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A Review of Research

Financial Aid and College Enrollment

By Laura Perna

Financial aid is a critical lever for increasing postsecondary attainment in the United States, and perhaps the most useful tool in the kit of policymakers for increasing college access and choice among Blacks, Hispanics, low-income students, and other groups underrepresented in higher education.

Each year, federal and state governments, colleges, universities, foundations, and other organizations invest substantial resources in programs designed to eliminate financial barriers to college enrollment. In 2007-08 alone, more than \$162.5 billion was poured into higher education aid programs to offset student expenses. But, even with this investment, rates of college enrollment continue to increase with

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on the cover:
Lily Composition #3, Anne Froehling,
Steinhart Plaza, Bronze, 1993

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photo: Mark Willie

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By Laura Perna

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family income and are lower for Blacks and Hispanics than for Whites.

Despite recent scholarly work on the effects of various financial aid programs on student outcomes, the research base remains incomplete. In the context of persistent gaps in educational opportunity, limited public resources, and calls for accountability, developing a better understanding of how to maximize the effectiveness of available financial aid dollars is more important than ever before.

The Challenge

Improving college enrollment and degree attainment is central to ensuring the nation's economic and social prosperity. According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, for example, jobs requiring a college degree comprised 29 percent of all employment in 2000 and are expected to account for 42 percent of projected new job growth during the coming decade. At the same time, educational attainment in the U.S. has fallen behind that of other developed nations. In this climate, government and private organizations are increasingly focused on how to raise attainment rates.

One obvious approach is to enroll and graduate more students who are academically prepared for college but do not attend. The data consistently point to money as a primary barrier for academically qualified students who do not enroll in college, and the positive relationship between family income and enrollment persists even after controlling for differences in academic achievement. The magnitude of the gap has fluctuated since the mid-1980s, but through this period, college enrollment rates have been at least 25 to 30 percentage points lower for high school graduates in the lowest family income quintile than for those in the highest. College choices are also stratified by family income, as college students from lower-income families are relatively concentrated in public two-year and private for-profit institutions and underrepresented at public and private four-year doctorate-granting universities.

Some note that money still matters to college enrollment because existing financial aid resources are insufficient to completely meet students' financial need. While available data support this argument, federal and state governments are hard pressed to increase their investment in student aid programs, especially during the current economic recession.

Moreover, federal and state governments are increasingly calling for accountability of financial aid expenditures. For example, the federal government's Program Assessment Rating Tool has designated some student financial aid programs as "adequate" (e.g., Federal Family Education Loans, Federal Pell Grants, William D.

Ford Direct Student Loans), another as “ineffective” (Federal Perkins Loans), and others as “results not demonstrated” (e.g., Byrd Honors Scholarships, Federal Work Study, Leveraging Educational Assistance Partnerships).

Together, the scarcity of public resources and demands for accountability underscore the need to better understand the role of financial aid in eliminating financial barriers to college enrollment. Although many researchers have examined the effects of various financial aid programs on student outcomes, gaps in knowledge remain. Based on their comprehensive review of research for their “rethinking student aid” project, Baum and McPherson (2008) concluded that existing research on the effects of financial aid on students’ college opportunities is “inconclusive.”

What We Know

Aid comes from many sources (federal and state governments, colleges and universities, employers, foundations, and other organizations) and in many different forms (loans, grants, work-study, tax credits and deductions). Perhaps because of this complexity, research examining the effectiveness of student financial aid devotes “strikingly uneven” attention to the effects of different types of aid programs on student outcomes (Baum and McPherson, 2008).

Because current aid programs are designed to achieve a variety of goals (access for low-income students, affordability for middle-income students, rewarding achievement), they often lack coherence: “...[I]nstead of an array of clearly discrete programmatic efforts addressing in distinctive fashion a set of overarching policy objectives, constituents for the programs ...confront an array of overlapping efforts with rather vaguely differentiated objectives” (Hearn, p. 270, 2001). State approaches also vary in the extent to which they attend to financial barriers, recognize the role of K-12 schools in promoting enrollment, limit eligibility for aid based on need or achievement, and attempt to influence students’ decisions to enroll in college. Although the majority of state grant aid is still need-based, the faster rate of growth for merit-based state aid raises concerns about the extent to which scarce public resources are being invested in ways that increase financial access for low-income students.

Research demonstrates that the effects of aid on college enrollment vary by the type of aid offered. Grants have a positive effect on college access and choice, loans have minimal effect, and we know little of the effects of work-study. The effects of aid on enrollment also vary based on family income and race/ethnicity—with changes in tuition and financial aid having a larger effect on students from lower-income families than from higher-income families and for African Americans and Hispanics than for Whites (Avery & Hoxby, 2004; Heller, 1997; Kane, 1999; Mundel, 2008).

Nonetheless, existing research has important limitations, including the inability to determine student outcomes in the absence of the aid, the tendency to consider a particular type of financial aid in isolation from other programs designed to pro-

mote college enrollment including other aid programs, the practice of considering actual amounts of aid rather than students’ knowledge or perceptions of aid, the failure to consider how financial aid may indirectly promote college enrollment, and the lack of attention to why perceptions and use of financial aid vary across groups.

The Importance of Context

In my view, the reason we know so little about these issues is that researchers have not devoted sufficient attention to the *contexts in which aid programs operate*. There is every reason to believe that the effect of financial aid on college attainment is mediated by family background, by the high school a student attends, by higher education institutions themselves, and by the broader social, economic, and policy environment.

Most financial aid research relies on the economic theory of human capital. It assumes that students make decisions about college enrollment based on an assessment of the lifetime benefits and costs of enrollment in ways that maximize their utility. But human capital theory alone is insufficient for understanding how financial aid influences students’ college enrollment decisions: the models do not, for example, explain why students “react differently to various forms of financial aid and tuition changes, even if the economic value of each is the same” (Heller, 1997).

College enrollment rates have been at least 25 to 30 percentage points lower for high school graduates in the lowest family income quintile.

From a sociological perspective, McDonough (1997) uses Bourdieu’s notion of habitus to illustrate the ways that bounded rationality influences college-related decision making. This perspective assumes that college-related decisions reflect an individual’s habitus, or the internalized system

of thoughts, beliefs, and perceptions acquired from the immediate environment. Rather than consider all possible alternatives, habitus defines and limits the alternatives that are considered, how different alternatives are perceived and valued, and the choices that are made (McDonough, 1997; Paulsen & St. John, 2002). Other sociological theories, such as cultural and social capital, may also be useful for understanding differences in students’ perceptions and use of financial aid. Consideration of cultural and social capital provides a more complete assessment of the resources that students have available from their social contexts to inform college-related decisions.

These theories, and the research that tests them, illustrate the ways that various aspects of context influence postsecondary access and choice. Specifically, students’ postsecondary access and choice decisions are determined largely by the norms and values embedded within their family and high school, as well as influences from the higher education and broader economic, social, and policy context.

Several aspects of the *student and family context* may help explain differences in students’ perceptions and use of financial aid: social values and cultural norms

against borrowing; familiarity with college-related processes; and parental willingness to pay and involvement in decision-making. The *school context* is another key determinant, with the availability of financial aid and other college-related counseling playing an important role in structuring students' perceptions of financial aid—particularly when parents lack the resources to guide their children. Looking at the *higher education context*, we see wide variation in the prevalence of institutional grant aid and the criteria for awarding it, with private four-year institutions outpacing their public counterparts in the granting of need-based aid (70 to 44 percent). Finally, in the broader *social, economic, and policy context*, vicissitudes of politics and the economy shape both the availability and characteristics of financial aid programs.

In short, greater attention to context may help identify structures and processes to improve the utility of financial aid resources.

What We Need To Do Better

Understand How Perceptions Influence Aid: The growth in student loans in recent decades suggests that more and more families are turning to loans to finance their children's college education.

But research also tells us that certain socioeconomic groups are reluctant to incur this type of debt. Using data from the High School and Beyond longitudinal survey of 1,980 high school sophomores and seniors, Ruth Ekstrom found that students who were willing to borrow \$1,500 for college costs were more likely than others to enroll in college within four years of graduating from high school, enroll in a four-year than a two-year institution, and enroll full-time than part-time. Likewise, a survey of 2,000 prospective higher education students in Britain found that the likelihood of applying to a university increased with students' tolerance for debt—even after controlling for educational achievement, social class, ethnicity, age, and mother's educational attainment. Even more relevant to this discussion, the British study found that debt-averse students from low-income families were less likely to apply for admission than were their high-income peers (Callender & Jackson, 2005). If that is indeed the case, our system may in effect limit college opportunity for precisely those students that aid programs are, in theory, designed to help.

As suggestive as these findings are, we need to know more about the ways that students' perceptions of financial aid influence their college-related behaviors. In particular, researchers should examine how those perceptions are informed by a whole range of factors—including family background, support from school staff, the characteristics of available aid programs, and other forces like the media.

Study Information Flow: In January 2007, the American Council on Education, Lumina Foundation for Education, and the Ad Council joined forces to launch the KnowHow2Go campaign, explaining the steps required to enroll in college, including how to “put your hands on some cash.” But when Lumina evaluated

KnowHow2Go, it concluded that such public awareness campaigns alone are insufficient to ensure that students know what they need to know about college. The truth is that most students and parents remain poorly informed about the availability of financial aid.

Clearly, we know very little about the most effective ways of delivering messages about financial aid. What types of information do students and families need? When should information be delivered? From which sources?

Some of the questions we face resemble chicken-or-egg riddles: Do students need accurate information, or do they more simply need an infusion of confidence that, when the time comes, they will be able to afford the cost of attending college? Likewise, what comes first? Knowing about financial aid (and thus engaging in other college-related behaviors), or knowing that you want to go to college (and thus seeking out information about aid)?

We also need to understand more about how various sources provide financial aid information—and with what consequences. For example, we know little about what school counselors—the very people guiding students through the financial aid system—know about that system (McDonough, 2004). What the research does tell us, however, is alarming: findings from a study of five states (California, Florida, Georgia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania) suggest that the more complicated a particular program is, the less likely school staff is to provide guidance on it.

For federal, state, and local providers, such findings argue for the need to simplify the process—and make it more transparent. Programs like the Georgia Career Information System represent a step in the right direction: That model provides students with a single source for information about all available scholarship dollars and matches students to those dollars.

Finally, what about the colleges themselves? Colleges and universities typically “market” financial aid in response to student initiatives (taking the SAT, applying for admission). Do these strategies exclude low-income students? Do students' perceptions of institutional financial aid lead them to self-select out of particular college choices? How can colleges and universities work with high schools to intervene earlier in the process to counter student perceptions that college is out of reach?

Reconsider the Structure and Goals of Aid Programs: Of course, money is not the only barrier to college. Inadequate preparation can be as much of an obstacle as inadequate financial resources. We need to learn how to construct aid programs that address both issues—encourage academic achievement *and* eliminate financial barriers.

In recent years, several federal and state grant programs have targeted both academic merit and financial need. Many of these efforts are so new that little is known about their effects on student outcomes. Good intentions aside, some programs have mixed results. In an exploratory study of Georgia's HOPE Scholarship program, my fellow researcher Patricia Steele and I found that, while the program

may indeed motivate students to achieve the academic requirements of the state grant award, it also had some negative consequences: increasing pressure on teachers to inflate grades and encouraging students to take less-rigorous courses to increase their chances of meeting the grade point average requirement for the merit aid.

Another commonly voiced concern about state merit aid programs is that they disproportionately benefit students from upper-income families and others who would have attended college even without the aid. No surprise then that, in 2008, the College Board's Commission on Access, Admissions and Success in Higher Education declared that "merit aid, particularly when financed publicly by regressive taxes or lotteries, has to clear a very high bar before it can justify itself as appropriate merit aid."

Such cautions notwithstanding, federal and state merit aid has grown in recent years. For example, in 2006, President George W. Bush established the Academic Competitiveness Grant and Smart Grant programs, which award funds to financially needy students who complete a rigorous curricular program in high school or major in mathematics or science in college. Clearly, policymakers are interested in using financial aid to promote college readiness.

Few would argue that preparing students for academic success at the college level is other than an admirable goal. Still, we must beware the law of unintended consequences, and the research community should heed the call. We need to explore ways to construct financial aid programs that succeed at both promoting academic preparation and eliminating financial barriers.

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Research Notes

Penn GSE faculty and researchers explore the issues at the forefront of American education today—urban education, equity and diversity, educational opportunity and student achievement, and the management of complex organizations. They engage in high-impact research, innovation, and training in public education, as well as in literacy, psychology, social policy, and higher and adult education. The following pages present a sampling of recent studies and findings from Penn GSE faculty and researchers.

Where the Evidence Leads

As anyone with an Internet connection knows, a simple Google search can deliver a surfeit of information, non-information, and misinformation. With an increased interest in evidence-based policy and practice, a number of organizations have been founded that set out to distill the best evidence about "what works" in public service interventions in social work, education, criminal justice, and housing.

Since the 1990s, organizations like the Campbell Collaboration, the What Works Clearinghouse, the Coalition for Evidence Based Policy, and others have been created to develop evidence-grading schemes. But with no legal power to "license" interventions, such organizations can only be effective if decision-makers are aware of what the evidence tells us, understand what it means, and have both the capacity and willingness to use it.

In the view of Bob Boruch and Ning Rui, awareness and understanding depend on effective communications—with the Internet serving as the most promising tactic. "Capacity and willingness," they continue, "depend more on incentives to use good evidence and on political and ethical values."

For even when stakeholders understand the evidence before them, they may be powerless to act on it. A teacher may have reviewed the report on Everyday Mathematics on the What Works Clearinghouse but have no authority over her school's curriculum.

As the authors point out, "the evidence can not be used until decision-makers are willing to do so." Governments can, and do, create incentives through policies and laws. Witness the No Child Left Behind Act, under which states must choose evidence-based educational programs or risk losing federal funds.

"From Randomized Controlled Trials to Evidence Grading Schemes: Current State of Evidence-Based Practice in Social Sciences," by Robert Boruch and Ning Rui, appears in *Journal of Evidence-Based Medicine*. A Chinese-language version of this article appears in the *Chinese Journal of Evidence-Based Medicine, 9*(1).

Language and Identity

In a village school in Northern Thailand, kindergartners are settling down for their morning activities. The students are Muang, a distinct ethnolinguistic minority whose first language is the vernacular Kam Muang, and their teacher is correcting a slip-up. In responding to her prompt, they've failed to use the official language of instruction, Standard Thai, in addressing her.

As a researcher in that setting, Kathryn Howard was interested in understanding how minority students like these Muang children “learn to be Thai in school,” specifically, how the local school socialized them into the discourses of respect that are so critical to Thai cultural identity and inextricably connected to Standard Thai.

Howard conducted participant observations, recorded children's daily activities, and videotaped interviews with teachers and adult caregivers. What she found was that while classroom activities and texts taught the ideal model of conduct, including ways of speaking politely and bowing to teachers, parents, et al., not every classroom exchange adhered to that ideal. Rather, at the micro level, the classroom contained “rich vernacular spaces during which children addressed their physical and psychological needs in vernacular forms.”

Although familiar with the forms of polite address, students had yet to learn the logic that dictated their use. She explains: “The teacher's corrections and sanctions played an important role in socializing children into the appropriate times and places in which to use these particles.”

In sum, language is called on in the creation of a unified Thai national identity, and the privileged position given to Standard Thai enforces the primacy of the national over the local. As Howard says, “These discourses, then, diagram a hierarchical relationship, not only between student and teacher, but also between national and local identities, in which a national identity is positioned as more polite and respectful than the local identity.”

The view from the margins is a bit more complex, with local forms thriving in the classroom. As Howard says, “From the perspective of the kindergarten student ..., the day is filled with these vernacular spaces and punctuated by ceremonial deferential pledges....”

“‘When Meeting Khun teacher, Each Time We Should Pay Respect’: Standardizing Respect in a Northern Thai Classroom,” by Kathryn Howard, appears in *Linguistics and Education*, 2008.

Also from Kathryn Howard

“Temporal Landscapes of Morality in Narrative: Student Evaluation in a Thai Parent-Teacher Conference” appears in *Discourse & Society*, 19.

This article explores how educators and parents evaluate the moral identity of a problematic student through narrative activity in a Thai parent-teacher conference.

Technology and Adult Literacy Education

In an examination of the impact of new technologies on adult literacy and basic education, Dan Wagner builds the case for a new understanding of literacy itself and the vital role information communication technology (ICT) plays for the field.

ICT is used in literacy education both to deliver basic instruction and, as literacy increases, to support distance education. But technology is changing the very definition of literacy. “Notions of ‘computer literacy’” Wagner writes, “... begin to redefine what ‘text’ is and the tools and skills that literate people need....”

For Wagner, information literacy education is transformative—accommodating learners' interests and knowledge, providing feedback, and enhancing both the local and global communities. Moreover, ICT will provide the most efficient route to improving literacy in poor countries. “As counterintuitive as it may seem at first glance...,” he concludes, “*only by using ICTs will the promotion of adult literacy succeed* in making substantial inroads in the ongoing dismal world statistics.”

“New Technologies for Adult Literacy and International Development” appears in *Cambridge Handbook of Literacy*, edited by D. Olson and N. Torrance, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

The Laws of Multilingual Education Policy

The development of multilingual instruction, and its many goals, have raised a host of questions. What languages should be taught? How and to whom? How much emphasis should be placed on indigenous languages, national languages, global languages? What should programs look like? What pedagogic models are best?

In posing these questions, Nancy Hornberger observes that the answers are not the same everywhere, as programs “are based in different sociocultural and linguistic histories and goals in each context.” Nevertheless, some commonalities are evident. Drawing on her experiences in Bolivia and New Zealand, Hornberger presents ten certainties of multilingual education that carry across national, political, and linguistic lines. These certainties touch on many aspects of education, from the national/policy level to the local/classroom level.

For instance, having a national policy that encourages (or mandates) multilingual education creates more opportunities for students to learn multiple languages; local implementation can interpret those policies in a way that restricts—or further develops—multilingual education opportunities. Hornberger also points out that “planning for a language's status as a medium of education and developing its corpus for those uses go hand in hand.” In some cases, this requires the development of a writing system; for others, decisions about how to introduce the vernacular into formal education. However, Hornberger adds, “the challenges are neither rare, unexpected, nor insuperable.”

“Multilingual Education Policy and Practice” appears in *Language Teacher* 42(2).

Conservatism and the Politics of HBCUs

Research has repeatedly shown that historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) provide a more supportive environment for many black students than do many predominantly white institutions. But graduation rates—defined as receiving a degree within six years—remain low for undergraduates, especially men.

Drawing on data from the National Black Male College Achievement Study, Shaun Harper and Marybeth Gasman explore how black male students experience the political and cultural expectations at 12 HBCUs. Across all 12 campuses, participants described a strong political conservatism, most powerful in three areas: sexuality and sexual orientation, self-expression, and positional subordination.

Many HBCUs have strict rules concerning sex (parietal rules, a lack of support for LGBT students, and challenges to student leaders rumored to have children); impose anachronistic dress codes; discourage students from challenging professors; and grant students only nominal control of campus organizations.

This analysis presents a more complicated and nuanced picture of the support available to students at HBCUs. It appears that the support may be conditional and dependent on students' conforming to a set of standards that some find repressive. "Attrition is extremely complex," the authors note, but "it is possible that some students withdraw prematurely because they perceive the institutional environments as politically oppressive and too restrictive."

"Consequences of Conservatism: Black Male Undergraduates and the Politics of Historically Black Colleges and Universities" appears in the *Journal of Negro Education* 77(2).

Urban Boys Acting Tough

African-American adolescents—particularly those living in high-risk urban neighborhoods—face more challenges than youth of other racial backgrounds. For these children, crime and violence have become increasingly common, as have feelings of despair, depression, and anxiety.

In a study of 260 African-American adolescents enrolled in an urban summer youth program, Diane Hall, Elaine Cassidy, and Howard Stevenson set out to assess the relationship between these youths' perceptions of their support systems (family, community) and their psychological adjustment. Significant among their findings was the need to differentiate about types of fear among this population—that is, different kinds of fear correlated to different psychological outcomes. Adolescents who feared lethal events, for example, scored higher levels of anger expression, while those who feared simple harm reported increased levels of depression.

"Acting 'Tough' in a 'Tough' World: An Examination of Fear among Urban African American Adolescents" appears in *The Journal of Black Psychology*, 34.

How Collaborative Teaching Works

While widely considered promising, project-based learning remains a rarity. To demonstrate the possibilities of this classroom technique, Cynthia Carter Ching and Yasmin Kafai conducted a study of a mixed-grade classroom that followed a collaborative learning-through-design curriculum.

Students were placed in collaborative groups with fifth-graders scaffolding fourth-graders' learning. After conducting research on marine life, the teams then programmed computer simulations that illustrated what they had learned. While the teacher was responsible for presenting the science content and basic programming instruction, the older students were responsible for guiding their younger peers in developing their computer simulations.

Team interactions tended to be structured either as clustered work (students gathered together around the computer screen) or as independent work (students working on different tasks in parallel). In analyzing how the fifth-graders helped fourth-graders to master the programming tasks, Ching and Kafai found various patterns of interaction. In every case, this method not only freed the teacher's time for more content delivery but raised the level of programming activity.

In light of their findings, the authors urge educators to consider introducing "apprenticeship learning" in classrooms. In sum, they argue, the collaborative patterns they observed constitute "strategic and thoughtful peer pedagogy [that] elevates the study of student collaboration to new levels and forces us to consider and respect the complexity of children's activity as they shoulder the responsibility of helping one another learn."

"Peer Pedagogy: Student Collaboration and Reflection in a Learning-Through-Design Project" appears in *Teachers College Record*, 110(12).

Interpreting Classroom Silence

Teachers often struggle to interpret the meaning of a student's silence. Is he disengaged? Does she not understand? Or is the silence a marker of learning? Is it a matter of individual style, or does it point to a racialized classroom environment?

Building on her research about the phenomenon of silence in the classroom, Katherine Schultz considers this dilemma and, in accounting for student silence, advises teachers to factor both group membership and individual characteristics into the equation. She cautions, too, against the tendency to understand talk as "a proxy for learning."

Navigating this terrain requires ongoing inquiry, including a thorough-going interrogation of the silences that occur between and among students and teachers and a redefinition of classroom participation itself.

"Interrogating Students' Silences" appears in *Everyday Antiracism: Getting Real about Race in School*, edited by Mica Pollock, New York: The New Press, 2008.

The Mediated Classroom

Contemporary marketing approaches consumers as independent thinkers who maintain an ironic stance toward products while still consuming them. In studying the impact of mass media on schooling, Betsy Rymes argues that students increasingly adopt “knowing, ironic stances about classroom discourse itself...”

A far cry from the traditional, top-down classroom model, the interactions that Rymes describes illustrate the ways in which mass-mediated communicative discourses infiltrate the classroom. “For these students,” she writes, “meta-commentary is a critical tool to display simultaneously the knowledge of school and the need to appropriate school knowledge on their own terms.”

This new paradigm then recirculates in mass media—in Harry Potter websites and fan-fictions, YouTube metacommentary on professors’ lectures, and the like.

“We can think of classroom conduct now as not hermetically sealed or determined by pre-packaged curricula or policy mandates,” Rymes concludes. “...Instead, through widely circulating, mass-mediated metadiscourses, many of them kid-created and influenced by consumer culture, students are already active consumers and producers of classroom content.”

“The Relationship between Mass Media and Classroom Discourse” appears in *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics* 23(1).

What’s in a Meme?

In an analysis of a seventh-grade classroom studying genetic engineering, Susan Yoon examined how students learn from one another, using ThinkTag, a technology that allowed them to record how they persuaded and were persuaded by their peers. This process involved the transmission of *memes* (cultural elements passed from person to person, generally by imitation). Yoon examined not only how students’ ideas and understanding changed over time, but also how their social and intellectual status in the classroom affected their memetic standing.

“Memetic processes,” Yoon explains, “can be described in at least two ways—social and conceptual—and both must be taken into consideration in order to understand how and why ideas change.” The social memetic process can best be described as “do as the smart students do.” Conceptual processes link memes together into a more complex whole.

Knowing how memes and memetic processes work in the classroom can shed new light on the nuances of how students learn complex material and integrate it into what they already know. Those insights can, in turn, help educators improve the ways in which they present ideas and elicit understanding from students.

“Using Memes and Memetic Processes to Explain Social and Conceptual Influences on Student Understanding about Complex Socio-Scientific Issues” appears in *Journal of Research in Science Teaching* 45(2).

How Colleges (Don’t) Sell Themselves

Despite the fact that an entire industry exists to produce college viewbooks, little attention has been directed to the messages, both explicit and implicit, they deliver. In a content-analysis study of 48 viewbooks, Matthew Hartley and Christopher Morphew identify themes and how they vary by institution as well as the larger messages delivered about the academic purposes of higher education.

As with any marketing material, each viewbook set out to differentiate its respective institution—but within a very restrictive range of the accepted “collegiate ideal.” According to Hartley and Morphew, these institutions are in the “paradoxical position of wanting to emphasize their special nature while remaining conventional—exciting and enticing but somehow familiar, unique but not weird.”

Perhaps one of the most striking findings is the treatment of the purposes of a college education. In other words, what is a college education for? One way or another, most of these publications answered that question in essentially personal terms. College can help students realize their dreams, promote intellectual growth, and/or make a good living.

Few made any mention of a larger, public purpose for higher education. As the authors observe, “The message that emanates from viewbooks is an extremely privatized conception of American higher education.... [W]e found not a single mention of a larger societal benefit of higher education....”

“What’s Being Sold and To What End? A Content Analysis of College Viewbooks” appears in *The Journal of Higher Education*, 79(6).

Cultivating Leadership for Schools of Education

With the broad consensus that education needs to be improved, schools of education are well positioned to lead the charge. But who will lead the schools of education?

Posing that question, Matthew Hartley and Tom Keeskemethy argue that effective leaders must develop two interrelated sets of skills: professional socialization and organizational socialization. The former requires learning new skills (e.g., strategic management and working with senior administrators), while the latter requires developing an understanding of the values and norms of a particular organization. Both of these skill sets fall outside that of most professors and will therefore need to be cultivated for a professor to become a successful dean.

The authors conclude that there are many people who could become excellent deans, but current leaders need to invest in potential leaders and in the process of leadership development. As the authors point out, “schools of education serve their interests best when they take seriously the responsibility of preparing future leaders.”

“Cultivating Leadership for Tomorrow’s Schools of Education” appears in *Phi Delta Kappan* 89(6).

Improving Counselor Training: Prevention

Although prevention science research has identified risk and protective factors for health and behavioral outcomes, academic institutions have only begun to incorporate such insights into their research and counselor training programs.

Enter Michael Mason and Michael Nakkula, who argue for a blended model that integrates the “lessons from prevention, development, and wellness at the community level into our more traditional notions of counseling at the individual and interpersonal levels.” To help guide faculty and administrators, they describe a risk and prevention training model, implemented at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, that integrates prevention practices into a counselor training program.

“A Risk and Prevention Counselor Training Program Model: Theory and Practice” appears in *The Journal of Primary Prevention*, 29(5).

Improving Counselor Training: Social Justice

In recent years, the call has gone out to incorporate social justice training into the preparation of future psychologists. In response, Theodore Burnes and Jeanne Manese identified foundational principles of social justice—ongoing self-examination, sharing power, giving voice, facilitating consciousness raising, building on strengths, and providing tools for change—and then applied them to training.

Based on the example of a predoctoral internship in psychology at the University of California, San Diego, the authors offer recommendations for incorporating social justice training into such programs.

“Social Justice in an Accredited Internship in Professional Psychology: Answering the Call” appears in *Training and Education in Professional Psychology*, 2(3).

The Impact of Homelessness and Maltreatment

Researchers often cast out-of-home placement as conferring risk on children, but a recent study shows that maltreatment and homelessness—the experiences that land children in placement in the first place—function as mediating variables.

In a study of approximately 12,000 second-graders in an urban district, John Fantuzzo and Staci Perlman found that children with a history of out-of-home placement—foster care, kinship care, etc.—had an increased risk for poor performance on standardized literacy and science assessments, for classroom behavior problems, and for school suspensions. But their research also shed light on the comorbidity of child maltreatment and homelessness. Once those risks were entered into the model, out-of-home placement no longer had a unique impact on outcomes.

“The Unique Impact of Out-of-Home Placement and the Mediating Effects of Child Maltreatment and Homelessness on Early School Success” appears in *Children and Youth Services Review*, 29.

Refining the Care Theory

According to care theory, a child is born entirely dependent and the parent responds unconditionally to the child’s needs. For Joan Goodman, however, the theory overlooks that the baby, while needing care and comfort, also needs *discomfort*: he needs to explore, to test his developing sense of the world.

In addition, the parent brings her own priorities to the relationship. She may not always attend to the baby’s every want, and that response is not necessarily detrimental, argues Goodman: It can benefit the child, promoting a sense of competence.

Parents tend to more than the physical and immediate emotional needs of a child. They look to the future, guide children toward better choices, and serve as need-repressors at times—for instance, when a child is about to hurt himself or others.

The care theory generally plays down these aspects of parenting, and at the extreme, calls upon the parent to subsume herself in her child. Goodman rejects this attitude as one of servitude and chooses instead to broaden the ethic of care to include the parent’s desire both to satisfy and to shape a child’s needs. “Parental caring is an indivisible melding of gratifying and restraining responses,” she writes, adding that “for the ethical parent, partiality toward her own is inhibited by awareness of others.”

“Responding to Children’s Needs: Amplifying the Caring Ethic” appears in *Journal of Philosophical Education*, 42(2).

Also from Joan Goodman

The statement “I need” does not always signify real need. Like adults, children have fundamental needs, secondary needs—and wants. As Joan Goodman observes, context is key to determining which is at work.

At school, teachers and students may find themselves at odds over competing definitions of what the child needs. Schools, Goodman points out, are future-oriented; “schooling is concerned with end-states more than present states.” Thus, a teacher may believe that a child needs to defer immediate impulses in order to reach a goal. The child, on the other hand, may believe that he genuinely needs to play with a friend.

The discrimination between needs and wants might be easier if needs were never in opposition, but at times they are. The child benefits from the longer view of his caretakers, and the caretakers’ more developed sense of consequences, even as he also benefits from being allowed the independence to make poor choices. The tension between these conflicting needs and wants requires a balancing act, one that parents and teachers continually negotiate.

“The Interpretation of Children’s Needs at Home and in School” appears in *Ethics and Education* 3(1).



Yasmin B. Kafai, Carrie Heeter, Jill Denner, and Jennifer Y. Sun (Eds.)
Beyond Barbie® and Mortal Kombat: New Perspectives on Gender and Gaming
 MIT Press, 2008

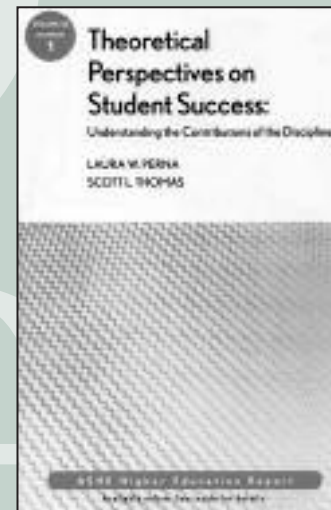
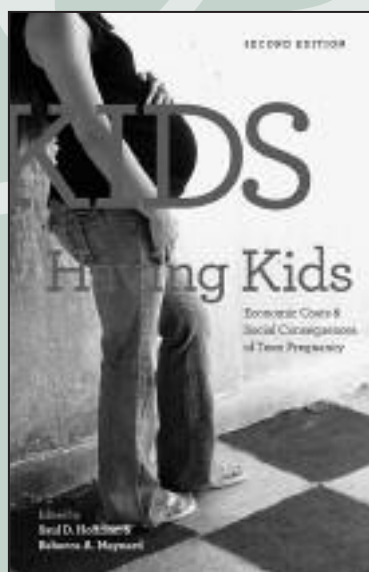
This book brings together new-media theorists, game designers, educators, psychologists, and industry professionals to look at how gender intersects with the broader contexts of digital games today: gaming, game industry and design, and serious games.

Marybeth Gasman and Christopher L. Tudico (Eds.)
Historically Black Colleges and Universities: Triumphs, Troubles, and Taboos
 Palgrave Macmillan, 2008

For nearly 150 years, historically black colleges and universities have trained the leadership of the black community. The essays in this volume review some of the contributions of these institutions and take up new and previously taboo critiques.

Saul D. Hoffman and Rebecca A. Maynard (Eds.)
Kids Having Kids: Economic Costs & Social Consequences of Teen Pregnancy (2nd ed.)
 The Urban Institute Press, 2008

First published in 1997, *Kids Having Kids* was the first comprehensive examination of teen childbearing and the impact of the birth itself on young mothers. This second edition includes chapter updates and a new section evaluating teen pregnancy interventions.



Laura W. Perna and Scott L. Thomas (Eds.)
Theoretical Perspectives on Student Success: Understanding the Contributions of the Disciplines
 Jossey-Bass, ASHE Higher Education Report 34.1, 2008

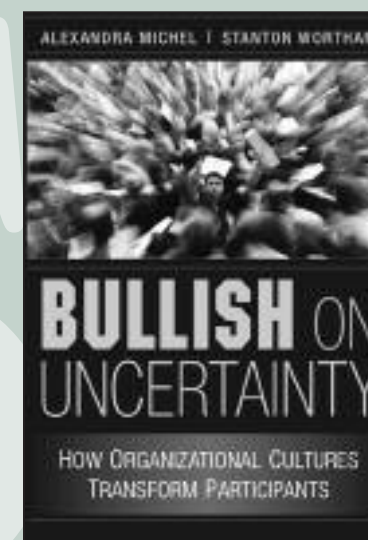
Drawing on a review of theory, methods, and multi-disciplinary research on student success, this report offers a conceptual model to guide policymakers, practitioners, and researchers as they work to close gaps in student success.

Janine Remillard, Beth Herbel-Eisenmann, and Gwendolyn Lloyd (Eds.)
Mathematics Teachers at Work: Connecting Curriculum Materials and Classroom Instruction
 Routledge, 2008

Despite the substantial amount of curriculum development over the past 15 years and growing scholarly interest in its use, this book represents the first compilation of research on teachers and mathematics curriculum materials.

Alexandra Michel and Stanton Wortham
Bullish on Uncertainty: How Organizational Cultures Transform Participants
 Cambridge University Press, 2008

How do organizations shape employees' behavior? *Bullish on Uncertainty* looks at how two investment banks managed the uncertainty through different work practices—and how their workers were transformed by their different cultures.





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