or other non-academic programs, I would know that despite their reported attitudes and aspirations, many were destined for academic and economic marginalization.

A third limitation of the present study is the fact that many students did not have sufficient knowledge of their parents' occupation to enable those occupations to be categorized. Based on the available data parents' occupation was not found to significantly influence students' academic outcomes (see Appendix I). In the regression analyses (see Appendix K), however, SES did appear to be a somewhat important predictor of students' average mark on last report card and of female students' value of academic success. The significance of SES for participants' academic outcomes in general, however, is unclear. Had more cases been usable, it is possible that different results would have been obtained and a clearly defined pattern of influence of SES would have emerged. It might have proved helpful to have provided participants with a list of occupations to assist them.

There have been a number of Canadian reports in which it has been asserted that low SES has an adverse effect on the educational outcomes of students. Pierce (1997), executive director of the Canadian School Boards Association, noted that it has been well established that childhood poverty has negative implications for children's learning readiness and school success. Reporters noted, in a series of articles in The Globe and Mail, that children from low-income homes fared badly in school compared to children from higher-income homes. Philp (1997), for example, asserted that poor children are not as successful in school as are wealthier children and that they typically start school at a disadvantage. According to other articles in The Globe and Mail, Statistics Canada found that poor children are less likely to be placed in gifted classes, more likely to be placed in remedial classes, more likely to repeat a grade, and more likely to drop out of school than are other children (see Galt & Cernetig, 1997; Galt & Unland, 1997; Philp, 1997). More affluent children are also more likely to obtain higher grades than are poor children (Mitchell, 1997). Educators asserted that a lack of financial resources results in home environments that are not conducive to learning, e.g., lack of

books, a lack of early intellectual stimulation, hunger, and illness (see Galt & Cernetig, 1997; Philp, 1997). Researchers caution, however, that poverty should not be viewed as deterministic (Mitchell, 1997). The principal of one privileged school commented that parental support and high expectations are more important contributors to students' academic success than is SES. Such support, she noted, can be fostered in poverty stricken neighbourhoods (Galt & Cernetig, 1997).

The different findings and conclusions about the role of SES in students' academic outcomes are likely related to measurement issues. White (1982) conducted a meta-analysis of studies examining SES and reported that the obtained correlations between SES and academic achievement are often weak or moderate. White (1982) reported that

> factors such as grade level at which the measurement was taken, type of academic achievement measure, type of SES measure, and the year in which the data were collected are significantly correlated statistically with the magnitude of the correlation between academic achievement and SES. (p. 461)

Slaughter and Epps (1987) noted that researchers typically find that SES explains only a small portion of the variance in Black students' educational achievement. Furthermore, when Black students' classroom rank or high school grades are examined, researchers typically find that they are unrelated to the students' SES background (Slaughter & Epps, 1987). On the one hand, the finding of the current study that SES, in general, has a weak relation to academic outcomes may be due to the measures of academic outcome employed, the grade level of the students surveyed, the way in which SES was defined (i.e., parents' occupational status), or to some other factor. On the other hand, the finding may simply indicate that poor students are just as likely to be optimistic about their educational future and to value education as other students, regardless of what resources may be lacking in the home. Until the findings regarding SES are replicated in future research, they should be interpreted with caution.

Fourth, since the students were not recruited through schools, I did not have access to school records of GPA. Therefore, students reported their own marks. Students' self-reports of their grades may not have been wholly accurate. Self-reports are vulnerable to response bias due to participants'

desire to present themselves in a positive light (Furnham & Henderson, 1982). It is, therefore, possible that participants in the present study overestimated their marks. The assurance that their responses were confidential, however, may have increased the probability that participants were truthful in the reporting of their marks. Esposito, Agard, and Rosnow (1994) demonstrated that guarantees of confidentiality on a test of personality moderated the biasing effect of social desirability.

A further limitation of the study results from the organizations from which students were solicited. The Toronto participants were solicited from approximately 20 different organizations, e.g., churches, recreation centres, mentorship programs, tutoring programs, and employment programs. In contrast, the Halifax students were contacted mainly through a small number of cultural programs. Thus, it is possible that the two samples differ in some way that is related to the types of organizations through which their participation was solicited.

It is important to note, when interpreting the results of the present study, that the scores on the parental measures reflect students' perceptions and may not reflect parents' actual beliefs, attitudes and values. Students' perceptions of their parents' aspirations, expectations, and values may be coloured by their own aspirations, expectations, and values. This, however, may not constitute a major problem since it is likely that students' academic outcomes are influenced by what they perceive to be reality rather than by what is actually real.

In interpreting the results of the study, readers must keep in mind that no direction of causality is implied. It is possible, for example, that having positive cultural beliefs influences academic outcomes in a positive manner. It is just as possible that positive academic outcomes influence cultural beliefs. Female students' greater successes and more positive outlook may have resulted, in part, from the greater support received from parents and peers or maybe their more positive educational outlook elicited more support from parents and peers. It is also possible that other variables may influence both. Most likely, there are circular relationships between the variables. For example, parental support may lead to positive student academic outcomes, which may, in turn,

engender more parental support. Other types of analyses would be necessary in order to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of the relationships between the variables.

7.6 Future Directions

There have been few quantitative studies carried out in Canada examining Black students' academic experiences. However, a small number of qualitative and descriptive studies have been conducted. The current study is meant to complement these existing studies. A quantitative method was employed in the current study, which enabled the determination of statistical relationships between students' educational outcomes and the factors believed to influence those outcomes. While past Canadian studies tended to focus on the role of within-school factors in influencing academic outcomes, the current study examined non-school factors, i.e., parent, peers, and cultural. Furthermore, gender comparisons were made, as were comparisons between students in two regions of Canada with very different historical textures. The innovations in this study yielded crucial information about the relationship between Black Canadian student's educational outcomes and the various factors that affect them. However, given the complexity of this phenomenon, further research is required in order to obtain a more complete understanding of the issues surrounding Black students' educational attitudes, beliefs, and performance.

As noted above, the students surveyed seemed to have positive attitudes toward education and to believe that education will lead to later life success. In and of themselves, these variables do not tell us how students are actually doing in school. When students' reported marks were examined, it was apparent that many students were not averaging the grades necessary for admittance to the type of post-secondary institutions to which they aspired. As Ford (1992a) has shown, students can have high aspirations and highly value education but still dissociate from school and the educational process. Future studies, therefore, need to examine outcomes such as dropout rates, and rates of entry to post-secondary institution. In that way, it can be determined if there are correlations between the demographic, parental, peer, and cultural variables examined here, and students' actual destination. Such studies may need to take a longitudinal approach or may be done retrospectively, i.e.,

administering the questionnaires employed in the current study to students who dropped out of school, to those who are attending college and university, and to those who entered the workforce after completing high school.

The examination of cultural influences on academic outcomes is something that is lacking in most previous studies. With the exception of Ideology, the other cultural measures were newly created for this study, i.e., Friend/Social versus Academic Orientation and Belief in the Possibility of Blacks Attaining Success. As such, there is a need for further examination of these variables in order gain greater understanding about their role in students' academic experiences. The cultural variables are at the exploratory stage and they should be employed in future studies in order to allow for further conceptualization and refinement. Cultural attitudes are important for Black students. Ford (1991) noted that culture is an important variable in understanding and probably in eradicating the paradox of underachievement among Black students.

This study did not focus directly on the anti-school subculture, although peer support for academics—or lack of it—was included as a key variable. The findings of this study suggest that students are quite positive about education, and that they perceive their peers to be at least moderately supportive of academics. Their reports on the cultural measures indicate that they did not appear to hold the attitudes and beliefs that characterized the anti-school peer subculture outlined in British and U.S. studies. This may be due to differences between African American and African Canadian students related to their social position, their historical presence, and their immigration patterns in their respective societies. Dei and other Canadian researchers have found that some students disengage from school as evidenced by their dropout and failure rates. All of the participants in the present study were in school. It is possible that had school dropouts been surveyed, I would have discovered the presence of anti-school or anti-achievement attitudes and behaviour. Solomon (1992) did document the existence of an anti-school peer subculture in one Canadian school. He did so through observations and interviews of students, their parents, and their teachers. It is possible that, had students been asked about the school process, their relationship with school authorities, and their

views about the fairness of their treatment in school by teachers and other staff, I would have found sentiments that conveyed a dislike of or displeasure with the school system. As documented by Mac an Ghaill (1988) it is possible for students to value education but still resist school processes and policies that they believe to be unjust. A further, more in-depth study of the peer-subculture in Canadian schools will be needed before firm conclusions can be drawn about its prevalence and its effect on students' academic outcomes. A more comprehensive look at the peer subcultures will also allow for a deeper examination of the phenomenon of cultural inversion and its implications for Black Canadian students.

The data collected could have been analyzed in a number of ways. However, given time and space constraints, it was not feasible to look at all the possible types of relationships between the variables. The current study took the position that demographic, peer, cultural, and parental variables influenced student outcomes. However, it is possible that student outcomes influence them in turn. There are no doubt relationships between the parental variables, which if examined, would enable a better understanding of them. Also, the relationship that SES and parents' educational level have with the other parent variables may prove interesting. Furthermore, Slaughter and Epps (1987) asserted that attitudinal variables such as academic motivation, and educational aspirations and expectations are intervening variables that influence behavioural outcomes such as grades. Thus, in the current study, the students' aspirations and expectations could have been examined as predictors of their reported grades. These and other angles from which to approach the data are something to be considered for the future.

The parent variables examined were for the most part attitudinal and they were based on students' perceptions. An attempt was made to examine students' perception of their parents' active involvement in their school lives by extracting items from the Parental Emphasis on Achievement measure that queried parents' active involvement (Appendix G). An examination of these items showed that whereas students perceived that their parents held high aspirations for them, and highly valued education, they perceived that their parents' involvement beyond verbal support was quite

low. However, it appeared that this result was in part due to students not asking their parents for help. Beside the items on the questionnaire examining parental involvement students often commented that that they did not solicit academic help from their parents. Future studies should examine parents' active involvement in a behavioural sense. A measure of students' inclinations to seek help from parents should be included in such studies. Furthermore, future studies should also examine parents' own reports of their attitudes and expectations concerning their children's academic outcomes and the correlations between students' perceptions of parental support and parents' own reports.

It is important to note that the list of variables used in the current study, although extensive, was not exhaustive. There are a host of factors, school-related and others, which have implications for Black students. For example, the relationship between teachers and students should be examined. Ford and Harris (1996) asserted that their relationship with teachers is especially important for Black students and that it can influence their feelings of belonging, their motivation, and their academic performance. As noted earlier, students often found teachers to be overly punitive and discouraging of their efforts. Students, themselves, noted the importance of teachers who hold high expectations for and encourage and support them, and offer them extra help as necessary (Consultative Committee, 1988). Teachers' views of the students' culture are also consequential. Dove (1993) stated "regardless of who is teaching the children, anyone believing in and aspiring to the same European-centered cultural value system will undermine and devalue the potential for Africans to appreciate African self-worth and self-development as a basis for self-determination" (p. 431). In addition, research has also indicated that students reported liking and appreciating teachers who do not shy away from racial issues and who understand their cultural backgrounds (Consultative Committee, 1988). Other relevant school factors that need to be examined include the curriculum content. Students may become motivated to succeed academically and take greater interest in school if they see representations of themselves in textbooks and class lessons.

Family variables such as birth order may also be of consequence to Black students' academic outcomes. For example, it is likely that the academic experiences and performance of older siblings

will affect students. Students' academic views and choices may be informed by those of their siblings since older siblings can serve as role models. Another family variable that may prove important is household composition, especially single-parent status. Cheng et al. (1989) found that composition of household was more important than SES in influencing students' academic outcomes. In the current study, this factor was not taken into consideration. It may prove fruitful for researchers to examine the influence of household composition on students' academic outcomes. It is important to note, however, that level of involvement of parents/guardians may be more important than how many parents/guardians there are in the home. For example, it is possible that in some cases fathers living within the home may not contribute as much to students' education as fathers living outside the home. Also, a parent may be absent from the home for a variety of reasons, e.g., death, or divorce, which all may have differing implications for students' academic outcomes.

Among the other important contributors to Black students' academic performance and other outcomes are locus of control, anxiety, and self-concept (Ford, 1991; Ford & Harris, 1994, 1996). Other cultural beliefs, norms, and values can also contribute to the achievement and motivation of Black students (Ford, 1992a). These factors should all be examined in a Canadian context.

It would be interesting to administer the measures in the current study to students from other ethnic/racial groups in Canada in order to determine where they stand in relation to Black students. Do other ethnic/racial groups in Canada, for example, perceive the same high level of parental support and do they have the same high educational expectations and aspirations as the Black students surveyed? Comparisons between the Black and Portuguese groups would be especially informative given that they have educational similarities but socio-demographic dissimilarities. Comparisons between Black and other Canadians would lead to information about which findings are generalizable to other ethno-racial groups and which are not, and to determine the reasons for any differences found. Such knowledge would have implications for educational policies and intervention for students in general.

Finally, this study should be replicated with Black students from other regions of Canada in order to determine if the participants' responses are generalizable to others or if such responses are specific to the students surveyed. Existing Canadian research, including the present one, tend to categorize the Caribbean students together given the large number of island from which the students hail and the small cell sizes that would result if each island were examined separately. Future studies, however, should explore the various Caribbean groups since treating them as one group may mask inter-island differences. It is important to understand that while Black Canadians share common experiences in terms of discrimination and other social inequities they are heterogeneous in terms of their country of origin, language, and immigration patterns, all of which may have important implications not only for these students' educational outcomes, but also for how they adapt to Canadian society in general. Ornstein (2000) concluded from his study that "at the most detailed level there are large differences between ethno-racial groups within the regional categories, which are clearly associated with unique historical experiences, with different patterns of immigration to Canada, and with cultural differences" (p. 84).

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Sources of Information

In chapter 2, the experiences of Black people in Canada from the past to the present were examined. The information about early immigration, employment, and educational status of Blacks in Canada was taken from authors such as Hill (1992), Pachai (1990), Spencer (1970), Spray (1972), Tulloch (1975), and Winks (1971). These authors gathered their information from a variety of sources, e.g., the Public Archives of Canada, the Provincial Archives of Nova Scotia, the Library of Congress, the British Museum, the New Brunswick Museum, the Education Department of Canada West, the History Branch of Ontario's Department of Lands and Forests, various university libraries in the U.S. and Canada, registry offices, and from private sources. Knowledge about Blacks in Canada has been preserved in many forms, including official documents, private papers, magazines, newspapers, military records, manuscripts, newspapers, correspondence, records of land grants, records of immigration, photographs, illustrations, unpassed bills, deeds, petitions, and letter books of surveyor-generals. The authors cited not only provided comprehensive references for their work, but they also provided reproductions of some of the original documents from which their information was gleaned.

The information presented on the more recent experiences of Blacks in Canada is taken from reports and books written by educators/researchers, some of whom have an extensive history of working with school boards and various government agencies in efforts to procure changes in educational policies, which would benefit Black students. For example, Brathwaite has a long history of involvement in community organizations that have advocated for changes in the schools; she has been instrumental in shaping some of Canada's educational policies. Others have carried out research on Black students in the educational sphere. Dei, James, Coelho, and Solomon, for example, have all studied various aspects of the experience of Black students in the school system, and in Canadian society as a whole. Henry (1994) gathered information on discrimination and on the employment status of Blacks in Canada. Her sources included government research, e.g., Statistics Canada, and

interviews of members of the Black community in Toronto. Foster's (1996) work is a social commentary about the state of ethnic relations in Canada. In it he includes information obtained from government documents or the research of others to reinforce his points.

Information was also obtained from reports by committees created for the specific purpose of researching and documenting the status of Black students, and providing recommendations based on their findings. The Black Learners Advisory Committee (BLAC) is one such group. BLAC was commissioned by Nova Scotia's government to review the education of Black students and to identify strategies for improving the educational status of Black Nova Scotians. The second committee whose work is referenced here is the Consultative Committee on the Education of Black Students in Toronto Schools (Consultative Committee). This group had a similar function as that of BLAC. The Consultative Committee (composed of parents, educators, school trustees and school staff) through interviews of students, parents, and school staff, and reviews of school board policies, identified areas of concern in the education of Black children. The Committee also provided recommendations based on its findings. Information is also presented that was taken from studies conducted in the Toronto Board of Education by members of its research department. Taken together, the sources referenced in chapter 2 provide a comprehensive historical and present day account of the Black experience in Canada, specifically as it relates to education.

Appendix B: 1996 Census of Blacks in Canada

Table 22

Black Population in Canada (Total Number and Number by Ethnic Origin)

Visible minority population, 1996 Census	Total Black population	Canada	573, 860
		Nova Scotia	18, 105
		Ontario	356, 215
Visible minority population, 1996 Census, census metropolitan areas	Total Black population	Halifax	12, 005
		Toronto	274, 935
Population by ethnic origin, 1996 Census	African	Canada	137, 315
		Nova Scotia	3,545
		Ontario	92, 060
	Caribbean	Canada	305, 290
		Nova Scotia	705
		Ontario	198, 075
Population by ethnic origin, 1996 Census, census metropolitan areas	African	Halifax	2,500
		Toronto	67, 255
	Caribbean	Halifax	460
		Toronto	167, 295

Note: The total 1996 population of Canada, Ontario, Nova Scotia, Halifax and Toronto is:

28,528,125; 10,642,790; 899,970; 329,750; and 4,232,905, respectively.

Statistics Canada, 1996 Census Nation Tables. Adapted from: Statistics Canada's internet site:

http://www.statcan.ca/english/Pgdb/People/popula.htm.

Appendix C: Socio-demographics of the Nova Scotia and Toronto Black Communities

Blacks in Nova Scotia

The Black population of Nova Scotia was reported in the Statistics Canada 1996 Census Nation Tables to be 18,105 or 2.01% of the total Nova Scotian population. The majority, 12, 005 (66.3%), resided in Halifax. Of the total black population of Nova Scotia, 3,545 (19.6%) were of African descent and 705 (3.9%) were of Caribbean descent.

The Black Learners Advisory Committee (1994) carried out a socio-demographic survey of the Nova Scotian Black community with the aim of identifying past and present concerns members have about the education system. Over 4,400 individuals from the Black community were surveyed. Slightly greater than half of the individuals surveyed (55%) were from the Halifax-Dartmouth Metro area. The following information was garnered from the survey.

Education

BLAC (1994) reported that the number of Black Nova Scotians graduating from high school tended to be quite low. Their survey revealed that only 49% of those between the ages of 20-24 graduated from grade 12. The 1991 Census Canada figure for the same age group of Black Nova Scotian high school graduates was even lower, less than 30%. BLAC reported that 51% of respondents between ages 20-24 and 25-49 were without their grade 12 indicating a high dropout rate. High school dropouts were more likely to be enrolled in a general-level than in any other type of program, 34.4%. Approximately 70% of those still in school or who graduated were more likely to be enrolled in academic programs than in any other type of program. For some students who wished to continue beyond high school, university was out of reach. For many of these students post-secondary education meant obtaining Trades Certificates/Diploma.

Employment

The unemployment rate for Black Nova Scotians was significantly higher than that of the average Nova Scotian. The BLAC survey revealed an unemployment rate exceeding 40% for individuals between 20 and 29 years of age; 30% for those between 30-39 years; and about 25% for

those between 30-45 years of age. The rate for all Nova Scotians, as revealed in the Statistics Canada's Labour Force Survey, ranged from 27% for the 20-24 age group to 10.7% for the 45-54 age group. The overall 36% unemployment rate for Black Nova Scotian found by BLAC, exceeded the 15.8% overall unemployment rate for Nova Scotians estimated by Statistics Canada. Black females had higher unemployment rates than Black males, 42.1% versus 28%, respectively.

Black Nova Scotians tend to be stratified in low paying, low status occupations. The largest percentage of survey participants, 13%, reported being employed as personal care workers (e.g., housekeepers, cleaners, childcare workers). The majority of these workers, 78%, were women. Approximately 1 in 5 women reported such occupations. The largest percentage of male participants, 14%, reported employment as labourers. The second largest percentage of males, 8%, reported employment in metal fabrication. Generally, Black Nova Scotians were more likely to be employed in service, clerical, and construction occupations and hold fewer managerial, teaching and technology-related jobs than other Nova Scotians.

Income

The 1992 Statistics Canada poverty line for a family of 3 was $25,163. Given this criteria, a large number of Black families were reported to live below the poverty line. While the average estimated income for a family of 3.2 persons in 1992 was $46,870, the average income for Black Nova Scotian families of the same size was estimated by BLAC to be $20,500. Approximately 29% of participants reported an annual income of less than $10,000. A mere 6% reported an income of greater than $50,000.

Blacks in Toronto

The Black population of Toronto was reported in the 1996 Statistics Canada Census Nation Tables to number 274,935 or 6.5% of the total population of Toronto. Of the total Black population, 67,255 (24.5%) were of African descent and 167,295 (60.8%) were of Caribbean descent.

Ornstein (2000) analyzed 1996 Canadian Census data which allowed a comparison of various ethno-racial groups in Toronto on variables such as education, employment and income. In general,

Europeans were found to be more advantaged than visible minorities. Within the visible minority group, however, Africans groups (Ethiopians, Ghanaians, Somalis, and other Africans) were the most seriously disadvantaged, even more so Caribbean groups.

Education

Individuals with higher educational levels are more likely to obtain higher paying employment than those with lower educational levels (Ornstein, 2000). Those groups with a large number of individuals with basic education (high school) but without university education may be excluded from higher paying employment which require higher qualifications. The percentage of the "Black, African and Caribbean" group, between 25 and 64 years of age, that had not completed high school was lower than that of the general Toronto population, 26.7% versus 30%. In contrast, the percentage of "Black, African, and Caribbean" group that had graduated from university was much lower than that of the general population, 10.7% versus 22.7%.

Younger individuals, between the ages of 20-24, typically obtained more education than their parents did. The younger "African and Black" group and West Indians tended to have high enrollment in non-university post-secondary education programs, typically college ones. In general, the African groups had lower educational attainment than the Caribbean groups.

Employment

The overall 1996 employment rate was 10.8%. For youth (ages 15-24) it was 19.6% and for adults (ages 25-64) it was 9.4%. The ethno-racial group with the highest unemployment rate, and especially youth unemployment, was the "African, Black and Caribbean" with an average youth unemployment rate of 32.3% and an average adult rate of 16.5%. The African groups had even higher unemployment rates than the Caribbean groups with rates ranging from 23% to 46.8%.

Income/Poverty

The "African, Black and Caribbean" group had lower median incomes than that of the general Toronto population. The median income for female Torontonians who worked full-time/full-year was

$30,000 and for males it was $35,000. The median for the "African, Black and Caribbean" women was $25,000 and for males it was $26,000.

When type of employment was examined, Ornstein (2000) reported that the "African, Black and Caribbean group experienced "significant disadvantage in employment" (p. 79). The African groups were highly concentrated in low skill occupations at rates that ranged from 44.2% for Somali men to greater than 80% for Ethiopian women. Caribbean men had smaller proportions of managers and professionals than the general population, and more lower skill manual workers, but similar proportions of skilled tradespersons and supervisors. Caribbean women were typically concentrated in low skill non-manual occupations.

The overall poverty rate for Torontonians was 22.7%. The general poverty rate for two parents with at least one child under 19 was 22.3%, for a lone female parent it was 59.7%, and it was 38.4% for a lone male parent. The overall rate for the "African, Black and Caribbean" group was 44.6%. A vast discrepancy between the income of European and "African, Black and Caribbean" groups with a child under 19 was found with Europeans earning $68,900 and Blacks earning $31,000. The median income for a female of European background with a child under 19 was $25,500 while that of her "African, Black and Caribbean" counterpart was $14,000.

Approximately 58.9% of the African, Black and Caribbean children under 19 lived in families with incomes below Statistics Canada's low income cut-off. The rate for European children was 20.6%. The rates were even higher for children living with a single mother. The child poverty rate was even greater for Africans than for other groups. Ornstein reported that Africans experience "devastatingly high levels of poverty and extremely low median incomes" (p. 112).

In general, Africans experience the most severe disadvantages socio-economically. The poverty-stricken conditions under which many Africans live, Ornstein noted, cannot be attributed to their educational level since they do not lack basic education. However, it can partially be attributed to their high unemployment rates and concentration in low status/low paying occupations. Caribbean groups, too, experience significant disadvantages compared to the general population.

Summary of socio-demographics of Toronto's and Nova Scotia's Black Population

In both Toronto and Nova Scotia, Blacks were disadvantaged compared to the general population in terms of higher education, employment, income and poverty rates. The Toronto Blacks however, when examined as a group, appear to have higher educational attainment than the Nova Scotian Blacks, as well as higher incomes and lower unemployment rates. When the Toronto Blacks are separated into Caribbean and African, the Africans seem to be even more disadvantaged than Nova Scotian Blacks.

BLAC (1994) attributes the depressive conditions under which Black Nova Scotians live to their early historical treatment in Canada. BLAC noted that historic settlement patterns have led to the isolation of these communities from the majority group, and the residents suffer from chronically high unemployment, substandard housing, and insufficient public services. The low educational level of Black Nova Scotians is implicated in their concentration in low status, low paying employment. High school dropouts, for example, typically are unable to obtain positions as managers or other higher paying occupations. BLAC also noted that the lower educational attainment of Blacks as compared to White Nova Scotians "has had a ripple effect on employment and income. This has trapped African Nova Scotians in a vicious cycle of poor education, poor jobs or unemployment, poverty and thus the inability to access or purchase quality education" (p. 64). It is important to note, however, that even those with strong educational credentials encounter discrimination, which blocks their job advancement (BLAC, 1994).

The inequities found between the different ethno-racial groups in Toronto, Ornstein (2000) noted, cannot be attributed to 'essential' differences among the groups but to "the particular historical processes including the period in which non-Aboriginal groups came to Canada and the circumstances of their migration. In more recent decades, immigration policies, involving both the selection of applicants and the treatment of refugees and others seeking escape from political and natural disaster and war, have had a strong impact on which individuals come to Canada" (p. 126).

Appendix D: Measures

Demographic Questionnaire

1. Please answer these questions to the best of your abilities. Please print! CODE#

1. Age_____

2. Sex(male/female)_____

3. Grade_____

4. Subject in which you receive your highest mark_____

5. Subject in which you receive your lowest mark_____

6. Are you an average, below average or above average student?_____

7. How many hours on average do you spend per week (including weekends) on homework?_____

8. Number of brothers & sisters_____

9. Number of brothers or sisters who have attended college or university_____

10. Number of brothers or sisters planning to attend college or university_____

11. Mother's occupation (if unemployed, please note this)_____

12. Father's occupation (if unemployed, please note this)_____

13. Your country of birth_____

14. Mother's country of birth_____

15. Father's country of birth_____

16. Mother's parents' country of birth (both parents)_____

17. Father's parents' country of birth (both parents)_____

18. How long have you been in Canada (if not born in Canada):_____

Please circle an answer:

19. Average marks obtained throughout high school:

F	D	C	B	A	A+
(less than 50)	(50-59)	(60-69)	(70-79)	(80-89)	(90-100)

20. Average marks obtained on last report card:

F	D	C	B	A	A+
(less than 50)	(50-59)	(60-69)	(70-79)	(80-89)	(90-100)

21. Highest level of education obtained by mother:

Elementary (Grade 1-8) High School College University (3-4 years) University(5yrs +)

22. Highest level of education obtained by father:

Elementary (Grade 1-8) High School College University (3-4 years) University (5yrs +)

Parental Emphasis on Achievement

Please answer the following questions by circling a number. If you have contact with one parent only, then answer the questions for that parent, otherwise, answer for both parents.
How often does your mother:

1. Help you with homework when asked:
   1 2 3 4 5
   never always
2. Know how you're doing in school?
   1 2 3 4 5
   never always
3. Go to school programs for parents?
   1 2 3 4 5
   never always
4. Watch you in sports or activities?
   1 2 3 4 5
   never always
5. Help you in choosing your courses?
   1 2 3 4 5
   never always

How often does your father:

6. Help you with homework when asked:
   1 2 3 4 5
   never always
7. Know how you're doing in school?
   1 2 3 4 5
   never always
8. Go to school programs for parents?
   1 2 3 4 5
   never always
9. Watch you in sports or activities?
   1 2 3 4 5
   never always
10. Help you in choosing your courses?
    1 2 3 4 5
    never always
11. How important is it to your parents or guardians that you work hard on your schoolwork?
    1 2 3 4 5
    not important very important

What is the lowest semester grade you could get in each of these subject areas without your parents getting upset?

12. English:
    F D C B A
13. Math:
    F D C B A
14. Science:
    F D C B A
15. History:
    F D C B A

Parents' Educational Aspirations

Please put a check mark beside the statement that best describes your parent(s)'s aspirations for you.

____1--Finish some high school

____2--Graduate from high school

____3--Graduate from a 2-year college

____4--Graduate from university

____5--Graduate from law, medical or graduate school

Parents' Value of Academic Success

The following questions seek to determine how important your school behaviour is to your parents. Rate how important the following are to your parents.

1	2	3	4	5
Not important to my parents				Very important to my parents

1. Doing well in school.
   1 2 3 4 5
2. Getting good grades.
   1 2 3 4 5
3. Going to university after high school.
   1 2 3 4 5
4. Getting an A on almost every test.
   1 2 3 4 5
5. Being one of the best students in your class.
   1 2 3 4 5
6. Going to the best university after high school.
   1 2 3 4 5

High Parental Expectations

Please circle the number that best describes your parent(s)'s expectations of you.

1	2	3	4	5
Almost never				Almost always

1. I feel that my parents will be disappointed if I don't get very high grades.
   1 2 3 4 5
2. My parents will be disappointed if I don't get mostly A's on my report card.
   1 2 3 4 5
3. My parents expect me to be one of the best students in my class.
   1 2 3 4 5

Value of Academic Success

Please rate the following statements according to how important each is for you. Use the following number key to answer the questions and circle the numbers that best describes your feeling:

1	2	3	4	5
Not important to me				Very important to me

1. Doing well in school.
   1 2 3 4 5
2. Getting good grades.
   1 2 3 4 5
3. Going to university after high school.
   1 2 3 4 5
4. Getting an A on almost every test.
   1 2 3 4 5
5. Being one of the best students in your class.
   1 2 3 4 5
6. Going to the best university after high school.
   1 2 3 4 5

Educational Aspirations and Expectations

Please read each statement and circle the number in questions 1 and 2 that corresponds to your expectations and aspirations.

1	2	3	4	5
Finish some high school	Graduate from high school	Graduate from a 2-year college	Graduate from university	Graduate from law, medical or graduate school

1. How far do you expect to go in school?
   1 2 3 4 5
2. How far do you wish to go in school?
   1 2 3 4 5

Peer Support for Academics

Rate how often you and your friends engage in the following behaviour:

1	2	3	4	5
Almost never				Almost always

1. Help each other with homework.
   1 2 3 4 5
2. Share class notes and materials.
   1 2 3 4 5
3. Study together for tests.
   1 2 3 4 5
4. Encourage each other to do well in school.
   1 2 3 4 5

Ideology

You are going to be asked some questions about things that might stop you or other students from doing your best in school. You have four answers to choose from:

4	3	2	1
Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree

1. Anyone can do well in school if he or she tries.
   4 3 2 1
2. I can grow up to be the Prime Minister of Canada if I want to.
   4 3 2 1
3. If I stay in school, I can get the kind of job I want.
   4 3 2 1
4. Some day, a Black person will become Prime Minister of Canada.
   4 3 2 1
5. One of the best ways to become successful in life is to do well in school.
   4 3 2 1
6. I make good grades when I work hard in school.
   4 3 2 1
7. Getting good grades is important to me.
   4 3 2 1
8. Speaking standard or proper English will help me get a good job.
   4 3 2 1
9. If I work hard in school, I can become what I want to be.
   4 3 2 1

Friend/Social versus Academic Orientation

Please rate each statement according to how much you agree with it.

1	2	3	4	5
Don't Agree				Very Much Agree

1. My friends are more important than my getting good grades in school
   1 2 3 4 5
2. I would rather be a good athlete than smart
   1 2 3 4 5
3. I would not want to hang out with students who are serious about school
   1 2 3 4 5
4. I tell my friends that studying hard is for nerds or geeks
   1 2 3 4 5
5. I make fun of people who study too much
   1 2 3 4 5

Belief in the Possibility of Blacks Attaining Success

Please rate each statement according to how much you agree with it.

1	2	3	4	5
Don't Agree				Very Much Agree

1. I do not like to hang out with non-Black students
   1 2 3 4 5
2. No matter how smart a Black person is, she/he will still not get a good job
   1 2 3 4 5
3. Black people have to be twice as smart as Whites to get to the same place
   1 2 3 4 5
4. Schools do not prepare Blacks to compete on the same level as Whites
   1 2 3 4 5
5. Black people's success is due more to luck than to education
   1 2 3 4 5
6. Black students should only hang out with other Black students
   1 2 3 4 5

Appendix E: Factor Analysis

Table 23

Factor Analysis

Items	Factor 1	Factor 2
My friends are more important than my getting good grades in school	.470	
I would rather be a good athlete than smart	.511	
I would not want to hang out with students who are serious about school	.590	
I tell my friends that studying hard is for nerds or geeks	.742	
I make fun of people who study too much	.707	
I do not like to hang out with non-Black students		.415
No matter how smart a Black person is, she/he will still not get a good job		.508
Black people have to be twice as smart as Whites to get to the same place		.512
Schools do not prepare Blacks to compete on the same level as Whites		.583
Black people's success is due more to luck than to education		.540
Black students should only hang out with other Black students		.499

Note: Factor 1= Friend/Social versus Academic Orientation. Factor 2 = Belief in the Possibility of Blacks Attaining Success A loading of .4 was chosen as the cut off and loadings below this value are not shown. The total variance explained by the factors is 36.46%.

Appendix F: Consent Forms

Parent Consent For Son or Daughter to Participate

Dear Parent or Guardian:

I would like to invite your son or daughter to participate in a study I will be conducting that examines Black students' attitude toward school and academic achievement. I am conducting this study as part of my research as a graduate student in School and Child-Clinical Psychology at the University of Toronto. This study will focus on the influences of cultural identity and the peer group. There have been many articles and books written on the role of school variables such as tracking, biased curriculum and low teacher expectations. Very few studies have looked at the role of students' cultural identity and peer group affiliation. There has also been very little research conducted with Canadian pupils on this issue. This study seeks to fill the gaps.

The purpose of this study is to gain a better understanding of some of the factors that play a role in the academic underachievement of so many Black students and the barriers that stand in their way. It is hoped that this study will lead to policies in the schools that will focus on helping Black students to place a greater value on education, to recognize its importance for their future, and to succeed in school.

The study will be conducted during the summer months of 1998. Approximately 1.5 hours of your child's time will be required. Your child will be asked to fill out a number of questionnaires regarding his/her friendships, identity, attitude toward school and parental expectations. Participation is strictly voluntary. Your child may refuse to answer any question he/she wishes and can withdraw at any time. A small group of participants will be invited to participate in a discussion of the study later in the summer. All students will be given a small payment in appreciation of their participation.

This study has the approval of OISE/University of Toronto's ethics committee. All information collected will be strictly confidential. Your child's name will not appear on any of the questionnaires. We would appreciate it if you would complete and return the form on the back of this page whether or not you decide to let your child participate so that we know that this information has reached you. You may keep the attached copy of this letter for your record. If you have any questions, please feel free to call Ms Andrea Smith at (416)244-2184 , Dr. Barry Schneider at (416)923-6641 ext. 2524. or Dr. Martin Ruck at (905)828-3957

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Andrea Smith, MA

Please check the appropriate statements and return this form to Ms Smith.

_____ I have read and I understand the permission letter. I give consent for my child to participate in this study.

_____ I also give permission for my child to participate in the small group discussion.

_____ Please place an X here if you wish to receive the results of the study.

_____I have received a copy of Ms Smith, Dr. Schneider and Dr. Ruck's letter for my records.

_____I would like more information before giving consent for my child to participate in this study. Please call me at the number listed below.

_____ I do not wish for my child to participate in this study.

Phone Number_____

Child's Name_____

Parent's Name_____

Parent's Signature_____

Date_____

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact us:

Andrea Smith, MA
Graduate Student
Department of Human Development and Applied Psychology
Ontario Institute For Studies In Education/University of Toronto
Phone: (416)244-2184
andreasmith@oise.utoronto.ca

Dr. Barry Schneider
Professor
Department of Human Development and Applied Psychology
Ontario Institute For Studies In Education/University of Toronto
Phone: (416)923-6641 ext.2524

Dr. Martin Ruck
Assistant Professor
Department of Psychology
University of Toronto at Mississauga
Phone: (905)828-3957

Parent Consent For Son or Daughter to Participate

(For Your Personal Record)

Dear Parent or Guardian:

I would like to invite your son or daughter to participate in a study I will be conducting that examines Black students' attitude toward school and academic achievement. I am conducting this study as part of my research as a graduate student in School and Child-Clinical Psychology at the University of Toronto. This study will focus on the influences of cultural identity and the peer group. There have been many articles and books written on the role of school variables such as tracking, biased curriculum and low teacher expectations. Very few studies have looked at the role of students' cultural identity and peer group affiliation. There has also been very little research conducted with Canadian pupils on this issue. This study seeks to fill the gaps.

The purpose of this study is to gain a better understanding of some of the factors that play a role in the academic underachievement of so many Black students and the barriers that stand in their way. It is hoped that this study will lead to policies in the schools that will focus on helping Black students to place a greater value on education, to recognize its importance for their future, and to succeed in school.

The study will be conducted during the summer months of 1998. Approximately 1.5 hours of your child's time will be required. Your child will be asked to fill out a number of questionnaires regarding his/her friendships, identity, attitude toward school and parental expectations. Participation is strictly voluntary. Your child may refuse to answer any question he/she wishes and can withdraw at any time. A small group of participants will be invited to participate in a discussion of the study later in the summer. All students will be given a small payment in appreciation of their participation.

This study has the approval of OISE/University of Toronto's ethics committee. All information collected will be strictly confidential. Your child's name will not appear on any of the questionnaires. You may keep this copy of the letter for your record. If you have any questions, please feel free to call Ms Andrea Smith at (416)244-2184, Dr. Barry Schneider at (416)923-6641 ext. 2524 or Dr. Martin Ruck at (905)828-3957.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Andrea Smith, MA

Consent For Participation for Students Under 16 Years of Age **Page 1 of 2**

I am being asked to participate in a research study titled "Black Canadian Students' Cultural Identity, Peer Subculture, and Attitude Toward School." The purpose of this study is to gain a better understanding of some of the factors that play a role in the academic underachievement of so many Black students and the barriers that stand in their way. My participation will hopefully help to shape school policies concerning minority students. The results of this study may lead to a stronger emphasis in schools on helping minority students to succeed and to plan for higher education. They should also provide schools and the general public with a greater awareness of the manner in which friends and cultural identity can influence and shape Black students' views of school.

I will be asked to fill out a series of questionnaires that ask for information about my cultural identity, my friendships, my attitude toward school and academic success, and parental expectations. This will take about 1.5 hours of my time and I will receive a small payment in recognition of my participation. The study will be conducted throughout the summer months of 1998. I will be invited to participate in a small group discussion about the study later in the summer.

My participation is completely voluntary. I may refuse to answer any question or withdraw at any time. All information will be confidential and my name will not appear on any of the questionnaires. Should I wish to participate, my signed consent form must be returned along with my parent(s)' or legal guardian's signed consent form to Ms Smith.
I may keep the attached copy of this letter for my personal record.

If I have any questions, I am free to contact:

Andrea Smith, MA
Graduate Student
Department of Human Development and Applied Psychology
OISE/University of Toronto
Phone: (416)244-2184
andreasmith@oise.utoronto.ca

Dr. Barry Schneider
Professor
Department of Human Development and Applied Psychology
OISE/University of Toronto
Phone: (416)923-6641 ext.2524

Dr. Martin Ruck
Assistant Professor
Department of Psychology
University of Toronto at Mississauga
Phone: (905)828-3957

I have read this form, understand the study, and agree to participate:
Phone Number_____
Student's Name (please print)_____
Student's Signature_____Date_____
Investigator's Signature_____Date_____
___I would like to receive the results of the study.
___I do not wish to receive the results of the study.
___I wish to participate in a small group discussion later this summer on the topic of this study.

Please return the completed form to Ms Smith!

Consent For Participation for Students Under 16 Years of Age.

(For My Personal Record)

I am being asked to participate in a research study titled "Black Canadian Students' Cultural Identity, Peer Subculture, and Attitude Toward School." The purpose of this study is to gain a better understanding of some of the factors that play a role in the academic underachievement of so many Black students and the barriers that stand in their way. My participation will hopefully help to shape school policies concerning minority students. The results of this study may lead to a stronger emphasis in schools on helping minority students to succeed and to plan for higher education. They should also provide schools and the general public with a greater awareness of the manner in which friends and cultural identity can influence and shape Black students' views of school.

I will be asked to fill out a series of questionnaires that ask for information about my cultural identity, my friendships, my attitude toward school and academic success, and parental expectations. This will take about 1.5 hours of my time and I will receive a small payment in recognition of my participation. The study will be conducted throughout the summer months of 1998. I will be invited to participate in a small group discussion about the study later in the summer.

My participation is completely voluntary. I may refuse to answer any question or withdraw at any time. All information will be confidential and my name will not appear on any of the questionnaires. Should I wish to participate, my signed consent form must be returned along with my parent(s)' or legal guardian's signed consent form to Ms Smith. If I have any questions, I am free to contact Ms. Andrea Smith at (416)244-2184 , Dr. Barry Schneider at (416)923-6641 ext. 2524 or Dr. Martin Ruck at (905)828-3957.

Sincerely,

Andrea Smith, MA

Consent for Participation for Students 16 Years of Age and Older **Page 1 of 2**

Dear Student:

I am a student of School and Child-Clinical Psychology at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education/University of Toronto. I would like you to participate in a study which is titled "Black Canadian Students' Cultural Identity, Peer Subculture and Attitude Toward School. This study seeks to examine the influence of cultural identity and the peer group on Black students' academic achievement. There have been many articles and books written on the role of school variables such as tracking, biased curriculum and low teacher expectations. Very few studies have looked at the role of students' cultural identity and peer group affiliation. Furthermore, few studies have been conducted with Black Canadian students. This study seeks to fill in the gaps.

The purpose of this study is to gain a better understanding of some of the factors that play a role in the academic underachievement of so many Black students and the barriers that stand in their way. It is hoped that this study will lead to policies in the schools that will focus on helping Black students to place a greater value on education, to recognise its importance for their future career plans and goals and to succeed academically. It should also provide a greater awareness of how friends and cultural identity can shape and influence Black students' views about school.

The study will be conducted during the summer months of 1998. Approximately 1.5 hours of your time will be required. You will be asked to fill out a number of questionnaires that seek information on your friendships, cultural identity, attitude toward school and parental expectations. Participation is strictly voluntary. You may refuse to answer any question and can withdraw at any time. A small group of participants will be invited to participate in a discussion of the study later in the summer. You will receive a small payment in recognition of your participation.

This study has the approval of OISE/University of Toronto's ethics committee. All information collected is strictly confidential. Your name will not appear on any of the questionnaires. If you wish to participate, please sign and return this consent form to Ms Smith. Please keep the attached copy of this letter for your personal record. Thank you very much for your consideration.

Feel free to contact us if you have any questions:

Andrea Smith, MA	Dr. Barry Schneider	Dr. Martin Ruck
Graduate Student	Professor	Assistant Professor
Department of Human Development and Applied Psychology	Department of Human Development and Applied Psychology	Department of Psychology University of Toronto at Mississauga
OISE/University of Toronto	OISE/University of Toronto	Phone: (905)828-3957
Phone: (416)244-2184	Phone: (416)923-6641 ext.2524	
andreasmith@oise.utoronto.ca		

If you have read the above, understand it and wish to participate please sign below. Thank you!

Student's Name (please print)_____ Phone Number_____

Student's Signature_____Date_____

Investigator's Signature_____Date_____

____Please place an X here if your wish to receive the results of the study.

____Place an X here if you wish to participate in the group discussion that will be held later this summer.

(For Your Personal Record)

Dear Student:

I am a student of School and Child-Clinical Psychology at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education/University of Toronto. I would like you to participate in a study which is titled "Black Canadian Students' Cultural Identity, Peer Subculture and Attitude Toward School. This study seeks to examine the influence of cultural identity and the peer group on Black students' academic achievement. There have been many articles and books written on the role of school variables such as tracking, biased curriculum and low teacher expectations. Very few studies have looked at the role of students' cultural identity and peer group affiliation. Furthermore, few studies have been conducted with Black Canadian students. This study seeks to fill in the gaps.

The purpose of this study is to gain a better understanding of some of the factors that play a role in the academic underachievement of so many Black students and the barriers that stand in their way. It is hoped that this study will lead to policies in the schools that will focus on helping Black students to place a greater value on education, to recognise its importance for their future career plans and goals and to succeed academically. It should also provide a greater awareness of how friends and cultural identity can shape and influence Black students' views about school. The study will be conducted during the summer months of 1998. Approximately 1.5 hours of your time will be required. You will be asked to fill out a number of questionnaires that seek information on your friendships, cultural identity, attitude toward school and parental expectations. Participation is strictly voluntary. You may refuse to answer any question and can withdraw at any time. A small group of participants will be invited to participate in a discussion of the study later in the summer. You will receive a small payment in recognition of your participation.

This study has the approval of OISE/University of Toronto's ethics committee. All information collected is strictly confidential. Your name will not appear on any of the questionnaires.

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact Ms Andrea Smith at (416)244-2184, Dr. Barry Schneider at (416)923-6641 ext. 2524 or Dr. Martin Ruck at (905)828-3957.

Sincerely,

Andrea Smith, MA

Appendix G: Regional Differences in Parents' Occupational Status

Independent samples t-tests were conducted to determine if regional differences existed in mothers' and in fathers' occupational levels. Data was available for 315 mothers and 258 fathers. The t-tests revealed significant differences between mothers' occupations in favor of the Toronto sample, t (313) = 2.87, $p < .01$. There was an even greater disparity in fathers' occupation, again, in favor of the Toronto sample, t (256) = 3.81, $p < .001$ (see Table 24 for the descriptive statistics for regional occupational levels).

It is not surprising that the Halifax parents have a lower income than do the Toronto parents. As was documented in chapter 2, they appeared to have fared worse historically in terms of employment than Blacks in other regions of Canada.

Table 24

Mean Differences in Occupational Status of Parents in Toronto and Halifax

	Occupational level of parents					
	Mother			Father		
	M	SD	n	M	SD	n
Toronto	37.85	15.49	207	39.15	14.41	159
Halifax	32.58	15.45	108	31.96	15.29	99

Paired samples t-tests were used to compare mothers' versus fathers' occupational status within each region. No significant differences were found between mothers' and fathers' occupational status within either region. For the Toronto sample (mean difference = 1.65, N = 132), t (131) = 0.99, $p > .05$, and for the Halifax sample (mean difference = 0.45, N = 79), t (78) = 0.24, $p > .05$. Mothers' and fathers' occupational levels did not differ significantly from each other either for the Toronto sample or the Halifax sample.

Appendix H: Gender and Regional Differences in Active Parental Involvement

A univariate analysis of variance was carried out with gender and region as the independent variables and active parental involvement as the dependent variable. Active parental involvement was measured by items 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, and 10 from the Parental Emphasis on Achievement scale. F_{max} was computed to test for the assumption of homogeneity of variance. The ratio of the largest cell variance to the smallest was slightly less than 1 to 1. This is much smaller than the ratio of 10 to 1 that is considered acceptable, especially if the ratio between the smallest and largest cell size is 4 to 1 or less (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996).

The ANOVA revealed no significant gender main effect or gender by region interaction for active parental involvement. However, there was a region main effect $F(1, 361) = 4.75$, $p < .05$, with the Halifax students reporting greater active parental involvement than the Toronto students. The descriptive data are presented in Table 25.

Table 25

Descriptive Statistics for Gender and Regional Differences in Active Parental Involvement

		Toronto		Halifax		Gender		Region	
		Male students	Female students	Male students	Female students	Male students	Female students	Toronto students	Halifax students
Active parental involvement (8 – 40)	M	19.95	19.79	22.11	21.45	20.78	20.35	19.86	21.80
	SD	8.11	7.91	8.10	8.14	8.15	8.03	8.01	8.09
	n	111	122	70	62	181	184	233	132

Note: The range of scores attainable for this variable is provided in parentheses.

Appendix I: The Impact of SES on Academic Outcomes

Socioeconomic status was collapsed into three categories (low, medium, and high). The low category consisted of unemployed and unskilled workers; the medium category consisted of skilled and some semi-professional workers; and the high category consisted of higher level semi-professional, managerial, and professional positions. The SES variable consisted of the higher of either mothers' or fathers' occupational level.

A multivariate analysis of variance was performed on the four outcome variables: average mark on last report card, educational expectations, educational aspirations, and value of academic success, with SES as the independent variable. Results of the evaluation of homogeneity of covariance matrices, using Box's M test, was satisfactory [F (20, 100310) = 0.971, p > .05)]. According to Wilks' Lambda statistic, the combined DVs were not found to be significant, F (8, 668) = 1.77, p > .05 (see Table 26 for the descriptive statistics).

Parents' occupational status had little influence on students' educational outcomes. I had believed that wealthier families would have greater access to educational resources for their children, e.g., tutors, computers, which would result in more positive educational outcomes for them. Furthermore, I had expected that higher-income parents would be examples to their children that it is possible to achieve success in Canada, which would result in them having greater positive attitudes towards education. This appeared not to have been the case, however. The results indicate that SES has little influence on the academic attitudes, values, and performance of students. This appears to be consistent with the findings of researchers that, regardless of income level, Blacks highly value education (see Gopaul-McNicol, 1993).

As noted in chapters 1 and 2, researchers have found the relation between SES and academic performance to be unclear for Black students. There are most likely other more variables at work in influencing academic outcomes than SES. It is possible that as long as students receive support from parents, peers, etc., their level of income does not matter. Thus, it is important that school teachers and administrators not make assumptions about poor students' willingness to learn, their ability to achieve, their aspirations, or how much they value education.

Table 26

Descriptive Statistics for Educational Outcome Variables by SES

	Low			Medium			High		
	M	SD	n	M	SD	n	M	SD	n
Dependent variables									
Average mark on last report card (1 – 6)	3.25	1.06	106	3.57	1.00	181	3.87	1.09	53
Educational expectations (1 – 5)	3.81	0.93	106	3.94	0.92	181	4.02	0.92	53
Educational aspirations (1 – 3)	2.25	0.74	106	2.30	0.73	181	2.36	0.76	53
Value of academic success (6 – 30)	24.56	4.63	106	25.39	4.57	181	25.32	5.35	53

Note: The range of scores attainable for the outcome variables is provided in parentheses.

Appendix J: Regression Analyses for Male and Female Students Combined

The regression analyses performed separately for male and female participants in chapter 6 were conducted on the combined sample of male and female students. This was done in order to determine if there exists a different pattern of prediction of academic outcomes than that obtained for the sample separated by gender. The results of the regression using the combined sample were similar to those obtained when males and females were examined separately.

The set of predictor variables accounted for a significant amount of the variance of all four academic outcomes. The variables were stronger predictors of students' value of academic success than they were for any of the other academic outcomes. The predictors were weakest for average mark on last report card. The set of parent variables resulted in the greatest $\underline{\Delta R^2}$ when added to the regression equation for each academic outcome. The regression statistics are presented in Table 27.

Table 27

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analyses for Predictions of Students' Educational Outcomes

(Male and Female Participants Combined)

	Step	Variables	t	R^2	ΔR^2	F	ΔF
Educational aspirations							
(n = 316)	1			0.01	0.01	1.53	1.53
		EDUC	1.24				
	2			0.33	0.32	30.27**	37.27*
		PAREMP	2.15*				
		PAREXP	-0.71				
		PARASP	10.39**				
		PARVAL	0.66				
	3						
		PEERS	0.28	0.33	0.00	25.16**	0.08
	4			0.33	0.00	16.67**	0.13
		IDEOL	-0.3				
		ORIENT	0.21				
		BELIEFS	-0.58				
Educational expectations							
(n = 316)	1			0.02	0.02	3.21	3.21
		EDUC	1.79				
	2			0.29	0.27	12.43**	14.45**
		PAREMP	0.68				
		PAREXP	1.10				
		PARASP	6.01**				
		PARVAL	0.54				
	3			0.31	0.02	11.20**	3.87
		PEERS	1.97				
	4			0.31	0.00	7.35**	0.07
		IDEOL	0.41				
		ORIENT	0.26				
		BELIEFS	0.02				

(table continues)

	Step	Variables	t	R^2	ΔR^2	F	ΔF
Average mark on last report card (n = 313)	1			0.01	0.01	1.72	1.72
		EDUC	1.31				
	2			0.14	0.13	9.56**	11.47**
		PAREMP	4.43**				
		PAREXP	2.67**				
		PARASP	1.88				
		PARVAL	-0.32				
	3			0.14	0.00	8.03**	0.46
		PEERS	0.68				
	4			0.15	0.01	5.83**	1.38
		IDEOL	0.10				
		ORIENT	-1.76				
		BELIEFS	0.15				
Value of academic success (n = 314)	1			0.02	0.02	4.72*	4.72*
		EDUC	2.17*				
	2			0.50	0.48	60.29**	73.09**
		PAREMP	4.15**				
		PAREXP	2.67**				
		PARASP	3.19**				
		PARVAL	9.00**				
	3			0.50	0.01	51.27**	3.62
		PEERS	1.90				
	4			0.53	0.03	38.01**	6.23*
		IDEOL	2.56*				
		ORIENT	-2.17*				
		BELIEFS	0.45				

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

Note: EDUC = Parents' educational level. PAREMP = Parental emphasis on achievement. PAREXP = High parental expectations. PARASP = Parents' educational aspirations. PARVAL = Parents' value of academic success. PEERS = Peer support for academics. IDEOL = Ideology. ORIENT = Friend/social versus academic orientation. BELIEFS = Belief in the possibility of Blacks attaining success.

The unique variance explained by each variable or set of variables was examined. Each variable or (set of variables) was entered into the regression last in order to determine the additional variance that it predicted after all of the other variables were accounted for. Only the parent variables added significantly to the strength of the regression equation for all four academic outcomes. Thus, the parental variables were stronger predictors of students' academic outcomes than were the demographic, peer, or cultural variables. The unique variance explained by the predictors is presented in Table 28.

Table 28

Unique Variance Explained by Each Predictor or Set of Predictors of Educational Outcomes (Male and Female Participants Combined)

	Variable(s) entered last	Unique variance explained
Educational aspirations	Education	0.00
	Parent variables	0.28**
	Peer variable	0.00
	Cultural variables	0.00
Educational expectations	Education	0.00
	Parent variables	0.22**
	Peer variable	0.01
	Cultural variables	0.01
Average mark on last report card	Education	0.00
	Parent variables	0.09**
	Peer variable	0.00
	Cultural variables	0.01
Value of academic success	Education	0.00
	Parent variables	0.32**
	Peer variable	0.00
	Cultural variables	0.03**

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

Appendix K: Regression Analyses with SES

Hierarchical multiple regressions were conducted using SES instead of parents' educational level as the demographic variable. The predictor variables were entered in blocks, with SES constituting one block, the four parent variables constituting another block, the peer variable constituting another block, and the cultural variables constituting a fourth block.

SES was entered first because it is generally believed by researchers to be a strong predictor of general social behaviours and attitudes. Entering SES first made it possible to determine how much additional variance the other variables explained. SES by itself constituted Model 1. The parental variables were entered next as they were also expected to have a strong influence on various behaviours and attitudes in adolescents, including educational outcomes. The parental variables along with SES composed Model 2. The peer variable was entered third, as peers were also believed to be influential and it, in addition to the previous variables, composed Model 3. Finally, the cultural variables were entered as the final block since these are relatively new variables and their influences are not well known. All of the variables together composed Model 4. Each analysis was conducted separately for male and female students. In another set of regression analyses, male and female participants were combined. The transformed variables and the continuous version of the SES were used. The results are presented below.

Educational Aspiration

R^2 was not significantly different from zero for Model 1 (i.e., SES alone), but it was significantly different from zero after each of the other sets of variables were entered, parental, peer, and cultural. After all the variables were entered, multiple $R^2 = .36$, $F(9, 121) = 7.58$, $p < .001$ for male participants and multiple $R^2 = .44$, $F(9, 127) = 11.35$, $p < .001$ for female participants. The set of variables predicted 36% of the variability in academic aspiration for male students and 44% for female students.

The increment in R^2 was significant only for the addition of the parental variables to the equation for both male and female students; the peer and cultural variables did not add significant strength to the prediction of outcomes. Of the parental variables, only parental emphasis on

achievement and parental aspirations contributed to the prediction of outcomes for male students and only parental aspirations contributed to the prediction of outcomes for female students. The regression statistics are presented in Table 29.

Table 29

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analyses for Variables Predicting Students' Educational Aspirations (with SES as the Demographic Variable)

		Male Students (n = 131)					Female Students (n = 138)				
Step	Variables	t	R^2	ΔR^2	F	ΔF	t	R^2	ΔR^2	F	ΔF
1			0.00	0.00	0.08	0.08		0.00	0.00	0.02	0.02
	SES	-0.29					0.12				
2			0.35	0.35	13.52**	16.87**		0.43	0.43	20.03**	25.02**
	PAREMP	2.39*					0.72				
	PAREXP	-0.18					0.93				
	PARASP	7.11**					8.14**				
	PARVAL	-0.34					0.64				
3			0.35	0.00	11.19**	0.04		0.43	0.00	17.60**	0.15
	PEERS	-0.21					0.38				
4			0.36	0.01	7.58**	0.59		0.44	0.01	11.35**	0.92
	IDEOL	0.55					0.74				
	ORIENT	0.07					1.60				
	BELIEFS	-0.90					0.10				

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

Note: PAREMP = Parental emphasis on achievement. PAREXP = High parental expectations. PARASP = Parents' educational aspirations. PARVAL = Parents' value of academic success. PEERS = Peer support for academics. IDEOL = Ideology. ORIENT = Friend/social versus academic orientation. BELIEFS = Belief in the possibility of Blacks attaining success.

Educational Expectations

R^2 was not significantly different from zero for the Model 1 (with SES only), but it was significantly different from zero for Models 2, 3, and 4. After all the variables were entered, multiple $R^2 = .34$, $F(9, 121) = 6.99$, $p < .001$ for male participants and multiple $R^2 = .31$, $F(9, 128) = 6.41$, $p < .001$ for female students. The set of variables predicted 34% of the variability in academic expectations for male students and 31% for female students.

The increment in R^2 was significant only for the addition of the parental variables to the equation for both male and female participants. No further increment was found after that. Of the parental variables, only parents' educational aspirations contributed to the prediction of academic outcomes for male participants and both parents' educational aspirations and parental emphasis on achievement contributed tot he prediction of academic outcomes for female participants. The regression statistics are presented in Table 30.

Table 30

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analyses for Variables Predicting Students' Educational Expectations (with SES as the Demographic Variable)

		Male Students (n = 131)					Female Students (n = 138)				
Step	Variables	t	R^2	ΔR^2	F	ΔF	t	R^2	ΔR^2	F	ΔF
1			0.00	0.00	0.08	0.08		0.01	0.01	0.63	0.63
	SES	-0.28					0.8				
2			0.32	0.32	11.77**	14.68**		0.29	0.29	10.90**	13.41**
	PAREMP	1.95					2.78**				
	PAREXP	0.75					0.78				
	PARASP	5.40**					5.69**				
	PARVAL	1.41					-0.38				
3			0.34	0.02	10.52**	3.24		0.29	0.00	9.05**	0.12
	PEERS	1.79					0.35				
4			0.34	0.01	6.99**	0.29		0.31	0.02	6.41**	1.1
	IDEOL	0.18					-0.12				
	ORIENT	-0.31					0.48				
	BELIEFS	-0.57					-1.79				

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

Note: PAREMP = Parental emphasis on achievement. PAREXP = High parental expectations. PARASP = Parents' educational aspirations. PARVAL = Parents' value of academic success. PEERS = Peer support for academics. IDEOL = Ideology. ORIENT = Friend/social versus academic orientation. BELIEFS = Belief in the possibility of Blacks attaining success.

Average Mark on Last Report Card

R^2 was significantly different from zero for all four models for male and for female students. After all the variables were entered, multiple $R^2 = .15$, $F(9, 119) = 2.36$, $p < .05$ for male students and multiple $R^2 = .17$, $F(9, 127) = 2.88$, $p < .01$ for female students. The set of variables predicted 15% of the variability in average marks for male and 17% for female participants.

In Model 1, with SES alone in the equation, the increment in R^2 was significant for both male and female students. In Model 2, with the parental variables added to the regression for average marks, the increment in R^2 was also significant, adding 9% for males and 11% for females. The peer and cultural variables did not add significantly to the explained variance. For male students, SES contributed to the prediction of academic outcomes, and although the set of parent variables resulted in a significant increment in R^2, none of the individual variables in the set, by itself, contributed significantly to the prediction of outcomes. For female students, SES, parental emphasis on achievement, and high parental expectations all contributed to the prediction of their academic outcomes (see Table 31 for the regression figures).

Table 31

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analyses for Variables Predicting Students' Average Mark on Last Report Card (with SES as the Demographic Variable)

		Male Students (n = 129)					Female Students (n = 137)				
Step	Variables	t	R^2	ΔR^2	F	ΔF	t	R^2	ΔR^2	F	ΔF
1			0.04	0.04	4.72*	4.72*		0.04	0.04	5.47*	5.47*
	SES	2.17*					2.34*				
2			0.13	0.09	3.78**	3.45*		0.15	0.11	4.66**	4.32**
	PAREMP	1.68					3.10**				
	PAREXP	1.89					2.01*				
	PARASP	0.14					0.94				
	PARVAL	1.04					-1.42				
3			0.13	0.00	3.13**	0.03		0.16	0.01	3.96**	0.56
	PEERS	0.16					0.75				
4			0.15	0.02	2.36*	0.86		0.17	0.01	2.88**	0.76
	IDEOL	-0.17					-0.74				
	ORIENT	-0.85					-1.46				
	BELIEFS	1.45					-0.07				

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

Note: PAREMP = Parental emphasis on achievement. PAREXP = High parental expectations. PARASP = Parents' educational aspiration. PARVAL = Parents' value of academic success. PEERS = Peer support for academics. IDEOL = Ideology. ORIENT = Friend/social versus academic orientation. BELIEFS = Belief in the possibility of Blacks attaining success.

Value of Academic Success

R^2 was not significantly different from zero with SES alone in the equation for male participants; however, it was significant for all subsequent models. In contrast, R^2 was significantly different from zero for female participants after each variable or set of variables was entered.

After all the variables were entered, multiple $R^2 = .62$, $F(9, 121) = 22.47$, $p < .001$ for male students and multiple $R^2 = .50$, $F(9, 127) = 14.16$, $p < .001$ for female students. The set of variables predicted 62% of the variance in value of academic success for male and 50% for female participants. For male students the increment in R^2 was significant in Models 2 and 3, when the parental variables and the peer variables were added, respectively. A different pattern emerged for female participants. The increment in R^2 was significant in Model 1 for SES, in Model 2 when the parent variables were added, and in Model 4 when the cultural variables were added. The addition of peer support for academics, in contrast, did not significantly increase the predictive powers of the set of variables in the female students' data.

For the male participants, parental emphasis on achievement, parents' value of academic success, and peer support for academics all contributed to the prediction of academic outcomes. For female students, SES, all four parental variables, and ideology contributed significantly to the prediction of academic outcomes. The regression statistics are presented in Table 32.

Table 32

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analyses for Variables Predicting Students' Value of Academic Success (with SES as the Demographic Variable)

		Male Students (n = 131)					Female Students (n = 138)				
Step	Variables	t	R^2	ΔR^2	F	ΔF	t	R^2	ΔR^2	F	ΔF
1			0.01	0.01	0.75	0.75		0.03	0.03	3.96*	3.96*
	SES	0.87					1.99*				
2			0.60	0.59	38.09**	47.16**		0.42	0.39	19.44**	22.67**
	PAREMP	5.15**					2.03*				
	PAREXP	1.52					2.25*				
	PARASP	1.18					2.22*				
	PARVAL	8.37**					4.60**				
3			0.62	0.02	34.15**	6.33*		0.42	0.00	16.08**	0.01
	PEERS	2.52*					-0.10				
4			0.63	0.01	22.47**	0.29		0.50	0.08	14.16**	6.37**
	IDEOL	0.65					2.15*				
	ORIENT	0.13					-2.04				
	BELIEFS	0.75					0.08				

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

Note: PAREMP = Parental emphasis on achievement. PAREXP = High parental expectations. PARASP = Parents' educational aspirations. PARVAL = Parents' value of academic success. PEERS = Peer support for academics. IDEOL = Ideology. ORIENT = Friend/social versus academic orientation. BELIEFS = Belief in the possibility of Blacks attaining success.

In order to determine how important the parental variables were in contrast to the other predictor variables, each variable or set of variables was entered into the equation last to determine the unique contribution made over and above that made by the other variables. The increment in the predictive power of each set of variables for the academic outcomes is discussed below (see Table 33 for the unique variance accounted for by each predictor or set of predictors).

Educational Aspirations

After all other variables were accounted for, the peer support and the cultural variables did not result in a significant increment in R^2. In contrast, after all the other variables were accounted for, the parental variables increased the predictive power by 30% for male and 39% for female students. SES also did not result in a significant increment in R^2 for male students, however, it resulted in a small but significant increase for female students, 2%. Thus, for academic aspiration, the set of parental variables was a more important predictor of educational outcomes for both male and female participants than were the other variables.

Educational Expectations

Both SES and the cultural variables added little predictive power to the regression equation for educational expectations. Peer support did not result in an increment in R^2 for female students and it only resulted in a minimal increase for male students. In contrast, the parental variables increased R^2 by 24% for male and 26% for female students. Thus, the set of parental variables was the strongest predictor of students' educational expectations.

Average Mark on Last Report Card

The set of parental variables is a stronger predictor of average mark on last report card than either the SES, the peer, or the cultural variables. Addition of the parental variables to the regression resulted in a greater increase in R^2 than addition of any of the other variables. After all of the other variables were accounted for, the parental variables resulted in an increment of 7% in R^2 for male students and 10% for female students.

Value of Academic Success

The SES variable added little predictive power to the regression equation for both male and female students. The peer variable did add a small but significant amount of predictive power for male students, 2%. The cultural variable, although it resulted in only a slight increment for male participants, did increase the strength of the model by 8%. However, the parental variables were the strongest, increasing R^2 by 42% for male and 29% for female students.

Table 33

Unique Variance Explained by Predictors of Academic Outcomes (with SES as the Demographic Variable

	Variable(s) entered last	Unique variance explained	
		Male students	Female students
Educational aspirations	SES	0.01	0.02*
	Parent variables	0.30**	0.39**
	Peer variable	0.00	0.00
	Cultural variables	0.01	0.01
Educational expectations	SES	0.00	0.01
	Parent variables	0.24**	0.26**
	Peer variable	0.01	0.00
	Cultural variables	0.01	0.02
Average mark on last report card	SES	0.02	0.01
	Parent variables	0.07*	0.10**
	Peer variable	0.00	0.01
	Cultural variables	0.02	0.02
Value of academic success	SES	0.00	0.00
	Parent variables	0.42**	0.29**
	Peer variable	0.02*	0.00
	Cultural variables	0.00	0.08**

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

The regression analyses were conducted again with the male and female students combined. The pattern of results obtained for the whole sample closely paralleled the findings obtained separately for male and female participants. The set of predictors predicted a significant amount of the variance for all four outcomes. The predictors were strongest for value of academic success and weakest for average mark on last report card. The set of parent variables resulted in the greatest $\underline{\Delta R^2}$ when added to the regression equation. SES resulted in a significant $\underline{\Delta R^2}$ for average mark on last report card and value of academic success. The peer variable and cultural variables, specifically ideology, resulted in a significant $\underline{\Delta R^2}$ only for value of academic success. The regression statistics for the analyses with male and female participants combined are presented below in Table 34.

Table 34

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analyses for Variables Predicting Students' Academic Outcomes for Male and Female Students Combined (with SES as the Demographic Variable)

	Step	Variables	t	R^2	ΔR^2	F	ΔF
Educational aspirations (n = 269)	1			0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
		SES	0.03				
	2			0.40	0.40	34.9**	43.75**
		PAREMP	2.35*				
		PAREXP	0.44				
		PARASP	11.22**				
		PARVAL	0.15				
	3			0.40	0.00	29.10**	0.17
		PEERS	0.42				
	4			0.40	0.00	19.48**	0.54
		IDEOL	0.77				
		ORIENT	0.53				
		BELIEFS	-0.04				
Educational expectations (n = 269)	1			0.00	0.00	0.24	0.24
		SES	0.49				
	2			0.32	0.32	24.38**	30.39**
		PAREMP	3.35**				
		PAREXP	1.03				
		PARASP	8.15**				
		PARVAL	0.84				
	3			0.32	0.01	20.88**	2.63
		PEERS	1.62				
	4			0.33	0.01	14.33**	1.16
		IDEOL	0.11				
		ORIENT	0.19				
		BELIEFS	-1.69				

(table continues)

	Step	Variables	t	R^2	ΔR^2	F	ΔF
Average mark on last report card (n = 266)	1			0.04	0.04	10.66**	10.66**
		SES	3.26**				
	2			0.14	0.10	8.54**	7.74**
		PAREMP	3.44**				
		PAREXP	2.6*				
		PARASP	1.18				
		PARVAL	0.01				
	3			0.14	0.00	7.3**	1.08
		PEERS	1.04				
	4			0.16	0.02	5.44**	1.63
		IDEOL	-0.27				
		ORIENT	-2.09*				
		BELIEFS	1.25				
Value of academic success (n = 269)	1			0.02	0.02	4.38*	4.38*
		SES	2.09*				
	2			0.52	0.50	56.37**	68.27**
		PAREMP	4.82**				
		PAREXP	2.58*				
		PARASP	2.84**				
		PARVAL	9.10**				
	3			0.53	0.01	48.23**	4.15*
		PEERS	2.04*				
	4			0.55	0.02	35.12**	4.76**
		IDEOL	2.37*				
		ORIENT	-1.87				
		BELIEFS	0.62				

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

Note: PAREMP = Parental emphasis on achievement. PAREXP = High parental expectations. PARASP = Parents' educational aspirations. PARVAL = Parents' value of academic success. PEERS = Peer support for academics. IDEOL = Ideology. ORIENT = Friend/social versus academic orientation. BELIEFS = Belief in the possibility of Blacks attaining success.

The unique variance explained was also examined for the whole sample. There were no surprises. After all of the other variables were accounted for, the set of parental variables significantly increased the predictive strength of the regression equation, for all four academic outcomes. The peer variable did not add significantly to the strength of the set of predictors for any of the outcomes, after all the other variables were accounted for. SES added significant strength to the prediction of educational aspirations, and the set of cultural variables added significant strength to the regression equation for value of academic success. The results are presented in Table 35.

Table 35

Unique Variance Explained by Predictors of Educational Outcomes for Male and Female Students Combined (with SES as the Demographic Variable)

	Variable(s) entered last	Unique variance explained
Academic aspiration	SES	0.01*
	Parent variables	0.35**
	Peer variable	0.00
	Cultural variables	0.00
Academic expectation	SES	0.01
	Parent variables	0.25**
	Peer variable	0.01
	Cultural variables	0.01
Average mark on last Report card	SES	0.01*
	Parent variables	0.07**
	Peer variable	0.00
	Cultural variables	0.02
Value of academic Success	SES	0.00
	Parent variables	0.33**
	Peer variable	0.00
	Cultural variables	0.03**

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

Appendix L: Correlations

Table 36

Correlations Among Predictor Variables

		PEERS	BELIEFS	ORIENT	IDEOL	PAREMP	PAREXP	PARASP	PARVAL
PEERS		1.00							
	N	429							
BELIEFS		-.128**	1.00						
	N	418	419						
ORIENT		-.124*	.382**	1.00					
	N	418	410	419					
IDEOL		.305**	-.385**	-.451**	1.00				
	N	417	410	408	418				
PAREMP		.249 **	-.079	-.133*	.203**	1.00			
	N	351	344	344	340	350			
PAREXP		.238**	-.024	-.090	.248**	.188**	1.00		
	N	427	416	415	415	349	426		
PARASP		.220**	-.109*	-.217**	.209**	.144**	.330**	1.00	
	N	427	417	417	416	351	425	428	
PARVAL		.263**	-.041	-.175**	.259**	.208**	.542**	.404**	1.00
	N	422	414	413	413	347	419	422	422

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed); ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Note: PEERS = Peer support for academics. BELIEFS = Belief in the possibility of Blacks attaining success. ORIENT = Friend/social versus academic orientation. IDEOL = Ideology. PAREMP = Parental emphasis on achievement. PAREXP = Parents' expectations of high achievement. PARASP = Parents' aspirations. PARVAL = Parents' value of academic success.

Table 37

Correlations Between Predictor and Demographic Variables

		PAREMP	PAREXP	PARASP	PARVAL	PEERS	IDEOL	ORIENT	BELIEFS
MOMEDUC		.201**	.083	.100*	.032	.080	.057	.069	-.068
	N	344	413	415	412	416	407	408	408
DADEDUC		.203**	.076	.102*	.072	.087	.033	.034	-.087
	N	318	370	372	367	373	363	365	364
EDUC		.229**	.085	.113*	.087	.083	.061	.044	-.061
	N	344	416	418	413	419	408	410	409
MOMSES		.107	.085	.082	.035	.031	.220**	-.091	-.112*
	N	267	314	314	310	315	309	306	306
DADSES		.217**	.156*	.163**	.152*	-.007	.176**	-.076	-.084
	N	231	256	258	252	257	251	252	2
SES		.197**	.128*	.130*	.117*	.033	.232**	-.086	-.132*
	N	294	348	350	344	350	343	341	341

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed); ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Note: PEERS = Peer support for academics. BELIEFS = Belief in the possibility of Blacks attaining success. ORIENT = Friend/social versus academic orientation. IDEOL = Ideology. PAREMP = Parental emphasis on achievement. PAREXP = Parents' expectations of high achievement. PARASP = Parents' aspiration. PARVAL = Parents value of academic success. MOMEDUC = Mothers' level of education. DADEDUC = Fathers' level of education. EDUC = Parents' educational level (Highest of mothers' or fathers' educational level). MOMSES = Mothers' occupation. DADSES = Fathers' occupation. SES = Parents' occupational level (highest of mothers' or fathers' occupational level).

Table 38

Correlations Among Demographic Variables

		MOMEDUC	DADEDUC	MOMSES	DADSES	SES	EDUC
MOMEDUC		1.00					
	N	417					
DADEDUC		.455**	1.00				
	N	371	374				
MOMSES		.465**	.131*	1.00			
	N	312	283	315			
DADSES		.297**	.507**	.297**	1.00		
	N	253	250	211	258		
SES		.422**	.318**	.833**	.760**	1.00	
	N	344	315	306	256	351	
EDUC		.748**	.848**	.307**	.451**	.417**	1.00
	N	417	374	312	256	347	420

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed); ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

MOMEDUC = Mothers' level of education. DADEDUC = Fathers' level of education. EDUC = Parents' educational level (highest of mothers' or fathers' educational level). MOMSES = Mothers' occupation. DADSES = Fathers' occupation. SES = Parents' occupational level (highest of mothers' or fathers' occupational level).

Table 39

Correlations Among Outcome Variables

		MARKS	EXPECT	ASPIRE	VALUE
MARKS		1.000			
	N	425			
EXPECT		.258**	1.000		
	N	421	426		
ASPIRE		.194**	.606**	1.000	
	N	423	426	428	
VALUE		.301**	.457**	.381**	1.000
	N	420	422	424	425

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed); ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Note. MARKS = Average mark on last report card. EXPECT = Students' educational expectations.

ASPIRE = Students' educational aspirations. VALUE = Students' value of academic success.