



Education Success for Black Children in the Public School System: Parent Participation and Community Empowerment

79

Alison Taysum and Carole Collins Ayanlaja

Contents

Introduction	1826
The Context: Racialization in the Socioeconomic Fabric of Society	1828
White Privilege	1830
Recognizing Black Citizens' Funds of Capital in School	1832
Parents' Funds of Capital They Can Use to Advocate for Their Black Children	1834
Recognizing Black Funds of Capital and Decoding Educational Systems for Smooth Transitions into Higher Education, the Labor Market, Home Ownership, and Middle-Class Benefits	1835
Research Design	1836
To What Extent Is Black Children's Capital Recognized Within the Education System's Processes and Practices	1837
Parents' Funds of Capital to Advocate for Their Black Children in School Processes and Practices	1839
Recognizing Black Funds of Capital to Underpin Success in Educational Systems and Smooth Transitions into Higher Education, the Labor Market, Home Ownership, and Middle-Class Benefits	1840
Discussion and Conclusion: Theorizing the Findings to Test a New Model of Participation and Community Empowerment	1841
References	1843

Abstract

The qualitative case study taking a social constructivist approach draws on interviews with 26 parents of 24 Black children in the United States. The case study addresses the professional challenge that Black children experience

A. Taysum (✉)
University of Leicester, Leicester, UK
e-mail: ast11@leicester.ac.uk

C. C. Ayanlaja
Eastern Illinois University, Charleston, IL, USA
e-mail: Cayanlaja@gmail.com

significant school achievement challenges not experienced by White children. The research identifies this as a global phenomenon. The United States currently has 24.32% of the \$72 trillion-dollar global economy with the next nation state being China with 14.84%. US economic dominance in world markets and influence on policy mobilization through foreign aid and loan have resulted in unrivaled power in world affairs and growing globalization of world politics. Therefore successful innovative strategies to eliminate the Black-White achievement gap implemented in the United States are more likely to have a multiplier effect on the international social justice agenda for human evolution through policy mobilization than any other national agenda. That is why this research is key to this international handbook for social justice. The case study findings reveal that (a) networks of dominant cultures within public school systems construct identities that do not include Black capital; (b) without recognition of Black capital, parents of Black children are unable to advocate for their children's educational success and smooth transitions into college and the labor market access to middle-class benefits; and (c) this reduces Black young people's objective chances of gaining elite leadership and policy making positions in the US institutions. We present an innovative strategy and Model of Participation and Community Empowerment to eliminate the Black-White achievement gap. Further research for proof of concept is required and if successful mainstreamed in the United States for optimum impact on eliminating the Black-White achievement gap as an international social justice phenomenon.

Keywords

Inclusion · Respect · Multicultural education systems · Innovation

Introduction

The legacy of the African-American struggle to achieve social and educational equality in the United States needs to be addressed to deliver the declaration of human rights within a context of inclusionary social regimes. Nathan Glazer's essay, "Emergence of an American Ethnic Pattern," identifies redressing the inequalities experienced by African-Americans connects with redressing the inequalities of all deprived groups. These can include those discriminated against because of their class, age, race, disability, gender reassignment, marriage or civil partnership, race, religion or belief, sex, or sexual orientation which are all protected characteristics in the UK Equalities Act Equalities and Human Rights Commission (2010). Glazer identifies that first the inequalities need to be defined. Our research focuses on defining the inequalities parents face when advocating for their Black children in a US school system. We seek to (a) document parents' descriptions of the inequalities, (b) compare and contrast them between the parents in the study, (c) compare and contrast this critical analysis with the literature and identify characteristics of effective and successful community participation, and (d) develop a model that deconstructs these characteristics, item by item, and tests them mapped to levels of

effective and successful community participation. The model as a tool for critically evaluating community engagement and then mapping culturally relevant planning of knowledge to action strategies is important. This is because Wagner (2010) identifies that Black children are not achieving their full potential and that a Black-White achievement gap is a global phenomenon. The gap needs eradicating so that all students regardless of color can succeed and convert their subjective aspirations into objective realities (Taysum & Gunter, 2008).

We focus on parents of Black children because there are an estimated 45,672,250 Black residents in the United States (US Census Bureau, 2016). Although this number is smaller than the estimated 57,230,247 Hispanic population resident in the United States, 50,218,265 of this Hispanic population identify as White (ibid.) and therefore need to be the focus of a separate study.

Generating new knowledge of parents of Black students' experiences and their quest to gain access, equity, and academic success for their Black children offers researchers the opportunity to encounter the effects of deficit thinking in schools (Koonce & Harper, 2005). Through these new understandings, we consider strategies to counteract a deficit model and strengthen the level of Black families' and students' agency using a community empowerment approach.

Power (2012) identifies that there are many barriers to building socially just and participatory education systems. Power and Taylor (2013) argue that there are many dimensions to social justice, and addressing these may require different publics of a broader public sphere to hold the state to account. Heystek (2014) argues schools are accountable to children, parents, and the broader community about the role schools play in constructing identities and how different groups think about the way different forms of capital are included in the construction of identity. In this study capital is defined as the resources, and knowledge, and networks people have access to which underpins their position and power in society (Bourdieu, 2000). This qualitative research investigates the extent to which 26 parents of 24 Black students believe their Black capital empowers them to participate in an education system to advocate for their Black children. The advocacy focuses on building capacity for the school staff's cultural capital so that in partnership, parents and school staff can develop the Black children's capital and identity as successful learners and thus eliminate the Black-White achievement gap (Carter & Welner, 2013). Here it may be seen that weak ties in networks may be important for mobilizing innovative strategies to mainstream because weak ties have a more inclusive membership with diverse views that need delicate deliberation (Granovetter, 1973; Dewey, 1916). Strong ties in networks may be limited to a small dominant group who do not listen to other arguments and perpetuate the status quo and hence can be dangerous and even elite (Garbarino, Dubrown, Kostelny, & Pardo, 1992). As Epstein et al. (2018) identify, overlapping spheres of influence are critical in developing networks that include mentors that Collins-Ayanlaja, Brookins, and Taysum (2018) identify "look like me." The 24 Black students attend Selma High School in Selma (pseudonyms for school and locale), which is a suburban community next to a major Midwestern metropolis in the United States.

The research has four aims:

First to establish parents' understanding of the extent to which their Black children's capital is recognized in school

Second to report how the parents believe their funds of capital empower them to advocate for their Black children

Third to understand how parents believe their funds of capital are recognized and empower their Black children to experience success in education systems and smooth transitions into higher education, the labor market, home ownership, and middle-class benefits

Finally to theorize the findings and generate a progressive Model of Participation and Community Empowerment to test for proof of concept

The Context: Racialization in the Socioeconomic Fabric of Society

Selma way is a relatively affluent suburb with most Black families in this study living on the West side of the City (Obama, 2018). Schools in Selma way have operated under a desegregation policy since 1967 although desegregation in schools legally ended in 1954 with the *Brown v. Board of Education* (United States Supreme Court, 1954). The history of segregation in the United States can be traced back to slavery with the "one drop of blood rule" which meant if a male slave owner had a child with a Black female slave, the child would be categorized as Black. The Black child had no rights to property or wealth of their White father (Lee & Bean, 2010). The United States abolished slavery with the 13th Amendment to the US Constitution in 1865 (Library of Congress, 2015). However, Louisiana and Tennessee legalized the "one drop of blood rule" in 1910 that ensured any person classified as "mixed race" would be classified as Black (Lee & Bean, 2012). This is called a hypodescent rule. The implications of this for families during segregation would be a White father would be segregated from his child in society if the mother of the child was categorized as Black. Lee and Bean (2012) affirm that by 1925 most states in the United States had institutionalized this race law into practice. In 1930 the US Census classified all mixed-race "Black" people as "Negro."

Today the United States currently has 24.32% of the \$72 trillion-dollar global economy with the next nation state being China with 14.84% (Desjardins, 2017). US economic dominance in world markets and influence of policy mobilization through foreign aid and loans have resulted in unrivaled power in world affairs and growing globalization of world politics. This positions the United States to be more likely than any other nation state to have a multiplier effect on the international social justice agenda for successful innovative strategies that eliminate the Black-White achievement gap for equity, renewal, and human evolution. This is the rationale for why this research is key to this international handbook for social justice.

At the same time, it is important to note that the US wealth was built on networks of capital dependent on slavery, colonizers, and colonized. This includes the slaves' building of railroads that transported commodities around the states to steam ships to

export to the rest of the world (Beckert, 2015). As Baptist (2016, pp. xxiii–xxiv) identifies:

The idea that the commodification and suffering and forced labour of African Americans is what made the United States powerful and rich is not an idea that people necessarily are happy to hear. Yet it is the truth. And that truth was the half of the story that survived mostly in the custodianship of those who survived slavery's expansion. . . . what survivors (slaves) experienced, analysed and named was a slavery that did not fit comfortable boxes into which other Americans have been trying to fit it ever since it ended.

Today the impact of slavery and of the racialization that shaped social policies in the United States as late as 1967 where segregation still existed in Selma schools can be seen in other spheres of the socioeconomic fabric of society. In 2015, the fourth quartile national statistics reveal 72.2% of White folk were homeowners and 41.9% of Black folk were homeowners (US Census Bureau, 2016). In Selma the majority of the Black population are not homeowners, while the majority of the White population are homeowners (Anon, 2007). In Selma High School, the Black student population is 41.3%, and the White student population is 48% with 72.9% White teachers and 21.6% Black teachers (Anon, 2007). The evidence reveals a lack of proportional representation of the Black student body by Black teachers in schools and therefore a lack of Black role models with Black capital for the Black student population. This pattern is seen when benchmarking Selma's local statistics to national statistics. The National Center for Education Statistics (2009) identifies in 2007–2009 Black teachers made up 6.7% of the US teaching population, and the National Center for Education Statistics (2010) identified nationally 17% of the student population from prekindergarten to year 12 were Black.

Lawrence (2015) argues that schools in the United States with higher percentage of Black students have lower average achievement levels. Rich (2013) argues that a post-racial society is in the transition phase. A post-racial society here is defined as more than what Green and Janmaat (2011) call a liberal regime of social cohesion because it does more than offer equal opportunity to all individuals regardless of race or class. A post-racial society ensures all individuals and identities can meaningfully participate with an equal offer. Here meaningful participation offers social mobility and therefore redistribution along with recognition and representation of different forms of capital without favor. This definition ensures authentic equal outcomes for all (Pring 2012) and does not advantage groups who hold the same funds of knowledge as the funds of knowledge implicitly held in the dominant group's offer. A post-racial society is more than a social market regime of social cohesion (Green & Janmaat, 2011) because it has a focus on shared values and active participation. Rather Rich (2013) argues that a post-racial society is a society characterized by open systems (Bourdieu, 2000) where full and equal opportunities enable all individuals to be entrepreneurs and innovators in the social sphere of public and private enterprises that ensures political freedom for all (Smith, 1776). These political freedoms are balanced with legal regulations to protect the public from exploitation (Bertaux & Bertaux-Wiame, 1981), particularly from small elite dominant networks with strong ties (Garbarino, Dubrown, Kostelny, & Pardo, 1992;

Taysum, 2018). These political freedoms ensure public safeguarding for which the public are able to hold the state to account.

In a post-racial society, the political freedom is in balance with the inclusion of all authentic voices of the public, the economy, and the state regardless of how folk look based on their genetic heritage. For a post-racial society, the balance arguably needs to be without too much excess of the individual's economic, cultural, and political power or capital and without too much deficiency of the authentic community's economic, cultural, and political power or capital. This balance potentially connects with what Aristotle edited by Brown (2009) in *Nicomachean Ethics* calls the mean, or golden mean. This is not the case in many nation states, for example, Africa, which needs investment in infrastructure including railroads to grow the economy (Arezki & Sy, 2016). The case of Africa is particularly pertinent due to US historical African American slavery where African human beings were forced into slavery to build the wealth of the US nation including infrastructure.

White Privilege

Our position in this chapter is that folk who have White capital including White funds of knowledge have White privilege which gives them privileged access to education systems. Yosso (2005) argues that rather than basing learning and teaching on Black children's funds of knowledge, testing regimes focus on measuring competences based on dominant White funds of capital. Those with White privilege need to gain insights into how an educational system has been shaped by history and politics that has privileged White capital affording educational success, smooth transitions into higher education, the labor market, economic success, home ownership, and other middle-class benefits for White folk (Burchinal, Roberts, Zeisel, & Rowley, 2008). We believe this is only possible if authentic narratives or stories of Black families reveal their perceptions of the impact of privilege held by dominant groups. Hearing the stories of Black families' experience of participation and community cohesion with the school as the hub is the focus of this research. By authentic we mean real communication that recognizes the Black families' experience and continues to recognize it throughout all communications thereafter (Taysum & Gunter, 2008). This empowers Black families and challenges communication that privileges dominant hegemonies and White privilege (McIntosh, 1988).

There is a gap in the literature that describes, analyses and provides strategies to optimise Black families' participation and community empowerment in educational systems (Rollock, Gillborn, Vincent, & Ball, 2015). This claim is supported by Rich (2013) who identifies schools in the United States are not enabling parents of Black children to participate authentically in school processes and practices. This perpetuates the Black-White achievement gap which is a global phenomenon (Wagner, 2010). This lack of equity in the school system globally is a barrier to delivering the declaration of human rights (United Nations, 1948) and assuring the Rights of the Child (United Nations, 1989/1990). From an economic perspective, the Black-White achievement gap prevents economic growth because Black children underperform at

school at an individual microeconomic level. This negatively affects their smooth transition into college and/or the labor market and often prevents them from becoming homeowners. In the United States, property tax makes a significant contribution to education (Chicago Public Schools, 2019). Black families are penalized twice for not being homeowners. First, they are penalized because of the global Black-White achievement. The consequence is they do not become homeowners which means their Black children go to schools with less property tax funding. Such barriers to access reduce spending power, which negatively affects personal wealth and the wealth of the local community, which may lead to debt (Horizon, 2020). At a meso-economic level, such underperformance may negatively affect the wealth of the state and negatively impact gross domestic product (Mitchell, 2012). At a macroeconomic level, such underperformance arguably reduces the economic wealth of a nation within the global economic markets, where all nation states need to contribute to a vibrant global economy.

The aims of this research are different to Vincent, Rollock, Ball, and Gillborn (2011) who conducted research with middle-class parents of Black children and their engagement with long-term strategies such as moving house to enable their children to access “good schools.” However, we do connect with the ideas of Vincent et al. (2011) regarding parents of Black children not being able to rely on past generations of capital due to a history of slavery and segregation, in the way that White middle-class parents might, and this makes the school a “high-risk site” that parents need to “manage and monitor” (p. 351).

This research is distinctive because it was carried out in the United States by Collins Ayanlaja as part of a wider study, “Suburban School Achievement Study (SSAS),” with principal investigators Diamond and Lewis (Diamond et al. 2007). The SSAS study focused on schools’ role in the achievement gap from the perspectives of the students. The SSAS study used data regarding the parents’ educational experiences and employment, to group students by social class (Diamond, Lewis, & Gordon, 2007). The research here reported is distinctively different because it focuses on the responses of the parents regarding how Black capital is recognized in a school system, how Black capital enables parents to advocate for their Black children’s success in school, and how Black capital is recognized in a school system to facilitate educational success. Taysum and Collins Ayanlaja have partnered in this research with Taysum engaging with the data as secondary data to enable the partnership to develop international perspectives to theorize the findings. We build on Vincent et al. (2011) and Rollock et al. (2015) and examine the literature that locates parents of Black children within a legacy of institutionalized racism that misrecognizes Black capital leading to low educational achievement (Lawrence, 2015).

We take an interpretivist approach, and report data collected by semi-structured interview with 26 parents of 24 Black students attending Selma high school, adjacent to a major Midwestern metropolis in the United States. To address the aims of our research, we ask four research questions. First, to what extent is Black children’s capital recognized in the school? Second, to what extent do the parents of the Black children feel they have the funds of capital required to advocate for their

children? Third, to what extent is Black capital recognized in an education system to enable Black children to achieve their potential and gain educational success? Finally, what new theories of participation emerge from the research?

Recognizing Black Citizens' Funds of Capital in School

The historically subordinated racial status of Black students and their parents persists today and prevents access to the White dominant funds of capital, which affords upward mobility (Roscigno and Ainsworth-Darnell, 1999). Martinot (2000) argues that the White working classes wanted to continue to exclude Black citizens so that they could feel superior and gain a sense of power. Crozier (2001) argues White parents mobilize their capacity to utilize intervention strategies to improve their children's educational success. Parents of Black children recognize school reforms seek equitable access to educational success. At the same time, Parents of Black children identify education systems do not provide them with the same opportunities to mobilize their capacity as White parents. Thus parents of Black children are prevented from advocating for and utilizing intervention strategies to improve their Black children's educational success (Ndimande, 2012). Reynolds, Howard, and Kenyatta Jones (2013) argue Black fathers are ignored in home-school relationships. Stanton-Salazar (2010) argues that in order for marginalized groups and in this case Black citizens to utilize intervention strategies to improve their children's educational success, they must gain a "bicultural network orientation." Bicultural network orientation means authentic engagement with two different cultures so citizens become what Carter calls (2008, p. 25) "cultural straddlers." Cultural straddlers can cross cultural borders and operate in both cultures. By operating in two cultures, they can overcome institutional barriers and gain diversified kinds of capital that enable them to navigate a curriculum that is shaped by the dominant culture.

Cultural straddlers who develop a bicultural network orientation or who can cross between more than one culture by developing a multicultural network orientation (Taysum & Slater, 2014) are able to navigate the education system effectively. Carter (2008) argued that a way to develop a bicultural network or multicultural network is to develop identity schemas in the classroom. These identity schemas map cultural heritage and highlight a culture's moments of immense courage and continuous steadfast resilience. Identity schemas developed for different groups reveal similarities and differences between groups. Therefore, identity schemas have the potential to reveal similarities and differences between White folks' funds of capital and Black folks' funds of capital. Recognizing the similarities and differences through sharing narratives or stories (Postman, 1996) using identity schemas may enable parents, students, and staff to facilitate bicultural and/or multicultural straddling. Developing identity schemas may enable communities to identify where cultural alignment does and does not empower all students to decode the education system (Taysum, 2016). Developing such bicultural or multicultural identities (Taysum & Slater, 2014) arguably affords access to the kinds of capital required for school success and for

successful transitions to college, the labor market, and middle-class benefits based on merit rather than on privilege.

Adopting identity schemas in classrooms offers the chance for Black students to celebrate their identity, rather than be positioned in schools from a cultural deficit perspective (Howard, 2010). Developing identity schemas also develops participatory processes and practices which can help students learn more about two key issues for social and economic sustainability (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 2005). First is to learn about living with each other peacefully for multicultural cohesive communities as discussed above (Green & Janmaat, 2011; Lee & Bean, 2010; Rich, 2013). This is particularly important with increasing numbers of migrants crossing borders. Second is to optimize their learning and learning outcomes through meaningful tasks that they can relate to their hopes and aspirations to become homeowners, have a family, and invest for their retirement.

Teachers need to develop trust between themselves and the students (Möllering, 2001). Trust is important if identity schemas are to promote the development of inclusionary and respectful multicultural identities. Teachers also need to develop strategies to be resilient because Reay (2003) argues minoritized students might expect to be excluded and then become complicit in their own exclusion. Masaaki (2012) identifies a further complication, which is teachers face damaging internal conflicts when developing relationships based on trust, and what Freire (1972) calls pedagogies for culturally meaningful tasks for their students. The conflicts arise because teachers are expected to deliver a standardized curriculum that does not include time to build relationships based on trust that recognize different students' identity schemas. Leaders therefore require policy and accountability regimes to facilitate constructive cross-cultural critique of identity schemas in the development of multicultural identities.

School leadership might adopt what Ishii, Klopff, and Cooke (2007) call collaborative school communities that facilitate constructive cross-cultural critique of alternative identity schemas or worldviews in the classroom. In this way school communities might use critical thinking tools (There is not scope in this chapter to explore the critical thinking tools that underpin the development of identity schemas. These are explored in depth using a framework Learning to Critically Analyse and Reflect for Emancipation (CARE) in the book Evidence Informed Leadership in Education (Taysum, 2012)) to understand White funds of capital and White privilege (Howard, 2006; McIntosh, 1988; Wong & Glass, 2009). Preparing teachers for this kind of identity work needs to be planned for and cannot be accomplished through one off workshops (Howard, 2006). Rather teacher preparation for multicultural identity work needs to focus on regular meetings where teachers can ask good questions about their students, including why teachers think there is an educational achievement gap based on race. The questions can be developed and address how teachers can build authentic relationships with all their students (Shields, 2014) moving towards post-racial classrooms and schools (Rich, 2013).

Teachers require time to think about their pedagogical relationships with their students in relation to their students' diverse identities, and they need to have thought through their own multicultural identities (Taysum & Slater, 2014). If time for this is

not created, there will not be time to challenge problems of racism, exclusion, inequality, and students feeling disrespected and misrecognized. Bush and Saltirelli (2000) argue that education can suppress and misrecognize cultural groups. Misrecognition is a barrier to social cohesion. Education systems that do not empower students leave students feeling isolated and vulnerable, and they seek a sense of belonging by looking to gangs for acceptance, which may lead to risky behavior (UNICEF, 2007).

Cork (2005) affirms that professional ideologies and hegemonies exclude Black children and their parents in Britain, which leads to cultural misalignment resulting in an achievement gap. Cross-cultural critique of different identity schemas or world views with staff, students, and parents taking an intergenerational participatory approach may enable the development of multicultural identities that support social cohesion (Banks, 1998; Gillborn, 2008; Gillborn, Rollock, Vincent, & Ball, 2012; Rich, 2013; Taysum & Slater, 2014; Waghid, 2010). The development of multicultural identities in classrooms empowers parents and their Black children to develop the funds of cultural capital that are dominant in schools to optimize learning and learning outcomes.

Parents' Funds of Capital They Can Use to Advocate for Their Black Children

Stanton-Salazar (2010) argues children and youth derive skills from family and community networks. The parents of Black students arguably need to participate in the development and application of thinking tools that critique alternative community networks and worldviews (Ishii et al., 2007). Understanding the different kinds of funds of capital of different cultures enables parents to advocate for their Black children to authentically participate in school processes and practices. The parents' ability to become cultural straddlers enables them to advocate for support to assist their Black children to become cultural straddlers (Okeke, 2014). For successful cultural straddling, parents of Black children require access to nonfamily institutional arenas, including the networks of those from dominant cultures and/or with White privilege. This is because discourses of the dominant culture are not mastered by being taught; rather learners are inducted into discourses and scaffolded by people within the dominant networks who are already masters of the discourse (Stanton-Salazar, 2010). Discourses include expressions and preferences that denote group allegiance and include speech codes, dress styles, music choices, gestures, and what Dewey calls subdivisions "held together by varying languages, religions, moral codes, and traditions" (Dewey, 1916, p. 38).

Being inducted into these discourses enables the development of problem-solving competencies necessary to maneuver successfully in the educational system (Garbarino, Dubrown, Kostelny, & Pardo, 1992). The masters of the discourses are therefore figures with power who can empower and are both institutional agents and socialization agents. These agents can empower parents to help their Black children convert their application of the dominant discourses into capital. Capital

includes rewards, privileges, and resources that include educational outcomes, college eligibility, and access to middle-class benefits including owning a home and upward mobility (Stanton-Salazar, 2010).

Developing such boundary-crossing skills, using parents of Black children's capital and nonfamily sources is challenging because of the parents' lack of access to the dominant discourses which perpetuates the disconnect. The disconnect is a barrier to parents of Black children feeling they belong to school communities and prevents their authentic participation in school processes and practices (Lewis & Forman, 2002). To address the achievement gap, parents of Black children cannot expect to accommodate the school's value system because they do not have the discourses to do so. Carter (2005) identifies the gatekeepers of schools, and different economic organizations uphold cultural expectations of the dominant discourses that do not connect well with Black cultural practices. The outcome is that education systems replicate the status quo rather than retreat from this position and work to develop young people's democratic dispositions in their educational institutions (Dewey, 1916; MacLeod, 1995). To enable parents of Black children to advocate for the development of democratic, inclusionary, and respectful education systems, three areas need to be addressed. First, parents of Black children need the capital and opportunities to build relationships with the school through authentic invitations to bicultural and multicultural networks underpinned by inclusion, respect, and trust (Lareau, 2000; Lareau & Horvat, 1999; Möllering, 2001; Taysum & Slater, 2014). Second, parents need to use these bicultural and multicultural home-school relationships to advocate for their Black youth's identity schemas to maintain pride and self-esteem in Black familial discourses (Carter, 2005). Third, the home-school relationships within education systems need to nurture all groups such that leaders who empower all to be the best they can be can emerge from all social groups by merit (Markose & Simpson, 2016). Nurturing relationships between parents, staff, and all students purposively to develop multicultural dispositions through cross cultural critique of identity schemas, or world views discussed above, may allow cultural straddling. Here the cultural straddling empowers all, including the Black children, and thereby potentially optimizes learning to underpin learning outcomes and smooth transitions to higher education and/or the labor market, middle-class benefits, and social cohesion.

Recognizing Black Funds of Capital and Decoding Educational Systems for Smooth Transitions into Higher Education, the Labor Market, Home Ownership, and Middle-Class Benefits

Stanton-Salazar (2010) identifies schools rarely provide minority students with the necessary training to access the dominant discourses, gain bicultural or multicultural dispositions, and decode the curriculum located within the education system. The review of the literature identifies that such cross-cultural identity work might enable meritocracy empowering students to have equitable transitions to higher education, the labor market, and middle-class benefits. Equity of this kind is characteristic of the

liberal regime of social cohesion (Green & Janmaat, 2011). Möllering (2001) argues parents cannot trust that their children will be treated fairly by the education system. Working class and minority students depend more heavily on nonfamilial institutional agents to induct them into the dominant discourses of the education system. There is a contradictory and self-reinforcing cycle here. Working class and minority students potentially benefit most from nonfamilial institutional support to access dominant discourses through family-school networks. At the same time, they possess fewer opportunities to attain them. When schools take a sincere or authentic interest in students' success, their personnel seek to learn about the students and their experiences, creating solid student-educator relationships (Moll et al., 2005; Shields, 2014). For parents to be involved, they need to be included in home-school relationships and networks that give access to dominant discourses in inclusionary and respectful ways to work for equity and democracy (Clark, 1983; Okeke, 2014). However, including parents in home-school networks can be difficult if invitations are not authentic, and/or if parents' work commitments do not give them time to participate in these networks, particularly if they have low income and have three jobs to make rent (Shields, 2007).

In summary it is important to recognize Black citizens' funds of capital in school. Empowering students to develop bicultural and/or multicultural identities through cross-cultural critique of identity schemas, or alternative world views, may optimize learning and learning outcomes and underpin social cohesion. Parents need to participate in the development of bicultural and/or multicultural networking. These networks need to be underpinned by principles of inclusion, respect, and trust to optimize the effectiveness of strategies to advocate for Black children's educational success, access to college and/or the labor market, and middle-class benefits.

Research Design

The research focuses on the responses of 26 parents representing 24 Black students attending high school in a suburban community adjacent to a major Midwestern metropolis. The position we take in this research is that social reality is not shaped by factors external to its citizens. Rather, social reality is constructed by internal factors that members form and habitualized by interpreting activities (Bourdieu, 2000). Folk have the opportunity to replicate their real-life habits or critically analyze them and on reflection change them if they believe a different behavior better aligns with their values (Bhaskar, 2013; Bourdieu, 2000; Taysum, 2012). Therefore society is not viewed as an objective reality to which individuals are subject. Reality is objectified by folk who interpret it and from this knowledge define their reality and affirm it through attitudes and behaviors (Carr & Kemmis, 1986). Therefore our research will take an interpretive approach, which agrees with Ishii et al. (2007) who seek to constructively critique alternative worldviews to try to gain an inclusive understanding of multicultural perspectives.

We use qualitative methods to try to understand how parents of Black children are included in systems of meanings within an education system in the United States. The sample was purposive (Denscombe, 2010) and represented ethnically diverse parents of Black children in the school community. The purposive sample included Black immigrant parents, descendants of individuals from Africa and the Caribbean, nonimmigrant African-American parents, and two White parents raising children they identified as Black. In total 26 parents were interviewed, but 1 interview of 2 parents could not be used because the student was identified as White and was therefore outside of the study's focus. Twenty-one parents were classified as middle-class/white collar, and five parents were classified as working class/blue collar. The interviews were conducted in an area of the parents' choice where they could feel comfortable and be recorded clearly and there would be minimal sound distraction.

Using a constant comparative method, the data was visited multiple times to interpret them and generate theories and conclusions (Mertens, 1988). Through content analysis, describing, pattern matching and connecting, and categorization (Dey, 1993), three themes were identified within the data (Patton, 2002). First, parents of Black children did not believe their capital was recognized in education systems. Second, parents did not believe they had the capital that empowered them to advocate for their Black children's educational success. Third, home-school networks do not recognize Black capital and do not empower parents to utilize strategies to underpin their Black children's success in an education system.

The findings are local and particular and do not claim generalizations. Rather the reader is invited to connect with the findings and make sense of them in terms of their own understandings of recognizing diverse forms of capital to empower all students (Taysum & Gunter, 2008). Here the connections relate to recognizing multifarious forms of capital in an education system.

The research was conducted within the American Educational Research Association (2010) ethical framework and British Educational Research Association (2011) Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research with anonymity and confidentiality assured to participants along with informed consent and the right to withdraw from the research at any time.

To What Extent Is Black Children's Capital Recognized Within the Education System's Processes and Practices

Each of the 26 parents interviewed had some degree of mixed or limited familiarity with the internal practices of the school. Their perceptions were based on the ways in which specific personnel and measures of achievement recognized their Black children's capital and how decisions were made about their children's academic programs. A representative quote from a parent is:

I think it's his counsellors, but I'm not sure where she derives her decisions. . . . I'm confused on that issue because on one hand I'm assuming it's his test scores, his statewide test scores

or other test scores. On the other hand, I'm told that they're recommended by some teachers ... I'm a little confused.

The parents were concerned that the tests did not recognize their Black children's capital. One parent, who described her Black daughter as one who did well on standardized tests, represented this position and stated:

I am not an advocate for standardized tests. I don't agree with them and I don't believe in them because I think they can be biased ... I think most of these tests are designed for, first, all (White) European Americans ... the standards are according to how (White) European Americans score.

Half of the parents of both lower and higher achieving students in this study believed that standardized tests were not a good measure of their Black children's capabilities. These parents expressed concern that the tests had a negative impact on their children's progress and induced high levels of anxiety in their children. These parents also believed the test scores were less reliable than other classroom tests that the children could prepare for. They did not believe the test data was useful. This position is represented by a parent who stated:

If anyone should know these children better than anybody it's the teachers, not something that the state just sent to the door.

Three parents expressed specific concern that their Black children did not have the support systems they needed which is represented by the following parent's quotation regarding their Black son:

He doesn't have the support system he needs ... I feel that the fact that a child is a Black child in a White world with no help, no support, no leadership, he feels kind of alone. He feels good when he's with his friends, but when he goes to honors class; he's the minority ... that is one of the biggest problems with Selmaway ... You're still a minority ... You're a minority in the country, now you're a minority in the educational system, then you become a minority in the work world. We don't have the support systems that other groups have.

The other half of the respondents, although having concerns their Black children's capital was not recognized in Selmaway, believed standardized tests were a good indicator of progress and were good academic measures for their child. Overall, they supported the tests and asserted that they offered parents an opportunity to see how their child was performing nationally.

Most parents believed that their children's ability to access opportunities that would improve their schooling outcomes and career success was challenging because of existing racism in the education system. Few parents considered the school a reliable source to help them establish a greater understanding of the school system. The findings agree with Roscigno and Ainsworth-Darnell (1999) and Stanton-Salazar (2010) that Black families and their children are not able to readily develop the capital and the dominant discourses in schools and convert it into rewards, privilege, resources, and upward mobility. The findings also reveal the

parents believe racism exists in the school which agrees with Lawrence (2015). Developing identity schemas could be helpful to provide a framework within which young people can develop pride in their race and gain new insights into other identities through cross-cultural critique. Such identity work enables classrooms to become locales of the generation of new knowledge that facilitates cultural straddling (Carter, 2005). Here the focus is on celebrating diversity underpinned by shared common prime principles of inclusion and respect (Taysum & Slater, 2014) and not making classrooms sites of monoculturalism.

Parents' Funds of Capital to Advocate for Their Black Children in School Processes and Practices

All the parents believed they should be able to advocate for their Black children and shape decisions regarding what level of class their child took, but most had not. The few who did recount instances in which they had addressed school personnel regarding academic decisions identified the process was not empowering. Dana was one of the few parents who did advocate for her Black children:

My son was getting Bs, almost As, in eighth grade. The eighth-grade math teacher sabotaged him at the end of the year and gave him a D or an F, I can't even remember. So when his papers came to Selmaway, the recommendation didn't match. So the math chair called and explained that she thought he should repeat algebra in high school. I had to fight for that. It was a big mess. But I had a conversation with his eighth-grade math teacher about him being in honors-level classes . . . for some reason, the teacher just turned on me after I started asking about him being in honors classes. I had another child who had a terrible experience there (Selmaway). I know that they (the school staff) generally make decisions. . . . For Advanced Placement you have to be recommended, for honors you can—a lot of parents don't know this, but you can take honors if you want to . . . you don't have to be recommended. In fact, I had an argument with the teacher when my child was a freshman because she'd taken the exam that they take. She didn't do very well. I wanted her in the honors track [and I said] well, if you won't let her in, then I'm going to the principal!

Dana, like the other parents, recognized the need to facilitate a more rigorous program for their children and took the initiative to advocate for them. However, many parents articulated they did not know how to advocate for their Black children which is represented by this quotation:

I ask a lot of questions. I guess I don't ask the right questions because I'm not sure what to ask.

The findings agree with Stanton-Salazar (2010) and Howard (2006) that these parents were not able to cross the border and access bridging networks to advocate for their Black children. Those that did ask questions did not know what questions to ask and did not feel empowered when advocating for their Black children. The findings agree with Clark (1983) and Okeke (2014) who argue parents need to be

included in home-school relationships and networks that give access to dominant discourses in inclusionary and respectful ways to work for equity and democracy. Without opportunities to develop bicultural networks or multicultural networks, parents are not able to advocate effectively for their Black children, which agrees with Stanton-Salazar (2010) and Carter (2008).

Recognizing Black Funds of Capital to Underpin Success in Educational Systems and Smooth Transitions into Higher Education, the Labor Market, Home Ownership, and Middle-Class Benefits

All the parents identified that their Black children's capital was not recognized, and they did not know people who could help them access the dominant White capital in the schools. This position is represented by the following parent's quote:

There's always a clique within a school community. . . . the more wealthy parents tend to be included in the clique versus those who are not part of these groups. [Interviewer: Do they find out more?] Yeah, they find out more . . . they know everybody . . . they know the coaches, they know the teachers. They've got this whole community cultural thing going on . . . most people are on the outside.

Another parent represents this position:

I learned [that] most of the White parents . . . they share information that affects the children and they talk a lot about their children. In doing so, they reveal information that when you hear you are like, 'Oh, really? I did not know about that.'

This position is also represented by the following parent's quote:

We don't know anybody. We have no influences. We have no friends, no family with influences here. All of our stuff is down in the South.

The findings agree with Stanton-Salazar (201) that these parents of Black children were not inducted into the dominant networks that they identified as White networks, and they did not have access to the White discourses that would enable them to become bicultural or even multicultural which would empower them to advocate for their Black children. The parents are interested in their Black children's success in the school system and want to support them, but their Black children's capital is not recognized (Muller & Kerbow, 1993). Further a lack of home-school bridging networks is a barrier to their Black capital being recognized (Stanton-Salazar, 2010) and prevents their development as "cultural straddlers" (Carter, 2008, p. 25). Without being empowered to be cultural straddlers, parents of Black children are unable to translate the White discourses into rewards, privilege, resources, and upward mobility (Stanton-Salazar, 2010). No evidence revealed the Black parents knew how to hold the state accountable for their Black children's educational success (Power, 2012).

Discussion and Conclusion: Theorizing the Findings to Test a New Model of Participation and Community Empowerment

The legacy of the struggle of Black folk to achieve social and educational equality in the United States and internationally needs to be addressed (Wagner, 2010). This small-scale qualitative research has focused on understanding parents' authentic participation in a US public school to advocate for their Black children's educational success. Parents identify that their Black children's capital is not recognized in schools (Bush & Saltirelli, 2000). The evidence reveals that parents experience inequality in public schools and continue to remain on the fringes, while trusting the education system will empower their Black children (Möllering, 2001). Parents do not believe they have the capital to advocate for their Black children (Lawrence, 2015). Home-school networks do not provide them with access to the dominant White networks and discourses of the education system (Stanton-Salazar, 2010). Without access to these dominant networks and discourses, the parents are unable to develop bicultural or multicultural networks that empower them to become "cultural straddlers" who can effectively advocate for their Black children's success (Carter, 2005, p. 25). The parents of Black children did not believe they could translate the sanctioned dominant White discourses into rewards for their Black children. These rewards included a smooth transition to college and/or the labor market that give access to privileges, resources, middle-class benefits, and upward mobility (Stanton-Salazar, 2010).

A new Model of Participation and Community Empowerment (Table 1) in four phases emerges from the qualitative findings. The Model identifies parents may benefit from becoming cultural straddlers to advocate for their Black children. School staff have the potential to empower parents of Black children by developing them as cultural straddlers (Carter, 2008). Home-school relationships may empower cultural straddling through the construction of inclusive and respectful bicultural and/or multicultural networks underpinned by trust (Möllering, 2001; Taysum & Slater, 2014). The model presents a tool to enable Black capital to be recognized by mapping cultural heritages of all groups in the class and celebrating moments of courage and ongoing resilience.

Then in the model boxes along the top row please remove 'identity schemas' and replace with the following form of words:

Staff work with students critically maps cultural heritage of all groups in class and highlight moments of courage and ongoing resilience.

Staff and students' critical engagement with cultural heritages and moments of courage and ongoing resilience are reflected upon to deepen shared understandings of students, parents, and institutional agents and gatekeepers.

Staff and students' critical engagement with cultural heritages and moments of courage and ongoing resilience are reflected upon to underpin reflexive cultural straddling for multicultural networking of parents, institutional, agents and gatekeepers leading to students' educational success.

Cultural heritages and moments of courage and ongoing resilience are critically analyzed and reflected upon leading to reflexive cultural straddling for multicultural

Table 1 Model of participation and community empowerment

	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Phase 4
Level of engagement with identity schema	Staff work with students critically map cultural heritage of all groups in class and highlight moments of courage and ongoing resilience	Staff and students' critical engagement with cultural heritages and moments of courage and ongoing resilience are reflected upon to deepen shared understandings of students, parents' and institutional agents and gatekeepers	Staff and students' critical engagement with cultural heritages and moments of courage and ongoing resilience are reflected upon to underpin reflexive cultural straddling for multicultural networking of parents, institutional agents and gatekeepers leading to students' educational success	Cultural heritages and moments of courage and ongoing resilience are critically analyzed and reflected upon leading to reflexive cultural straddling for multicultural networking of parents, institutional agents and gatekeepers leading to educational success, and smooth transitions to college and the labor market leading to middle-class benefits
Level of recognition of black capital	Black capital is recognized in the school	Parents of black children's black capital are recognized to enable advocacy for their children	Parents of black children's black capital are recognized in their advocacy leading to educational success	Parents of black children's black capital are recognized in their advocacy leading to educational success that translates to smooth transitions to middle-class benefits
Level of bridging cultures	Home-school networks aim to develop bridging cultures	Bridging cultures are engaged with through home-school networks	Bridging cultures are engaged with through home-school networks and facilitate educational success	Bridging cultures are engaged with through home-school networks and facilitate smooth transitions to middle-class benefits

networking of parents, institutional agents, and gatekeepers leading to educational success, and smooth transitions to college and the labor market leading to middle-class benefits.

The school staff are the institutional agents and gatekeepers and may include informal mentors who are masters of the public school dominant cultures. The purpose of these associations is to build understanding of, and recognition of, different cultures in the classroom. Critically analyzing and reflecting upon the constructs of multicultural identities (Banks, 1998; Ishii et al., 2007; Taysum, 2012) may help Black capital to be recognized in the classroom and in home-school relationships (Clark, 1983; Okeke, 2014). Recognizing Black capital underpins the bridging networks for the Black children to access the dominant cultures, decode the curriculum, and optimize their educational success and transitions into higher education and/or the labor market (Stanton-Salazar, 2010).

The Model identifies when school staff develop active bridging networks they facilitate opportunities for all students to become cultural straddlers that underpins cultural alignment in multicultural classrooms based on prime principles of inclusion and respect (Taysum & Slater, 2014) and trust (Möllering, 2001). Cultural alignment potentially enables culturally relevant learning experiences to be planned for (Freire, 1972). Thus the associations may enable parents of Black children to advocate for their children's effective induction into the public school dominant cultures (Stanton-Salazar, 2010). Such participation optimizes Black children's educational success and smooth transitions into college and/or the labor market and pathways to middle-class benefits.

We recognize the Model emerged from small-scale qualitative findings, and that is a limitation of the research. We recommend the new Model of Participation and Community Empowerment be tested for proof of concept. Further, since Wagner (2010) identifies that low educational achievement in Black children is a global phenomenon, we recommend testing the Model through comparative educational research.

References

- American Educational Research Association. (2010). Code of ethics. *Educational Researcher*, 40(3), 145–156.
- Anon. (2007). *Statistical report*. SelmaWay School: Anonymised Publishers.
- Arezki, R., Sy, A. (2016). *Financing Africa's Infrastructure Deficit: From development banking to long-term investing*. Washington, DC: Brookings.
- Aristotle, edited by Brown, L. (2009). *The Nicomachean ethics*. Oxford, UK: Oxford World Classics.
- Banks, J. (1998). The lives and values of researchers: Implications for educating citizens in a multicultural society. *Educational Researcher*, 27(2), 4–17.
- Baptist, E. (2016). *The half has never been told: Slavery and the making of American capitalism*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Beckert, S. (2015). *Empire of cotton: A new history of global capitalism*. London, England: Penguin.

- Bertaux, D., & Bertaux-Wiame, I. (1981). Life stories in the bakers' trade. In D. Bertaux (Ed.), *Biography and society*. Beverly Hills, CA: SAGE.
- Bhaskar, R. (2013). *Reclaiming reality*. London, England: Routledge.
- Bourdieu, P. (2000). *Pascalian Meditations*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- British Educational Research Association. (2011). Ethical guidelines for educational research. <https://www.bera.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/BERA-Ethical-Guidelines-2011.pdf?noredirect=1>
- Burchinal, M. R., Roberts, J. E., Zeisel, S. A., & Rowley, S. J. (2008). Social risk and protective actors for African American Children's academic achievement and adjustment during the transition to middle school. *Developmental Psychology*, 44, 286–292.
- Bush, K., & Saltirelli, D. (2000). *The two faces of education in ethnic conflict: towards a peacebuilding education for children*. Siena, Italy: UNICEF.
- Carr, W., & Kemmis, S. (1986). *Becoming critical*. London, England: Falmer Press.
- Carter, P., & Welner, K. (2013). *Closing the opportunity gap. What America must do to give every child an even chance*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Carter, P. L. (2005). *Keepin' it real: School success beyond black and white*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Carter, P. L. (2008). Teaching students fluency in multiple cultural codes. In M. Pollock (Ed.), *Everyday antiracism*. New York, NY: The New Press.
- Census Bureau US. (2016). Residential vacancies and homeownership in the fourth quarter:2015. <http://www.census.gov/housing/hvs/files/currenthvspress.pdf>
- Chicago Public Schools. (2019). CPS fiscal year 2019 budget. <https://cps.edu/fy19budget/Pages/overview.aspx>. Accessed 3 April 2019.
- Clark, R. (1983). *Family life and school achievement: Why poor black children succeed or fail*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Collins Ayanlaja, C., Brookins, W., & Taysum, A. (2018). Empowering superintendents in the United States to empower societal innovators for equity and renewal in the community. In A. Taysum, & K. Arar (Eds.), *Turbulence, empowerment, marginalisation and education governance systems*. Scarborough, ON: Emerald.
- Cork, L. (2005). *Supporting black pupils and parents. Understanding and improving home-school relationships*. London, England: Routledge.
- Crozier, J. (2001). Excluded parents: The deracialisation of parental involvement. *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 4(4), 329–341.
- Denscombe, M. (2010). *The good research guide second edition for small scale social research projects*. Berkshire, UK: Open University Press.
- Desjardins, J. (2017). *The \$74 trillion global economy in one chart*. Available digitally at: [https://www.visualcapitalist.com/74-trillion-global-economy-onechart/retrieved 17/11/2019](https://www.visualcapitalist.com/74-trillion-global-economy-onechart/retrieved%2017/11/2019)
- Dewey, J. (1916). *Democracy and education*. Complete and Unabridged Classic Reprint. London: Createspace.
- Dey, I. (1993). *Qualitative data analysis: A user-friendly guide for social scientists*. London, England: Routledge.
- Diamond, J. B., Lewis, A. E., & Gordon, L. (2007). Race, culture, and achievement disparities in a desegregated suburb: Reconsidering the oppositional culture explanation. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 20(6), 655–680.
- Epstein, J., Sanders, M. Sheldon, B., Simon, B., Salinas, K., Rodriguez, J., Voorhis, F., Martin, C., Thomas, B., Greefeld, M., Hutchins, D., & Williams, K. (2018) *School, family and community partnerships: Your handbook for action*. London, England: Sage.
- Equalities and Human Rights Commission. (2010). UK equality act. <https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/equality-act/equality-act-2010>. Accessed 10 May 2016.
- Freire, P. (1972). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin.
- Garbarino, J., Dubrown, N., Kostelny, K., & Pardo, C. (1992). *Children in danger: Coping with the effects of community violence*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Gillborn, D. (2008). *Racism and education: Co-incidence or conspiracy?* London, England: Routledge.

- Gillborn, D., Rollock, N., Vincent, C., & Ball, S. J. (2012). 'You got a pass, so what more do you want?' Race, class and gender intersections in the educational experiences of the black middle class. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 15(1), 121–139.
- Granovetter, M. (1973). The strength of weak ties. *American Journal of Sociology*, 78, 1360–1380.
- Green, A., & Janmaat, J. (2011). *Regimes of social cohesion. Societies and the crisis of globalization*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Heystek, J. (2014). Principals' perceptions about performance agreements as motivational action: Evidence from South Africa. *Educational Management, Administration and Leadership*, 42(6), 889–902.
- Howard, R. (2006). *We can't teach what we don't know. White teachers, multiracial schools* (2nd ed.). London, England: Teachers College Press.
- Howard, T. (2010). *Why race and culture matter in schools*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Ishii, S., Klopff, D., & Cooke, P. (2007). Worldview in intercultural communication: A religio-cosmological approach. In L. Samovar, R. Porter, & E. McDaniel (Eds.), *Intercultural communication a reader*. Boston, MA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.
- Koonce, D., & Harper, W. (2005). Engaging African-American parents in the schools: A community based consultation model. *Journal of Educational and Psychological Consultation*, 16(1–2), 55–64.
- Lareau, A. (2000). Social class and the daily lives of children. VA study from the United States. *Childhood*, 7(2), 155–171.
- Lareau, A., & Horvat, E. (1999). Moments of social inclusion and exclusion. Race, class, and cultural capital in family-school relationships. *Sociology of Education*, 72, 37–53.
- Lawrence, E. (2015). The family-school interaction: School composition and parental educational expectations in the United States. *British Educational Research Journal*, 41(2), 183–209.
- Lee, J., & Bean, F. (2010). *Diversity paradox, the: Immigration and the color line in twenty-first century America*. London, England: Russel Sage Foundation.
- Lee, J., & Bean, F. (2012). A post-racial society or a diversity paradox. *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race*, 9(2), 419–437.
- Lewis, A., & Forman, T. (2002). Contestation or collaboration? A comparative study of home-school relations. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 33(1), 60–89.
- Library of Congress. (2015). 13th Amendment to the US Constitution passed by the Congress on January 31 1865 and ratified by the states on December 6 1865. The Library of Congress Virtual Services Digital Reference Section. <http://www.loc.gov/r/r/program/bib/ourdocs/13thamendment.html#American>. Accessed 14 August 2015.
- MacLeod, J. (1995). *Ain't no makin' it: Aspirations and attainment in a low-income neighbourhood*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Markose, S., & Simpson, A. (2016). I want them better than me. Pedagogical strategies employed by four immigrant parents in the face of perceived forms of exclusion of by school authorities. *Race Ethnicity Education*, 19(3), 659–682.
- Martinot, S. (2000). The racialized construction of class in the United States. *Race, Class, and State Crime*, 27(1: 79), 43–60.
- Masaaki, K. (2012). Teachers' professional identities in an era of testing accountability in Japan: The case of teachers in low-performing schools. *Education Research International*, 2012, 1–8.
- McIntosh, P. (1988). *White privilege and male privilege: A personal account of coming to see correspondences through work in women's studies* (Working Paper No. 189). Wellesley, MA: Wellesley College Center for Research on Women.
- Mertens, D. (1988). *Research methods in educational psychology*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Mitchell, L. (2012). Financialism: A very brief history. In C. Williams & P. Zumbansen (Eds.), *The embedded firm corporate governance, labor, and finance capitalism*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Moll, L., Amanti, C., Neff, D., & Gonzalez, N. (2005). Funds of knowledge for teaching: Using a qualitative approach to connect homes and classrooms. In N. Gonzalez, L. Moll, & C. Amanti (Eds.), *Funds of knowledge theorizing practices in households, communities, and classrooms*. London, England: Routledge.

- Möllerling, G. (2001). The nature of trust. From Georg Simmel to a theory of expectations, interpretation and suspense. *Sociology*, 35(2), 403–420.
- Muller, C., & Kerbow, D. (1993). Parent involvement in the home school and community. In B. Schneider & J. S. Coleman (Eds.), *Parents, their children and school*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- National Center for Educational Statistics. (2009). *Characteristics of public, private, and Bureau of Indian Education Elementary and Secondary School Teachers in the United States: Results from the 2007–08 schools and staffing survey*. Institute of Education Sciences. https://nces.ed.gov/pubs2009/2009324/tables/sass0708_2009324_t12n_02.asp. Accessed 14 August 2015.
- National Center for Educational Statistics. (2010). *Status and trends in the education of racial and ethnic groups*. Institute of Education Sciences. <http://nces.ed.gov/pubs2010/2010015.pdf>. Accessed 10 May 2016.
- Ndimande, B. (2012). Race and resources: Black parents perspectives on post-apartheid south African Schools. *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 15(4), 525–544.
- Obama, M. (2018). *Becoming Michelle Obama*. New York, NY: Crown Publishing Group.
- Okeke, C. I. (2014). Effective home-school partnership: Some strategies to help strengthen parental involvement. *South African Journal of Education*, 34(3), 1–9. http://www.scielo.org.za/scielo.php?pid=S0256-01002014000300004&script=sci_arttext&tlng=pt. Accessed 10 April 2015.
- Patton, M. G. (2002). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Postman, N. (1996). *The end of education: Redefining the value of school*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.
- Power, S. (2012). From redistribution to recognition to representation: Social justice and the changing politics of education. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 10(4), 473–492.
- Power, S., & Taylor, C. (2013). Social justice and education in the public and private spheres. *Oxford Review of Education*, 39(4), 464–479.
- Pring, R. (2012). *The life and death of secondary education for all*. London, England: Routledge.
- Reay, D. (2003). Shifting class identities; social class and the transition to higher education. In C. Vincent (Ed.), *Social justice, education and identity*. London, England: Routledge.
- Reynolds, R., Howard, T., & Kenyatta Jones, T. (2013). Is this what educators really want? Transforming the discourse on black fathers and their participation in Schools. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 18(1), 89–107.
- Rich, W. (2013). *The post-racial society is here. Recognition, critics and the nation state*. London, England: Routledge.
- Rollock, N., Gillborn, D., Vincent, C., & Ball, S. J. (2015). *The colour of class. The educational strategies of the black middle classes*. London, England: Routledge.
- Roscigno, V. J., & Ainsworth-Darnell, J. W. (1999). Race, cultural capital and educational resources: Persistent inequalities and achievement returns. *Sociology of Education*, 72(3), 158–178.
- Shields, C. (2007). A failed initiative: Democracy has spoken – or has it? *Journal of Cases in Educational Leadership*, 10(1), 14–21.
- Shields, C. (2014). Can we impact leadership practice by teaching democracy and social justice? In A. Taysum & S. Rayner (Eds.), *Investing in our education? Leading, learning, researching and the doctorate*. Scarborough, ON: Emerald.
- Smith, A. (1776). *An inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations*. Available digitally at: <http://www.econlib.org/library/Smith/smWN.html#retrieved17/11/2019>
- Stanton-Salazar, D. (2010). A social capital framework for the study of institutional agents and their role in the empowerment of low status students and youth. http://www.cue.usc.edu/tools/Social_Capital%2C_Institutional_Agents_%2526_the_Empowerment_of_Low-status_Youth%2C_by_RD_Stanton-Salazar.pdf. Accessed 21 July 2013.
- Taysum, A., & Gunter, H. (2008). A critical approach to researching social justice and school leadership in England. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 3(20), 183–199.
- Taysum, A. (2012). *Evidence informed leadership in education*. London, England: Bloomsbury.

- Taysum, A., & Slater, C. (2014). The Education Doctorate (Ed.D.) and educational leader dispositions and values in England and the United States. In A. Taysum & S. Rayner (Eds.), *Investing in our education? Leading, learning, researching and the doctorate*. Scarborough, ON: Emerald.
- Taysum, A. (2016). Educational leaders' doctoral research that informed strategies to steer their organizations towards cultural alignment. *Educational Management, Administration and Leadership* 44(2):281–300.
- Taysum, A. (2018). The turbulence black, asian, minority ethnicity chief executive officers of small, medium, and empty MATs face in England's education system; the agency. In: Taysum A, & Arar K (Eds.), *Turbulence, empowerment, marginalisation and education governance systems*. Scarborough, ON: Emerald.
- UNICEF. (2007). *Child poverty in perspective: An overview of child well-being in rich countries* (Innocenti Report Card 7). Florence, Italy: UNICEF.
- United Nations. (1948). The universal declaration of human rights. <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/drafters.shtml>. Accessed 17 November 2013.
- United Nations. (1989/1990). United Nations convention for the rights of children. <http://www.unhcr.ch/html/menu3/b/k2crc.htm>
- United States Supreme Court. (1954). Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483. <http://caselaw.lp.findlaw.com/scripts/getcase.pl?court=US&vol=347&invol=483>. Accessed May 2010.
- US Census Bureau. (2016). Residential vacancies and homeownership in the fourth quarter 2015. <http://www.census.gov/housing/hvs/files/currenthvspress.pdf>. Accessed 26 April 2016.
- Vincent, C., Rollock, N., Ball, S., & Gillborn, D. (2011). Being strategic, being watchful, being determined: Black middle-class parents and schooling. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 33(3), 337–354.
- Waghid, Y. (2010). *Education, democracy and citizenship revisited: Pedagogical encounters*. Stellenbosch, South Africa: Sun Press.
- Wagner, T. (2010). *The global achievement gap*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Wong, P., & Glass, R. (2009). *Prioritizing urban children, teachers, and schools through professional development schools*. New York, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Yosso, T. (2005). Whose culture has capital? A critical race theory discussion of community cultural wealth. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 8(1), 69–91.