LEGETTE, KAMILAH, Ph.D. The Associations among School Stratification, Racial Identity, and Future Orientation in Black Youth. (2015)
Directed by Dr. Danielle Crosby. 232 pp.

Schools are one of the largest institutions that perpetuate and maintain the racial and class hierarchy that exists within society (Borman & Dowling, 2010; Borman, Hewes, Overman, & Brown, 2003). School tracking, the division of students into different classes based on perceived ability, is a significant mechanism for stratifying Black and low-income youth into lower academic tracks (Braddock & Slavin, 1992). Considerable research has demonstrated that the overrepresentation of Blacks and low-income youth in lower-academic courses narrows their preparation for future career and schooling opportunities (Oakes, 1986; Tyson, 2013). However, there is limited research that has investigated how Black youth perceive tracking practices and how these perceptions influence the construction of their future orientation. Furthermore, the high representation of Whiteness in high ability courses and the overrepresentation of Blacks in lower-academic courses may influence Black youth ideas about their own and other racial groups impacting their racial identity formation. In efforts to reduce the risk of conflating race and class on Black youth developmental outcomes, this study disentangles race and class by including Black youth from diverse economic and social class positions (Cabrera, 2013). Using a mixed method design, this study investigated Black youth perceptions of tracking practices and how these practices associated with their racial identity and future orientation. In addition, the current study explored the ways economic and social position distinctly associated with Black youth's racial identity and future orientation. It was found that youth's perceptions of tracking were significantly

associated with their school stratification position, racial identity, and future orientation in different ways. In addition, it was found that economic and social position did associate in distinct ways with Black youth school tracking placement, racial identity, and future orientation.

THE ASSOCIATIONS AMONG SCHOOL STRATIFICATION,

RACIAL IDENTITY, AND FUTURE ORIENTATION

IN BLACK YOUTH

by

Kamilah Legette

A Dissertation Submitted to
the Faculty of The Graduate School at
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

Greensboro
2015

Approved by

_____
Committee Chair

APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation, written by Kamilah Legette, has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of The Graduate School at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Committee Chair _____

Committee Members _____

_____

_____

_____
Date of Acceptance by Committee

_____
Date of Final Oral Examination

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my committee for their patience and sacrifice for working with me through this doctoral journey. Without them intellectually pushing me in more ways than I could have ever imagined, supporting me through the process of becoming a scholar of color, and belief in my project, this dissertation would not have been possible. To them I am thankful and appreciative in many ways and words will never began to express my gratitude to them.

I would also like to thank my family, especially my parents, for their numerous sacrifices for my life. I also thank them for their understanding for the many times I could not come home, attend family functions, and the many holidays and birthdays I missed as well as their compassion and encouragement during this journey.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Schools are often portrayed as nondiscriminatory institutions that offer all children quality learning opportunities. These learning opportunities are intended to provide children with the skills and knowledge necessary to obtain economic and social mobility, and ultimately to reduce inequality in society. However, schools have been identified as one of the most significant mechanisms for reproducing inequality (Bourdieu, 1973; Bowles & Gintis, 1976). Specifically, schools perpetuate and maintain the racial and class hierarchy that exists within society through unequal school funding, differential access to qualified teachers and adequate resources to foster learning, and school stratification (Borman & Dowling, 2010; Borman et al., 2003; Braddock & Slavin, 1992; Epps, 1995).

School stratification, also labeled *tracking*, is one of the most significant ways schools perpetuate racial and class inequality. Tracking is the division of students into separate classes or groups based on perceived ability (e.g., honors, remedial, advanced placement) (Breen & Jonsson, 2005). Black youth and low-income students are overrepresented in lower-academic tracks (Oakes, 2005). Research has illustrated that students in higher tracked courses receive more challenging curriculum and have access to greater schooling opportunities than students in lower tracked courses (Oakes, 2005).

Experiencing school stratification can limit the future schooling trajectories of Black youth and impact their future orientation development.

Future orientation is conceptualized as an individual's thoughts or perceptions about their future opportunities (Nurmi, 1987; Nurmi, 1989; Trommsdorff, Lamm, & Schmidt, 1979). Research examining future orientation as a predictor has found that individuals with more positive perceptions of the future have higher academic achievement (Brown & Jones, 2004), lower levels of drug usage (Bolland, 2003), lower school misconduct (Skorikov & Vondracek, 2007), and lower rates of delinquency (Oyserman & Markus, 1990). There is a substantial literature examining future orientation as an outcome, but limited research on the predictors of future orientation. Furthermore, no research has examined the association between school tracking and future orientation in Black youth. However, the limited access to quality learning opportunities Black youth experience through tracking can influence their ideas about future schooling and career opportunities. Moreover, the overrepresentation of Black youth in lower academic tracks and White youth in higher academic tracks may shape students' beliefs about their academic self-efficacy for themselves and different racial groups (Oakes, 2005; Tyson, 2011, 2013). In this way, school stratification may impact the racial identity formation of Black youth, in particular their beliefs about what it means to be Black in the schooling context. The representation of Whiteness in high ability courses may cause Black youth to believe they will not have an array of opportunities available for their future, especially in terms of their schooling and career trajectories, contributing to the construction of their future orientation.

In studying the associations among school tracking, racial identity, and future orientation, it is important to examine the variability that exists within Black youth. According to the Society for Research on Child Development social policy report on minority children (Cabrera, 2013) research is needed that disentangles race and socio-economic status from each other when examining the developmental experiences and outcomes of youth of color. Research examining Black youth has predominately focused on Blacks who are economically disadvantaged, conflating the effects of race and class on Black youth outcomes and presenting a narrow view of Black youth experiences. By disentangling race and class, research can focus on the developmental processes and contextual influences that impact youth outcomes that are similar and different within and between races to inform policy development.

Furthermore, in disentangling race and socio-economic status, research should attempt to distinguish between economic class and social class. Socio-economic status is one of the most commonly used demographic markers in research and measured using a combination of economic and social class indicators such as income and occupation. While these two constructs are related they may have different influences on developmental trajectories. Using Weber's (1946, 1947) distinction between economic and social class positioning can help in understanding how these two positions might influence development and opportunities differently. Weber (1946) defines an economic class as any group of people who have the same income situation. By this, Weber (1946) implied that individuals' economic class greatly impacts access to specific opportunities such as living conditions (e.g., food, neighborhood, housing) and life experiences. Weber

(1946, 1947) acknowledged that individuals belonging to the same economic class do not necessarily share the same status group, but have life chance opportunities in common. Status group is described as people who share a certain style of living. Status groups can be considered social groups or social classes that can be classified based on individuals' educational attainment (Weber, 1947). People belonging to the same occupational group are considered to belong to the same social class and children belong to the same social class as their parents (Weber, 1946). Using Weber's definition of economic and social class, it is reasonable to think that the economic and social class positions of Blacks may impact their experiences with school stratification in unique (though interdependent) ways.

The economic position of Black youth impacts their access to opportunities that can foster academic achievement such as quality neighborhoods, preschool education, and academic tutors because higher-income families have the financial resources to obtain these opportunities (Brooks-Gunn, Duncan, Klebanov, & Sealand, 1993; Dearing, McCartney, & Taylor, 2009; Duncan & Raudenbush, 2001). However, the social class position of Black youth can impact their ways of being in terms of communication patterns, dress, and behaviors, which in turn may influence teacher perceptions of their academic abilities (Kohn, 1989; Lareau, 2003). In addition, parents with higher educational attainment may feel more comfortable establishing relationships with schooling agents and feel greater efficacy in advocating for their children to access them better resources (Lareau, 2003). The social and economic class position of Blacks may create different school stratification experiences, which influence their future orientation

development and racial identity at school; however this research area has been unexamined.

In order to address this gap in the literature, the current study will investigate the associations among tracking placement, racial identity, and future orientation in early adolescence for a sample of Black middle school students. In this research my goal is to understand and learn how the school tracking experiences of Black youth shape their perceptions of their racial identity and future orientation as well as how economic and social class positions create differences in these beliefs and their tracking placement. I am focusing on the production of these perceptions as a means of highlighting how Black youth's beliefs and experiences are shaped by social structures. This is not to say that Black youth do not have agency but that their agency is limited within their existing social structures.

Using a mixed-methods design, the study explores these associations for a sample of seventh graders attending a racially and economically diverse middle school in a mid-size Southeastern city. It is important to study these associations during this developmental period because adolescence is a time when youth are trying to determine a sense of self through their desires and perceived abilities (Erikson, 1959). In addition, students' beliefs about themselves as learners and their potential has predominantly focused on high school students, but these beliefs are likely to take root earlier than high school (Auger, Blackhurst, & Wahl, 2005). Furthermore, researchers examining school stratification have mostly focused on high school students, but research illustrates that the courses students take in middle school largely determine their tracking placement in high

school (Barta & Allen, 1995; Brantlinger, 2003; Krueger & Whitmore, 2001). This study also explores whether the associations differ based on the social and/or economic class positions of Black youth as measured by parental education and family income. For example, do Black youth who share similar economic positions but different social positions have different experiences with school stratification and different perceptions of these experiences?

To investigate these associations, I employ the cultural-ecological perspective (Ogbu, 1981) and the Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST) (Spencer et al., 2006). Both of these perspectives highlight the importance of context in influencing development and the processes by which racial identity and future orientation development may differ based on students' social class and economic class positions. The cultural-ecological perspective argues that youth are socialized by micro settings such as schools to develop competencies that are needed for adult economic and social roles (Ogbu, 1981); thus, school stratification practices can be seen as mechanisms that prepare Black youth for different schooling and career trajectories than their White peers, and thereby perpetuate racial inequality. The Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST) further argues that the meaning youth ascribe to their experiences is critically important, and creates variability in the way structures and experiences impact Black youth outcomes. Consistent with the PVEST model, this dissertation examines how Black youth from a range of economic and social class backgrounds perceive, experience, and respond to the schooling context (Spencer et al., 2006). It is important to examine these early school-based predictors of future orientation

in Black youth because school stratification sets youth on different schooling trajectories, which may contribute to the disproportionate number of Blacks who are low-income and employed in low-wage jobs. In addition, the disparity in learning opportunities that Black youth experience may influence their beliefs about what they are capable of achieving in the future, thereby impacting their schooling trajectories. By understanding how structural inequalities contribute to the construction of Black youth future orientation, policy initiatives can be created that focus on changing structures.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Ecological frameworks argue that contexts are critically influential in youth development because it is through their experiences in various contexts that youth gain an understanding of who they are in relation to the world, learn how to accommodate or resist unfair treatment, and learn how their socialization experiences may differ from the expectations of institutions, particularly the school (Bronfenbrenner, 1997; Ogbu, 1981; Spencer et al., 2006). The two ecological frameworks guiding this dissertation are the cultural-ecological perspective (Ogbu, 1981) and the phenomenological variant of ecological systems theory (PVEST) (Spencer et al., 2006). The cultural-ecological framework highlights how school stratification works to socialize youth into certain occupational roles based on race and/or class while PVEST addresses the intrapersonal processes by which these socialization practices impact youth's behaviors, perceptions, and beliefs about themselves and others. Considered together, these frameworks are useful for understanding how experiencing school stratification can influence the racial identity and future orientation perceptions of Black youth. Before discussing the frameworks, it is important to describe how racial identity and future orientation are conceptualized.

Racial Identity

Erik Erikson is one of the most widely known and cited scholars for the study of identity development. Within his theory of development, Erikson proposed that adolescence is a period where a central focus is on identity versus identity confusion (Erikson, 1968). It is during this developmental period that adolescents are wrestling with life questions about themselves and trying to determine a sense of self through their desires and perceived abilities. According to Erikson (1968) identity development is a contextualized process in which experiences before this stage impact adolescents' identity formulation and the stages after this stage are impacted by the adolescent's developed or undeveloped identity. Adolescents can accomplish this stage successfully through the establishment of connection to groups of people with whom they feel they have commonalities. In addition to determining a sense of self and finding connections to other people, Marcia (1980) argues that adolescents are involved in various stages of commitment and exploration of personal, occupation, and ideological beliefs.

Along with the struggles all adolescents face in forming their identity, Black adolescents also encounter challenges associated with being a member of a racial group that experiences oppression, with direct implications for the development of racial identity (Cross, Parham, & Helms, 1991; Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998). A racial identity is composed of Black youth's feelings about themselves, their racial group, and themselves in relation to their racial group (Carter & Goodwin, 1994; Chavous et al., 2003; Sellers et al., 1998). Adolescence is the developmental period where youth have increased abstract thinking skills, cognitive processing, and social

perspective-taking. These more developed skills heighten the awareness of race allowing youth to observe differences in their experiences, the experiences of others, and the significance of being Black (Neblett, Smalls, Ford, Nguyên, & Sellers, 2009)

The multidimensional model of racial identity (MMRI) provides a conceptual framework for understanding and examining racial identity development in Blacks (Sellers et al., 1998). The MMRI argues that racial identity is a part of an individual's self-concept that is tied to membership within that specific race. As opposed to older racial identity models (e.g., Cross, 1991), Sellers and colleagues (1998) do not assume that race is the most salient characteristic for all Blacks. In addition, the authors do not use objective criteria to racially identify Blacks. Using objective criteria implies that there is one idea of what it means to be Black, ignoring the heterogeneity within Blacks. The MMRI stresses the importance of understanding how the individual perceives what it means to be Black and what that meaning means for the specific individual (Sellers et al., 1998).

There are four dimensions explored in the MMRI: racial salience, racial centrality, racial regard, and racial ideology. Racial salience describes the extent in which one's race is perceived as a significant part of their self-concept (Sellers et al., 1998). Black youth perception of racial salience changes based on their context and their tendency to define themselves racially. For example, race has the potential to be more salient for Blacks when they are the only person of color in a classroom. However, this depends on the tendency of the Black person to define themselves racially. So while one person's race may be salient in this type of context, it may not be for another Black

person. The way Blacks perceive their race as salient in contextual situations influences the way they perceive people's actions and behaviors towards them as well as how the Black person will behave in situations (Sellers et al., 1998).

Racial centrality refers to the way Blacks define themselves by their racial group (Sellers et al., 1998). Unlike racial salience, racial centrality is a stable component across contexts. In other words, it describes the extent to which a person normally defines themselves racially. Racial regard describes individuals' judgments about their race and is divided into two dimensions: public and private. The public regard describes individuals' perceptions of how their racial group is viewed by others. The private regard describes individuals' feelings about being Black and their membership within their racial group (Sellers et al., 1998).

Racial ideology describes the way Blacks think other Blacks should behave and interact in society. Sellers and colleagues (1998) described four ideologies for Blacks: nationalist, oppressed minority, assimilation, and humanist. The authors argued that people's philosophies regarding Blacks can vary across the ideologies. Blacks characterized as nationalists view being Black as a unique experience not shared or understood by others who are not Black. The oppressed minority ideology compares the experience they share with the experiences of other oppressed groups in society. The assimilation ideology focuses on the similarities between Blacks and others in society with a focus on social change. However, the assimilationist position argues that Blacks have to work within the system to change it. Lastly, the humanist ideology stresses the similarities among all humans (Sellers et al., 1998).

Racial regard, salience, and centrality of the MMRI are important constructs to explore when examining the links between school stratification and racial identity development in Black youth. Black youth experiences with school tracking can influence their perceptions about themselves racially and their peers of the same and different race. Even though the MMRI stresses the importance of context in influencing one's feelings about their race, research has not focused on how certain contexts may influence racial identity development differently. In an effort to close this gap, I am looking specifically at one context, the school, to explore how Black youth's school experiences influence their ideas about their racial group. I will refer to this as racial identity within the school context (interchangeable with school racial identity).

Future Orientation

Future orientation is conceptualized as a multidimensional construct composed of cognitive, motivational, and affective dimensions that describe the way one thinks about their future (Nurmi, 1987; Nurmi, 1989; Trommsdorff et al., 1979). This construct is a part of the self-concept that represents one's goals, motives, fears, and anxieties about their future in the school, career, family, and social domains. Future orientation development, specifically as it relates to the school and career domain, is critical during adolescence because it is during this developmental period that youth begin to evaluate their world and make decisions about what they perceive as obtainable future goals (McCabe & Barnett, 2000c). The way adolescents feel about their future opportunities impacts their behaviors, choices, and interactions with others. Having a positive future

orientation facilitates positive development and a successful transition into adulthood (Kerpelman, Eryigit, & Stephens, 2008; Kerpelman & Mosher, 2004; Nurmi, 1989).

School as a Developmental Context

Schools are an especially important context for school racial identity and future orientation development because it is in this context that the experiences of Black youth impact their beliefs about themselves as a racial being, student, learner, and achiever. However, research illustrates that Black youth's access to quality learning experiences is substantially limited by school stratification (Oakes, 2005). Black youth have less qualified teachers and administrators, insufficient teaching supplies and materials, and different academic experiences than other students which can influence their perceptions of themselves as racial beings and as learners (Epps, 1995; Jay, 2010; Kozol, 1991). This lack of access to quality learning experiences and opportunities makes schools one of the largest institutions that create, maintain, and reproduce inequality towards Blacks (Darling-Hammon, 2013; Oakes, 2005; Tyson, 2013). The ways in which schools reproduce racial, economic, and cultural inequality has an impact on adolescents' interactions with teachers and peers, behaviors in classrooms, learning opportunities, school performance, and ultimately their perceptions of their school racial identity and future orientation (Borman & Dowling, 2010; Carbonaro & Gamoran, 2002a; Oakes, 2005).

Racial Inequality

Race is one of the most significant ways schools reproduce inequality. Race is a social construction used to separate racial groups in a hierarchy (Bonilla-Silva, 2010;

Ladson-Billings, 1998). People are stratified in a racial group based on phenotype differences such as skin color, facial features, and hair texture. In the racial hierarchy, Whites are placed at the top of the social structure and Blacks are placed at the bottom of the social structure (Bonilla-Silva, 2010). While race is socially constructed, it is this racial hierarchy that grants privileges to Whites creating negative consequences and experiences for Blacks perpetuating White supremacy (Gillborn, 2005). White supremacy is thought of as a normalized covert political, economic, and cultural system of oppression in which Whites have power and use this power to control resources and dominate non-Whites in institutions and other societal contexts (Ansley, 1997; Gillborn, 2005; hooks, 1989). In this system, Whites' cultural practices and ways of being are normalized causing other racial groups to be viewed as "different" based on the norms of the White racial group (Applebaum, 2010). White supremacy ensures racial inequity and racism are maintained through this normalization by providing privileges to Whites that are not afforded to non-Whites that can grant access to economic and social mobility (Gillborn, 2005). Johnson (2006) and McIntosh (1988) describe privilege as access to resources that are denied to others based on one's position in a stratified system. This privilege is embedded in all institutions, especially schools, normalizing racism and the discriminatory treatment Blacks receive (Bell, 1979; Delgado, 1995). The normalization of racism impacts the practices and discourses in the schooling institution (Yosso, 2005).

Two racist perspectives about Blacks embedded in school practices that perpetuate White supremacy and impact the schooling experiences of Black youth are the genetic-deficiency and culture of poverty thesis. According to the genetic-deficiency

perspective intellectual differences between Whites and Blacks have an innate basis (Phillips, 1914; Valencia, 1997; Wilson, 1978). Proponents of this perspective argued that one's intellectual abilities were genetically inherited and unmalleable paying little to no attention to the role structural forces have in strengthening intelligence (Valencia, 1997). From this perspective, intelligence testing was enforced to legitimate the inequities between Whites and people of color as well as explain the economic and social position of Whites and people of color in society. Furthermore, these tests were used to decide which students would have access to the higher levels of knowledge and instruction (Phillips, 1914; Terman, 1916). For example, regarding "Indians, Mexicans, and Negroes" who scored lower on intelligence testing, Terman (1916) said "children of this group should be segregated in special classes and be given instruction which is concrete and practical. They cannot master abstractions, but they can often be made efficient workers, able to look out for themselves." The practice of using intelligence testing to justify curriculum differentiation has continued today, providing those children with higher scores (predominately middle class White children) access to better classes through school tracking (Borman & Dowling, 2010; Oakes, 1986).

The culture of poverty perspective originated from scholars investigating the lives of low-income and poor families (Lewis, 1959; Lewis, 1969). Lewis (1959, 1969) argued that poor people shared psychological traits that were then unconsciously or consciously socialized in their children. These traits included being unmotivated to work, a lack of family values, and a dependency on welfare (Jones & Luo, 1999; Wilson, 1987). From this perspective, poverty is caused by culture as opposed to the structural

inequalities that exist in society (Gorski, 2008; Jones & Luo, 1999). These studies

consisted mostly of people of color, thereby racializing the culture of poverty to

marginalized racial groups, especially Blacks, and perpetuating the idea that Blacks do

not value education and are unmotivated to learn.

Research has regarded these deficit perspectives as invalid, but they are often still

embedded in the schooling institution creating negative beliefs about Black youth's

schooling abilities (Cole, 2009; Ladson-Billings, 2009). Some of these negative beliefs

are that Blacks cannot benefit from having quality instruction and are incapable of

excelling academically (Wiggan, 2007). For example, researchers have found that when

White teachers are asked to judge the potential, attitude, and motivation of their students,

they tend to place Black youth in lower ranked groups (Gillborn, 2005). As a result,

Black youth are stratified into lower academic tracks and receive lower quality

pedagogical instruction and less challenging work (Oakes, 2005). In addition, scholars

have consistently found that Blacks are overrepresented in lower academic tracks

(Brodbelt, 1991; Oakes, 1986; Oakes, 2005). For instance, Burris and Welner (2005)

found that even after controlling for prior academic achievement and socio-economic

status, Black youth are disproportionally placed in lower academic tracks. Deficit

perspectives regarding Black youth restrict their access to quality instruction and

preparation for higher education, limiting their career opportunities.

Black youth may be cognizant of the negative perceptions teachers have of their

abilities resulting in the risk of stereotype threat. Stereotype threat refers to individuals

feeling at risk of confirming a negative stereotype about a group with which they identify

(Steele & Aronson, 1995). Moreover, the anxiety and doubt individuals experience as a result of stereotype threat has been found to impede their performance (Aronson et al., 1999; Steele, 1997b; Steele & Aronson, 1995). Scholars who have investigated the relationship between racial stereotypes and schooling performance have found that racial stereotypes about students' academic abilities can negatively affect their academic performance (Aronson et al., 1999; Steele, 2003; Steele, 1997a; Steele, 1999; Steele & Aronson, 1995). These experiences in school may potentially impact Black youth school racial identity and future orientation development by influencing their ideas about what their racial group is capable of achieving and what they are able to achieve in the future.

Economic Inequality

According to Weber (1946) an economic class is defined as any group of people who have the same income situation. Bowles and Gintis (1976) argued that the schooling system is designed to maintain an economic class hierarchy for a capitalist society by preparing students for particular occupational positions. In other words, to maintain and reproduce class inequality schools prepare working class students for low-wage and low-skilled jobs and middle-class students for employment that requires higher education (e.g., Bachelor's degree) (Jay, 2010).

One of the main ways reproduction of economic class inequality is maintained is through school stratification. Scholars have found that low-income and working-class students are overrepresented in lower-academic tracks (Burris & Welner, 2005; Caughlan & Kelly, 2004). Crosby and Owens (1993) found that students in the bottom SES quartile

had a 19% chance of being selected for higher academic tracks in contrast to students in the top SES quartile who had a 53% chance.

Schools make school stratification appear legitimate by framing the hierarchy as one based on the abilities or gifts of students (Bourdieu, 1973; Bowles & Gintis, 1976). This presumption makes intelligence appear fixed or genetic as opposed to malleable through educational resources that can facilitate academic achievement. Educational resources such as computers, books, preschool education, and tutors are materials that can increase students' academic achievement but are predominately afforded to youth who have a middle class position (Dearing et al., 2009). For instance, research has found that attending quality preschools can allow children to develop communication, motor, social-emotional, and cognitive skills that can improve children's' later academic outcomes (Barnett & Larny, 2013; Breen, 2005; Darling-Hammon, 2013). However, with the high costs of preschool, low-income and working-class children attend at rates much lower than middle-class youth (Barnett & Larny, 2013). Even though there has been wide expansion of publicly funded preschool (public pre-K) in many states, there still are not enough spots for all children requiring these services (Bryant et al., 2002). These opportunities provide middle class youth with schooling preparation that enhances their cognitive abilities and influences their tracking placement. Tracking legitimates economic and racial inequality by providing an objective and ostensibly meritocratic system that assigns students to different learning opportunities, which can lead to unequal economic positions (Bowles & Gintis, 1976).

Social Class Inequality

Socioeconomic class is often used as a one-dimensional concept, but some theorists have suggested that meaningful distinctions should be made. According to Weber (1946, 1947) individuals belonging to the same economic class may not belong to the same social class. Social classes are based on individuals' educational attainment (Weber, 1947). As a result, people with the same occupation are considered to belong to the same social class and children belong to the same social class as their parents (Weber, 1946). According to Bourdieu (1986), people belonging to the same social class tend to share similar cultural styles, conceptualized as a system of set routine practices, behaviors, and ways of being that change at individual and group levels (Bourdieu, 1973; Spencer et al., 2006).

Research has found that parents' social class position influences the socialization of different ways of behaving, communicating, and dressing (Adelman, 2004; Bluestone & Tamis-LeMonda, 1999; Kohn, 1989; Lareau, 2003; Pattillo-McCoy, 1999; Weber, 1946). Each way of being results from conditions of the environment and provides advantages or disadvantages depending on the particular societal context. However, as described further below, one social position symbolizes the ways of being that are viewed as appropriate and acceptable in major social institutions (Bourdieu, 1973; Carter, 2003). For the purposes of this study, I will identify these as *institutionalized advantage* and *institutionalized disadvantage* to delineate the power differential that exists between these positions. Individuals who display the characteristics from the institutionalized advantage position are viewed positively and granted opportunities not provided to others (Carter,

2003). For example, teachers view students from the institutionalized advantage position as illustrating better behavior, having better language skills, and more motivated to learn impacting their relationship and academic expectations of these students (Lareau, 2003).

Parents with higher education are more likely to socialize their children with beliefs and practices that are aligned with the institutionalized advantage position because of their familiarity with the behaviors and linguistic styles perceived as successful in institutions, especially schools (Bourdieu, 1973; Lareau, 1987). As a result, parents from the institutionalized advantage position have implicit learned knowledge that can benefit their children's schooling trajectory. The practices from the institutionalized advantage position are embedded in institutions providing advantages for economic and social mobility to people from these backgrounds and, conversely, making schooling success more difficult, but not impossible, for students from the institutionalized disadvantage position (Bettie, 2003; Lareau, 1987; Mills & Gale, 2007). While practices from the institutionalized advantage position are viewed as more acceptable (and may yield more success) in institutions, practices from the institutionalized disadvantage position provide advantages in other contexts, yet these are not always recognized or valued in institutional contexts (Yosso, 2005). For instance, a working class student may know how to navigate public transportation to conduct errands needed for the family, but this type of navigational capital is not recognized or valued in schools (Yosso, 2005).

Communication patterns represent one significant distinction between social classes that can influence students' tracking placement and academic achievement (Bennett deMarrais & LeCompte, 1999; Bernstein, 1971; Lareau, 2003). Bernstein

(1971) argued that families with higher education have a tendency to participate in elaborated code while families with lower educational attainment participate in restricted code. Restricted code is described as context independent where people share assumptions and understandings that do not need to be explained. As a result, people who use restricted code communicate with fewer words and sentence patterns. Elaborated code is characterized as families using diverse context clues and explicit description with children to communicate using more words, thereby aiding in vocabulary development (Bernstein, 1971; Bennett de Marrais & LeCompete, 1999). Lareau (2003) also found that parents with higher education participated in extensive use of verbal negotiations with their children, unconsciously fostering children's language skills by discussing meaning of words and explaining why they wanted their children to perform tasks. According to Bernstein (1971) one language code is not better than the other, because each is different and provides its own aesthetic and results from the conditions of their environment. However, institutions place value on employing Standard English, providing benefits to people who use this communication pattern. For instance, Lareau (2003) found that teachers perceived students who used Standard English as better prepared for school and smarter than youth who did not use Standard English. In addition, having a more extensive vocabulary can increase children's standardized testing scores, which in turn may also impact their language arts tracking placement.

Teachers' perceptions of students also influences their tracking placement (Kelly & Carbonaro, 2012). Students who have linguistic styles, dress, and/or behave in ways that mirror the institutionalized advantage position style are perceived by teachers as

academically motivated for school. As a result, teachers spend more time preparing for instruction, providing these students with more positive feedback for scholastic performance and opportunities for learning, and take more responsibility for these students' academic achievement (Baker, 1999; Rumberger & Palardy, 2005). However, because deficit perspectives about Black youth are embedded in schooling institutions, Black youth have to "prove" their academic capabilities through their grades, linguistic styles, and dress. For instance, in a qualitative study using Black high school students, Carter (2003) found that students believed style of dress impacted teachers' academic expectations and interactions with students. Participants in the study described observing the differences in time allotted from teachers for extra help and teaching instruction to students who had the style of dress they perceived as acceptable. One participant described that teachers view students who come to school with "baggy pants" as "a waste of their time." These observations influenced some students not to wear "baggy pants" so their teachers would take their educational career seriously. Black youth may "prove" their academic capabilities, facilitating teachers dismantling their negative beliefs about the specific student, but not Blacks as a whole (Carter, 2013).

Parents socialization practices with their children are greatly influenced by their educational attainment (Bourdieu, 1973). However, one important consideration to explore when examining Black parents college attainment is if they attended a Historically Black College or University (HBCU) or Predominately White Institution (PWI). Research has found that there are differences in college experiences based on attendance of a PWI or HBCU (Hamilton, 2009; McCoy, 2013; Spurgeon & Myers,

2010; Terenzini, Yaeger, Bohr, Pascarella, & Amaury, 1997). For instance, in examining 203 Black students attending a PWI or HBCU, Spurgeon and Myers (2010) found that Black students attending HBCUs scored lower on feelings of sense of worth but higher on gender identity and friendship than students attending PWIs. These differential experiences may influence parents' socialization practices with their children.

Summary

Research has clearly documented that school stratification reproduces racial inequality for Black youth (Brodbelt, 1991; Crosby & Owens, 1993; Epps, 1995; Kershaw, 1992; Oakes, 2005). However, researchers have not examined school stratification differences within Black youth. The economic and/or social class position of Black youth may work to prevent them from being stratified into lower academic classes through their use of Standard English, "appropriate" dress, and educational resources. However, while the economic and/or social class position of Blacks may work to positively influence their experiences with school stratification, it still aides in the reproduction of cultural and class inequality stratifying some Blacks into lower academic classes. It is critical to understand if Black youth's tracking placements differ by their economic and/or social class positions to better understand how their schooling experiences influence their future orientation and racial identity development. In order to adequately understand this developmental process, an examination of the way they perceive their world and the opportunities available to them is needed.

CHAPTER III

ECOLOGICAL FRAMEWORKS

Cultural-Ecological Perspective

The cultural-ecological perspective is useful in this dissertation for understanding the link between context and school socialization practices for youth (Ogbu, 1981). The cultural ecological perspective argues that institutions such as the family and school overtly and covertly socialize youth to acquire the skills and competencies needed to grow into competent adults (Ogbu, 1981). Ogbu (1981) asserts that these competencies are created based on the physical, social, political, and economic demands of the environment. Youth acquire these competencies through standardized practices and techniques created by the specific institution. School socialization practices differ from those in the family for many reasons, but mainly because schools are designed as performance-oriented institutions that have limited emotional attachments to youth and provide them with the skills and knowledge needed for their future occupations (Brint, 2006).

Beyond the academic curriculum, school practices work to implicitly and explicitly socialize youth with the hidden curriculum (Apple, 2004). The hidden curriculum includes teaching students the norms, values, and ways of behaving that will create productive citizens and workers (Apple, 2004; Dreeben, 1968; Vallance, 1973). This socialization is imparted to students through daily experiences and routines in the schools, particularly in the classroom, and interactions with schooling agents and peers

(Dreeben, 1968). In the U.S. context, these routines and practices socialize youth to understand and value skills such as independence, individualism, and individually earned achievements that are also valued in the workforce (Brint, 2006). Students learn these skills by being made responsible for their own behaviors, performing academic tasks alone, and being rewarded for academic achievement (Dreeben, 1968).

In addition, through the hidden curriculum, schools socialize students into a life of evaluation based on individual performance (Brint, 2006). Students are consistently given an assignment or task in which their performance is evaluated, encouraging the valuing of one's individual effort, hard work, and success (Brint, 2006). Not only are students evaluated based on their academic performance, but also on their ability to exhibit obedience and respect for authority (Brint, 2006; Giroux & Penna, 1979). Schooling agents, particularly teachers, are viewed as students' first supervisor, with schoolwork considered their job. Teachers create rules and assignments that students are taught to comply with, preparing them for their role as an employee in their occupation. Students who comply with the rules are rewarded for exhibiting discipline and subordinate behavior through praise and privileges reinforcing obedient behavior.

The hidden curriculum aids schools in integrating students into various occupational roles that are needed by the economy (Apple, 2004; Bowles & Gintis, 1976). Socialization of the hidden curriculum and preparation for these occupational rules are influenced by school stratification. Anyon (2006) explored students' socialization experiences in various schools that differed by economic and social class positions. In her research, she found that as the social class of the schools increased,

students' abilities to participate in creating rules, choices for instruction, and participating in decision-making increased and teachers' enforcement of authority and control decreased. In addition, Oakes (1990) found that teachers who taught higher-academic courses participated in less discipline and encouraged more participation in rule setting. Results from these studies illustrate that working-class children are being prepared for mechanical and routine jobs and middle-class children are being prepared for professional occupations that require autonomy, creativity, and leadership.

The differences in the socialization of the hidden curriculum between academic tracks can influence racial identity within the school context and future orientation construction for Black youth. The school track Black youth are placed in, can influence their development of the leadership and critical thinking skills that are valued in professional roles. In addition, the overrepresentation of Blacks in lower-academic tracks can impact Black students' beliefs about Blacks' roles as students and future workers. The cultural-ecological perspective (Ogbu, 1981) illustrates how schools use school stratification to explicitly and implicitly socialize youth for occupational roles based on their race, class, and/or culture. While it is important to explore the prominent role of schools, it is equally important to examine how youth perceive and respond to their schooling experiences.

Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory

The Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST) is beneficial for this dissertation study because it provides a framework for examining how Black youth perceive, experience, and respond to the socialization experiences in the

schooling context. The PVEST argues that the meaning youth ascribe to their experiences is important because it influences their behaviors and interactions with others, which creates variability in the way structures and experiences impact youth outcomes. In addition, the theory views vulnerability and resilience as a dynamic process that is tied to normative development and results from children interacting with their environment (Spencer et al., 2006). There are five components of the PVEST: net vulnerability, net stress engagement, reactive coping process, emergent identities, and life-state-specific-coping. These components will be used to examine how Black youth perceptions of their school experiences and social and economic class positions influence their future orientation and racial identity formation.

Net Vulnerability

Net vulnerability is composed of the contextual and personality characteristics that can potentially pose challenges to youth development. However, it is based on the way individuals internalize and perceive these factors that determine if they become risk and/or protective factors (Spencer et al., 2006). In this study, race and economic and social class will be explored as risk and/or protective factors in influencing Black youth schooling experiences.

The deficit perspectives about Black youth that are often embedded in schooling institutions can cause race to be a risk factor because these stereotypes may influence the tracking placement of Black youth. On the other hand, a middle class economic position can be viewed as a protective factor for Black youth because it provides access to resources needed to facilitate higher academic achievement such as learning materials,

preschool education, and academic tutors (Menacker, 1990; Pianta, Barnett, Burchinal, & Thornburg, 2009). In addition, the institutionalized advantage social class position could also be viewed as a protective factor for Black youth in a school setting because teachers may perceive these students as motivated and academically capable of achieving impacting their school tracking placement and schooling experiences (Mills & Gale, 2007). However, Black youth from the institutionalized disadvantage social position may be a risk factor in the school context, because schooling agents do not value the practices created from this social positioning.

Net Stress Engagement

Net stress engagement describes the experiences that actually challenge youth development (Spencer et al., 2006). This component differs from the previous one in that the net stress component is the manifestation of youth's perceived risk and/or protective factors, creating the link between context and experience. In this study, Black youth's experiences with school stratification can be viewed as a net stressor (Spencer et al., 2006). One reason it is a net stressor is because lower academic classes restricts Black youth access to quality learning opportunities influencing their future schooling outcomes. In addition, the overrepresentation of Blacks in low-ability courses and the underrepresentation of Blacks in high-ability courses can influence how Black youth internalize and perceive racialized tracking. Because schooling tracks appear to be (or are framed as) meritocratic, students may internalize their tracking placement as a reflection of their academic abilities, possibly influencing their beliefs about their future schooling

opportunities (Mickelson, 2005; Tyson, 2013). The way Black youth perceive tracking influences their racial identity and future orientation development.

Reactive Coping Process

The reactive coping process involves the problem-solving strategies youth use to cope with their net stress, which in turn leads to adaptive or maladaptive solutions (Spencer et al., 2006). This dissertation study explores how Black youth manage being stratified into different academic tracks and the connotation associated with being in their specific track. Labeling students through tracking may cause students to internalize messages about themselves, their race, and others based on their tracking placement (Apple, 2004). Qualitative studies examining students' experiences with school stratification suggest that students view high-track classes as reserved for the "smart," "gifted" or "bright" students and low-track classes as reserved for the "dumb," "unmotivated" and "non-caring" students (Tyson, 2011). The labels placed on these courses and the way students view each other based on the classes they are in may influence stereotype threat and impact their confidence and optimism about their future, and their view of themselves as learners and students as well as racial beings (Houtte, Demanet, & Stevens, 2012). These labels may discourage or alternatively encourage youth to excel academically. For example, being labeled "dumb" may influence some students to internalize these perceptions decreasing their motivation to do their school work impacting their schooling achievement. However, other students may use this label to try harder with their school work to prove they are not dumb to their teachers and peers.

Emergent Identities

Emergent identities, the fourth component of the PVEST model, are the ways youth view themselves in the various contexts that are a part of their development (Spencer et al, 2006). The current study investigates the way school tracking influences the way Black youth perceive their racial identity and future orientation for the schooling and career domain. In racially heterogeneous schools, White students are overrepresented in high-track courses. The overrepresentation of Whites in high ability courses can influence youth to internalize the message that Blacks are not capable of excelling in high-track courses and that high ability courses are for White students impacting their ideas about what it means to be a Black student (Tyson, 2011). The overrepresentation of Blacks in low-ability courses and underrepresentation of Blacks in high-ability courses may consciously and unconsciously create boundaries about in and out group differences for Blacks and non-Black racial groups. These messages internalized from school stratification can influence Black youth's beliefs about what it means to be a Black student in schooling contexts, impacting their future orientation in the schooling domain.

Life-State-Specific-Coping

Life-state-specific-coping outcomes describe the positive or negative consequences youth may experience due to their identity motivated behaviors (Spencer et al., 2006). Spencer and colleagues (2006) argue that positive outcomes are associated with educational achievement, high self-esteem, and positive relationships with others. However, negative outcomes are associated with self-destructive behaviors and

incarceration. In this dissertation Black youth with a positive racial identity and future orientation are considered positive outcomes.

Summary

Cultural-ecological frameworks are pivotal in this dissertation for illustrating how school experiences are influential in impacting Black youth's racial identity within the school context and their orientation toward the future. Despite schools' claims of meritocracy, the deficit perspectives about Blacks that are often embedded in the schooling institution work to consistently stratify more Blacks into lower-academic tracks than higher-academic tracks (Oakes, 2005; Tyson, 2011). Using these frameworks, this study examines how Black youth internalize and perceive these schooling experiences and investigates whether these experiences differ based on students' social and economic class positions. The economic position of Black middle class parents may allow them to purchase educational resources that influence Black youth achievement such as books, private computers, and quality preschool education (Orr, 2003). The social class position of families influences the socialization of communication patterns, dress, and behaviors, which have different values in the school. These differences can influence student-teacher interactions, peer-peer interactions, and students' experiences within the school.

CHAPTER IV

LITERATURE REVIEW

Within School Stratification

For decades there have been gaps between children of color (particularly Blacks and Latinos) and Whites and between poor and middle class children on high school graduation rates and standardized test scores (Flores, 2007; Jackson, McCullough, & Gurin, 1997; McGee, 2004; Rosenbaum, 1986). Politicians, research scholars, and others who have studied and discussed this gap refer to it as the achievement gap. The achievement gap discourse suggests that teachers are not adequately preparing students, parents do not care about their child's schooling performance, and that children are not motivated to excel (Jackson et al., 1997; McGee, 2004; Rosenbaum, 1986). By focusing on the achievement gap, policymakers have created policies aimed at high-stakes testing, with teachers and principals held accountable for results (Ainsworth-Darnell & Downey, 1998; Hamm, 2001). The achievement gap ignores the deficiencies within the schooling system that are produced from the inequalities in society. To reflect how inequities in society lead to inequality in the school system, it is critical to refer to the gap as the opportunity gap. The opportunity gap implies that youth of color and working class and poor youth do not have access to critical educational, material, social, and cultural resources that would enhance learning at home and school (Bell, 1979; Carbonaro & Gamoran, 2002b; Hamm, 2001; Hughes, 2003).

One cause of the opportunity gap is school stratification - the division of students into separate classes or groups based on perceived ability (Borman & Dowling, 2010; Breen, 2005; Brodbelt, 1991; Carbonaro, 2005; Epps, 1995; Gamoran, 1987). During elementary school, students are often placed in small reading and/or math groups based on their performance on assessments, referred to as ability grouping. Once students enter middle and high school they are assigned to different classes, commonly referred to as tracked courses. The specifics of what schools name their tracked courses differs by schools (Donelan, Neal, & Jones, 1994). However, middle school courses are generally titled general, honors, and/or gifted for selected academic courses. In high school, the track categorizations include vocational, academic, and/or college along with honors, international baccalaureate (IB), and advanced placement (AP) (Chiu et al., 2008). For purposes of simplification, tracking will be used in this study to refer to both ability grouping and class track. The term *high-track* will be used to describe honors, academic, and advanced placement courses, while *low-track* will be used to describe nonacademic, vocational, special education, remedial, and basic courses.

Several studies have found systematic differences in teaching, curriculum, and instruction between high-track and low-track English and Math courses (Braddock & Slavin, 1992; Carbonaro, 2005; Dreeben & Barr, 1988; Oakes, 1990; Oakes, 2005). In elementary school, Oakes (1995) found that low-track reading groups spent more time on decoding activities as opposed to high-track groups who spent more time deconstructing meanings of stories and reading aloud. In middle and high school, researchers have found that in high-track English courses students were more likely to read challenging

literature, write essays, and have exposure to new words and phonic concepts aiding in vocabulary development (Carbonaro & Gamoran, 2002a) . In high-track Math courses, students were more likely to discuss the ideas behind mathematical operations and computation drills as opposed to students in low-track Math courses. The results from these studies indicate that students in high-track classes receive curriculum that encourages critical thinking and problem solving while students in low-track courses receive curriculum that promotes instruction centered around rote memorization (Carbonaro & Gamoran, 2002a; Van Houtte, 2004). Differences in curriculum and pedagogy between the schooling tracks create discrepancies in what students learn, their preparation for future academic coursework, and their schooling opportunities.

Evidence suggests that schools make it difficult, if not impossible, for students in low tracks to move to high tracks (Kelly & Price, 2011; Oakes, 2005). Kelly and Price (2011) studied tracking systems in 129 public schools in North Carolina. The authors found that school subjects involve prerequisites that make it impossible for 9th graders who started in a low track to move to a high track by 12th grade. Moreover, given the sequencing of Math, Reading, and Science courses, student's academic track in high school is likely "set" much earlier in their schooling careers, regardless of ability or motivation (Tyson, 2013). Student course options in high school are determined by their achievement and grouping placement in middle school; in turn, course selection in middle school is influenced by test scores and grouping assignments in elementary school, This differentiated sequencing of courses creates a schooling cycle that is difficult

for students to escape, creating narrow schooling and career options for lower tracked students.

Tracking placement processes vary by school, but is usually based on teacher and/or counselor recommendations, standardized test scores, and/or prior achievement (Donelan et al., 1994; Tyson, 2011). Research has consistently illustrated that Blacks and poor and working class students are overrepresented in low-track courses in racially heterogeneous schools (Chambers, 2009; Kelly & Carbonaro, 2012; Oakes, 1990; Oakes, 2005; Tyson, 2011). One reason proposed for this disproportionality is that the deficit perspectives about Blacks that are embedded in schooling institutions influence teachers' perspectives about Black students' abilities (Wilson, 1978). For example, Oakes' (1995) qualitative study of tracking found that school teachers rarely recommended Black or Latino students for high-track courses because they believed they were not capable of excelling in high ability courses. Teacher perceptions of students' abilities based on the deficit perspective limit youth's access to schooling opportunities, especially because teachers have a pivotal role in tracking placements.

In addition, Black students who are enrolled in high-track courses may be accused of "acting White" by their Black peers who are in low-track courses. Fordham and Ogbu (1986) defined acting White as students of color, particularly Blacks, behaving in ways that mirror White culture. In their study of predominately low-income Black youth they found that Black youth were accused of acting White if they spoke Standard English and excelled academically in school (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). This was one of the first studies to argue that Standard English and academic achievement represented White

culture. The authors also argued that Black youth may choose not to excel in school out of fear of being labeled as acting White. Arguing that these characteristics represent Whites, however, makes the erroneous assumption that there is only one way for Blacks and Whites to behave. In addition, the authors use culture as though it is static and not a dynamic process that is constantly changing. Using culture as a fixed variable causes researchers to perpetuate stereotypes about Blacks and Whites' behaviors and values. Furthermore, Black youth are composed of multiple social categories (e.g., gender, race, class, sexuality) that inform their behaviors and practices. By just focusing on race, Fordham and Ogbu (1986) ignored how other constructions may impact socialization such as their economic and social class positions. Contrary to Fordham and Ogbu (1986), who argued that students viewed excelling academically in school as acting White, Tyson (2011) found that the perpetuation of racialized tracking influenced Blacks to think high-track courses were reserved for Whites. Interestingly, Black youth in racially homogenous schools in high-track courses were not labeled as acting White by their peers. The acting White label for taking high-track courses was only found in racially diverse schools where only a small percentage of Blacks were tracked into high-track courses.

In exploring within school stratification and Black youth, researchers have not examined the associations among economic and social class position and students' tracking placements. Yet, beyond race, students' experiences with school stratification are likely to also be shaped by the financial and cultural resources to which their families have access. The economic class position of Blacks likely impacts parents' opportunities

to purchase educational resources that influence their children's achievement such as books, private computers, and tutors for subjects in which their children struggle (Orr, 2003). Having these resources can improve students standardized testing scores, thereby influencing their placement in school tracking. One of the primary ways that the social class positioning of Blacks can influence tracking placement is through language patterns. Lareau (2003) argued that verbal negotiations practiced with families in the institutionalized advantage position fostered children's language skills by increasing children's vocabulary. This language style possibly increases their performance on the reading sections of standardized testing, thereby impacting their tracking placement in schools. In addition, Lareau (2003) found that teachers viewed students who used the language styles associated with the institutionalized advantage position as better prepared for schooling and more motivated to learn than those who did not use these communication patterns. By exploring the associations among economic and social class positioning and the within-schools stratification experienced by Black youth, research can investigate how other social constructions may work to influence Black youth schooling experiences.

School stratification restricts Black youth's opportunities to quality learning opportunities, influencing their schooling and career trajectories. The deficit perspective in schooling institutions perpetuates racialized tracking, which can also influence the school racial identity and future orientation development of Black youth. While research has illustrated that tracking limits Black youth's future career and schooling opportunities, scholars have not examined how Black youth perceive within school

stratification, their experiences of tracking, and how they believe it relates to their future. In addition, researchers have not explored how Black youth's perceptions of tracking impacts their school racial identity development and whether these perceptions and experiences differ based on students' economic and social class positioning. For example, if students perceive that tracking placement is based on students' abilities without any attention to structural factors then it can impact their ideas about what they are able to achieve in the future. Furthermore, the overrepresentation of Blacks in lower academic tracks may influence Black youth to generalize ideas about Blacks as a whole influencing their racial identity development. It is important to examine how Black youth perceive their future opportunities and school racial identity to have a better and more thorough understanding of the way tracking works to inform Black youth's beliefs about themselves, their future, and their capabilities as learners and racial beings.

Future Orientation

Gottfredson (1981) asserts that individual characteristics, restrictions from the neighborhood and school context, socio-economic status, gender, race, and available opportunities influence the development of the schooling and career domain of future orientation. Even though Gottfredson (1981) acknowledged the importance of these factors in influencing future orientation development, scholars have focused more on individual characteristics as opposed to structural factors when examining Black youth's perceptions of future schooling and career opportunities. Structural factors are important to explore in order to gain a better understanding of how inequalities in the distribution of resources impact Black youth's beliefs about their future. Focusing more attention on the

ways disparities influence individual characteristics and adult outcomes will enable a

better understanding of the way these processes work in order to address inequities

through practice and policies. To date, only three studies have examined the associations

among structural influences and future orientation in Black youth (Cook et al., 1996;

McCabe & Barnett, 2000a; Neblett & Cortina, 2006).

Cook et al. (1996) examined the development of occupational aspirations and

expectations in poor Black youth living in inner-city neighborhoods compared to those of

affluent White youth living in suburban neighborhoods. Expectations were defined as the

jobs youth believed they would obtain and aspirations were defined as jobs they would

like to have. The authors found that White middle class boys had higher expectations and

aspirations than poor Black boys. The authors also found differences in the types of

occupations poor Black boys and affluent White boys expected to obtain. For example,

four percent of poor Black boys expected to become lawyers or doctors as opposed to

twenty-four percent of middle class White youth. In addition, poor Black boys expected

to become policemen and firemen at significantly higher rates than middle class White

boys.

The Black boys in this sample were living in economically disadvantaged

neighborhoods and had parents who were experiencing unemployment or working low-

wage jobs (Cook et al., 1996). Observing their parents, and possibly their neighbors,

struggle with employment and low wages may have influenced Black boys in this sample

to believe that there are not many occupational opportunities available to them.

Furthermore, the types of occupations Black boys expected to obtain were prominent in

their communities, which may have influenced their beliefs about realistic obtainable careers. Even though the authors examined structural factors, they did not examine how school contexts may have influenced expectations and aspirations. The school context is important to explore because schooling agents shape Black youth beliefs about themselves and their future (Bandura, Barbaranelli, Caprara, & Pastorelli, 2001; Gushue, Clarke, Pantzer, & Scanlan, 2006). Also, the authors did not address the impact of race on Black youth's occupational aspirations and expectations. Given the negative perceptions of Blacks that exist in society, it is important to understand how Black youth are making meaning of the perceptions of their racial group. The way Black youth internalize these perceptions may influence their future orientation development. Furthermore, these negative perceptions increase the likelihood of Black youth experiencing racial discrimination (Benner & Graham, 2012; Coker et al., 2009; Martin et al., 2011). Racial discrimination has been associated with negative outcomes that impact future schooling and career opportunities such as lower academic achievement and school delinquency (Martin et al., 2011; Seaton & Yip, 2009; Seaton, Yip, & Sellers, 2009). Lastly, by solely focusing on class the authors ignored the influence of race on future orientation development and their comparison of poor Black youth to affluent White youth provided a distorted picture of Black youth.

In the second study, McCabe and colleagues (2000) examined the association between income and future orientation in low-income Black sixth graders from a Detroit public school (McCabe & Barnett, 2000b). The authors examined the association among five dimensions of future orientation: salience (importance regarding future planning),

detail (number of both positive and negative future events an individual expects in the future), optimism (extent an individual expects positive things to occur in the future), realism (selection of future goals that are potentially attainable), and control beliefs (belief that the individual determines their future as opposed to others). As opposed to the previous study by Cook and colleagues (1996) the authors found an inverse relationship between income and future orientation. Specifically, Black youth with lower family incomes had higher salience, optimism, and control beliefs. The authors did not examine what domain of future orientation these beliefs were associated with or the type of goals youth aspired to have. Notably, all youth in the sample were low-income. Over half (55%) of the study had families whose income was less than $19,000 yearly and 17% were receiving public assistance. One reason for these results may be that Black youth experiencing the most financial struggle had more positive beliefs as a survival tactic. Perhaps, believing that their lives would be better in the future prevented them from feeling hopeless. Another reason may be that youth from families with the lowest incomes may experience more economic variability than the other low-income Black youth. It is possible that the lower income Black youth were experiencing a financial low, but knew things would be better in the future. Even though the authors found an inverse relationship between income and future orientation, because they did not examine a specific domain of future orientation it is unclear what Black youth's beliefs were about.

In the third study, Neblett and Cortina (2006) explored the relationship between adolescents' perceptions of their parents' rewards, self-direction, and stress at work and

their future orientation using Black and White high school students. They found that adolescents' perceptions of their parents' job experiences significantly related to their future orientation. Adolescents who perceived their parents' jobs as more rewarding and involving more self-direction had more optimistic and less pessimistic feelings about their future. In addition, the more adolescents perceived their parents were stressed about their jobs the less optimistic feelings they had. This study illustrates that the parental occupation of parents is important in influencing adolescents' perceptions of their future orientation. However, the study did not examine how race impacted Black youth future orientation.

The studies that have examined structural factors have found that economic class positions appear to influence Black youth future orientation. However, two of the studies conflate race and class by using low-income samples. In the absence of economic heterogeneity, it is difficult to understand how structural factors may differ for Black youth of different economic and social class positions. Furthermore, these studies do not give attention to the implications of race. Either the studies perpetuate a deficit perspective of Black youth or ignore the significance of race in future orientation development. When studying future orientation of economically diverse Black youth it is important to understand how they perceive their race and what it means to them in order to have a more thorough understanding of how their future orientation is being constructed.

Racial Identity within the School Context

Racial regard, salience, and centrality of the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI) are particularly important in studying the development of racial identity within the school context because these dimensions address how Black youth feel about their racial group, how they racially identify, and how the school context influences the salience of their race. However, researchers have not examined the associations among these dimensions of the MMRI and school stratification. Currently, only two studies have examined the associations between school performance and racial regard and centrality in Black youth and these found contradicting results.

Chavous et al. (2003) examined racial identity and academic outcomes in a longitudinal study using 606 working class Black 12th graders attending racially homogenous high schools. They explored the associations among youth perceptions of race centrality, private and public regard, and academic achievement. Chavous and colleagues (2003) found that Black adolescents who had high centrality, high private regard, and high public regard had higher positive academic beliefs than Black youth with low centrality, low private regard, and low public regard. The authors suggest that regard feelings may be influenced by youth's schooling experiences; thus the way they perceive their teachers, peers, and class may impact their academic beliefs, which may then influence their centrality feelings. The authors also found that Black youth with high centrality, high private regard and low public regard had the highest percentage of 2-year or 4-year college attendance. The authors argued that youth who are aware of societal biases against Blacks may work harder to have positive academic outcomes. In the

second study, Harper and Tuckman (2006) also selected racially homogenous high schools to examine the associations between racial identity and academic achievement in 289 Black adolescents. Contrary to Chavous et al. (2003), the authors found that Black youth with low levels of racial centrality, low public regard, and low private regard had higher academic achievement than Black students with high centrality, high public regard, and high public regard. Harper and Tuckman (2006) speculated that students with low centrality and low regard had higher achievement levels because they were minimizing their connection to other Blacks because academic achievement is not considered Black culture. However, Tyson (2011) found that Black youth attending racially homogenous schools do not consider excelling academically as acting White, refuting Harper and Tuckman (2006) hypothesis.

It is unclear why the results from these studies are contradictory; more work, specifically qualitative research, is needed to explore Black youth's perceptions of being Black and how they feel it relates to them. Further, additional research is needed to understand how schooling experiences may associate with Back youth centrality and regard feelings to explore if they view their experiences as related to race and/or class. Research illustrates that people have a tendency to conflate class and race issues (Grusky, 1994; Schneider, 2004). Therefore, Black youth may have feelings of low regard, but their perceptions may have been influenced by class issues, as opposed to (or in combination with) racial issues. For instance, Black youth may associate using Standard English with race, but research illustrates that social class largely influences the way people communicate (Bernstein, 1971).

Sellers and colleagues (1998) argue that the racial composition of a context influences one's racial salience. One important limitation in studies exploring the association between school performance and racial identity is not exploring how the school context may influence youth development of racial identity. Specifically, researchers have not examined how the overrepresentation of Blacks in lower academic tracks and underrepresentation of Blacks in higher-academic tracks may influence the salience of race for Black youth in their schools. The salience of race created by within school stratification may possibly influence Black youth's racial regard (private and public) feelings. As evident in Tyson (2011) work, school stratification can impact Black youth's beliefs about what is considered "in" and "out" of their racial group (Carter, 2003). The track Black youth are in may have a different influence on their ideas about what it means to be Black, a Black student now, and in their future. For instance, Blacks in lower academic tracks may believe that higher ability courses are not for Black students. In addition, the students in high-academic tracks and low-academic tracks may be from different economic and social class positions, which also likely influences their school experiences. For example, Black youth who are middle class and/or from the institutionalized advantage position in low-academic tracks may be treated differently by teachers than peers in their class from the institutionalized disadvantage position. As found in Lareau (2003) work, teachers may perceive these students as more motivated to learn creating more positive teacher-student interactions with them and may provide them with more help with school work.

It is important to explore how the school context influences Black youth racial identity formation to understand how they perceive what it means to be a Black student. If Black youth have negative perceptions about what it means to be a Black student it can influence their ideas about future educational attainment. In exploring Black youth perceptions, it is important to understand how they are internalizing negative perceptions of race, because the experience may also be about economic and/or social class differences. Class and racial signifiers are often mixed together in such a way that "authentic" Black is perceived as exemplifying characteristics associated with poor/low-income and/or Blacks without college attainment making it difficult to allow for more nuanced understanding of race and class (Bettie, 2003). Because of the absence of class in everyday talk, Black youth may not know how to verbalize the differences they observe as class-based. Not naming these differences as class-based helps to sustain the ideological representation that the United States is a classless society.

Current Study

The current study is focused on exploring the links among within-school stratification (for students' Language Arts classes), racial identity within the school context, and future orientation for Black middle school students attending a racially and economically diverse school. Researchers studying Black students' academic outcomes have consistently focused on low-income youth, conflating race and class when explaining developmental outcomes. Using a school with racial and economic diversity provides further knowledge on how race and class may influence Black youth perceptions of their schooling experiences, racial identity, and future orientation. In addition to

looking at class variation within one racial group, this study will be one of the first to separate economic and social class to study how these positions are associated with school stratification in similar yet distinct ways. The economic and social class position of students may influence their school tracking placement through their access to educational resources that can influence schooling experiences and academic achievement. These different experiences influence the way Black youth are perceived and treated by institutions, especially schools, which may create differences in their beliefs about school stratification, racial identity within the school context, and future orientation development.

The continuation of racialized tracking in schooling institutions restricts a large percentage of Black youth from accessing stimulating learning opportunities. While research has consistently illustrated that tracking has negative consequences for youth, scholars have not explored how Black youth perceive school tracking, how they believe it relates to their future orientation (specifically their career and schooling trajectories), and how it may influence their school racial identity. It is especially important to focus on these linkages with middle school students because it is during this developmental period that adolescents are starting to develop ideas about themselves and their capabilities, which are strongly influenced by their experiences in their school context.

The current mixed method study used surveys and interviews to collect data from Black youth attending a racially and economically diverse middle school in the Southeast. Racial and economic heterogeneity allowed for a more thorough exploration of the way social and economic class positioning influences Black youth tracking

experiences, racial identity formation and future orientation. The study had a sample of 40 participants for the survey and a purposively selected subsample of 20 participants who completed the interviews. The study sought to address the following questions:

Research Question 1 and Hypotheses

How do Black youth's economic and social class position associate in distinct ways with their tracking placement, racial identity, and future orientation?

Tracking placement. Given previous research indicating that low-income youth are overrepresented in lower academic classes compared to youth from higher economic backgrounds (Brodbelt, 1991; Kershaw, 1992; Oakes, 2005), I hypothesized that the same pattern would exist in this sample. I further hypothesized that Black youth from the institutionalized advantage social position (as measured by parent education level) would be placed into honors Language Arts more often than Black youth from the institutionalized disadvantage social position, even for students from the same economic position. Parents with college degrees are more familiar with the linguistic styles, behaviors, and dress viewed as "acceptable" in the schooling system. In addition, parents with higher educational attainment may feel more comfortable establishing relationships with schooling agents and feel greater efficacy in advocating for their children (Lareau, 2003). These practices may impact their children's school tracking placement.

Racial identity. I hypothesized that students from different economic and social class positions would have different racial identity perceptions, because Black youth from institutionalized advantage social backgrounds may have had opportunities not afforded to Black youth in the institutionalized disadvantage position. For example, Black youth

social class positions would have similar schooling expectations. However, I anticipated

that youth from the institutionalized advantage social position would have higher

aspirations, in the sense of obtaining careers that require a college degree or higher.

Because parents from the institutionalized advantage social position have obtained

college degrees it may impact youth from this position that they need or are expected to

obtain a college degree to be successful. In addition, I expected that youths' perceptions

of barriers and support systems in achieving their career goals and their knowledge about

the career would vary across economic and social positions. Specifically, I believed youth

from lower economic positions and institutionalized disadvantage social positions would

identify more barriers in achieving their career aspirations (e.g. money) because they may

be more familiar with the way these barriers prevent them from obtaining resources they

currently need.

Research Question 2 and Hypotheses

How is tracking placement associated with Black youth's school experiences and

their perceptions of tracking? Are there differences based on students' tracked position

(in Language Arts)?

I hypothesized that Black youth's schooling experiences in their Language Arts

class would differ based on their tracked position. As previous research has illustrated, I

expected students in honors Language Arts would learn different concepts and have more

complex homework assignments than students in non-Honors Language Arts classes

(Oakes, 2005). However, I expected that all students would perceive that they are

learning the same concepts but at a different pace; a pace more conducive for their

learning style. I hypothesized that students would have different experiences with their

teachers based on their tracked position. Studies have demonstrated that teachers hold

negative perceptions of students in lower academic courses, possibly influencing the way

they interact with their students (Borman & Dowling, 2010; Epps, 1995; Van Houtte,

Demanet, & Stevens, 2013). Therefore, I anticipated that students in non-Honors

Language Arts would have more negative perceptions and interactions with their teachers

than students in Honors Language Arts classes. Research studies have found that youth

and adults use individualistic reasons to explain people's economic positioning (Leahy,

1981; Ramsey, 1991). Therefore, I hypothesized that Black youth from all positions

would perceive tracking practices as meritocratic and based on individualistic influences

as opposed to structural barriers such as gender and/or racial inequalities. In addition, I

expected that Black youth from all positions would view students in non-Honors

Language Arts as slower learners and students in Honors Language Arts as smart.

Research Question 3 and Hypotheses

How does tracking placement inform Black youth's ideas about race? Are there

differences within track based on economic and social class position?

I hypothesized that Black students would have different schooling experiences

with race based on their tracked level. Black youth who were tracked into honors classes

that are populated with predominately White students, may have different experiences

than Black youth who are tracked into lower-academic classes with predominately Black

students. These different racialized experiences may influence the way Black youth

perceive what it means to be Black and White. In addition, Black youth perceptions of

teachers and peers would also differ based on their tracked level. For example, Black youth in the high track course may perceive their teachers have high expectations for their learning abilities while Black youth in low track courses may believe their teachers have low expectations of their learning abilities. However, because of racial deficits embedded in schooling institutions, Black youth from both tracks may perceive that they have to prove they are capable of learning.

CHAPTER V

METHODOLOGY

This study employed a mixed methods design, which involves the combination of quantitative and qualitative research approaches (Creswell & Clark, 2007; Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, & Turner, 2007). Using mixed methods allows researchers to gain a more thorough understanding of the research problem that cannot be gathered by using quantitative or qualitative methods alone (Creswell & Clark, 2007; Ivankova, Creswell, & Stick, 2006; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). In addition, mixed methods allows researchers to maximize on the strengths of each method by having a large dataset but also having the opportunity to gain in depth information from participants (Creswell & Clark, 2007; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). Specifically, this study used a parallel mixed-methods design (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). A parallel mixed method design (also referred to as concurrent in other literature; see (Creswell & Clark, 2007) involved collecting and analyzing quantitative and qualitative data separately to inform the results (Griffin & Museus, 2011). The quantitative and qualitative data had equal weight with no method being dominant over the other (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2009).

Research Approach

Based on the assumptions of my worldview and my research questions, the research paradigm that was the best choice for this study was the constructivist paradigm (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2007). Constructivists argue that

there is not an absolute truth because multiple realities exist (Hatch, 2002; Lincoln et al., 2007). These realities are unique and socially constructed by the individual from their viewpoint. The way individuals interpret these constructions of reality impacts their thoughts, behaviors, and actions regarding themselves and others in the social world. Using this perspective I was interested in exploring the way Black youth perceive their schooling experiences as influenced by their social and economic class positioning, and how these experiences impact students' thoughts and beliefs about their future and racial identity.

 While the critical research paradigm relates to my assumptions about structures impacting Black youth's opportunities and the reproduction of inequality in the schooling institution, for this specific research study I am interested in understanding the way Black youth ascribe meaning to their race and schooling experiences, and how these perceptions impact their beliefs about the future (Hatch, 2002). However, if I were trying to raise the consciousness of Black youth about their oppression within the school system and encouraging them to change the structures of their context, the critical paradigm would be more relevant for my research (Hatch, 2002; Lincoln et al., 2007).

 My research questions were examined through case study method. A case study investigates a phenomenon in-depth, within the context it is in (Merriam, 1988; Yin, 2009). Using a case study helps increase the researcher's understanding of the context and the subjects being studied. The context was important in my case study research because I was interested in having an in-depth understanding of the way tracking operated to inform Black youth's perceptions and how tracking operated in the schooling

institution. Black youth's experiences vary from one schooling institution to the next because of neighborhood, racial, and class segregation. Therefore, sampling from one school increased my ability to have a rich description and understanding of the implications of tracking in one particular setting.

I selected a middle school that had a diverse racial and economic population. According to Tyson (2011) work with school tracking, a diverse racial population provides more detail on the ways race and class both work to inform Black youth's thoughts about their racial identity and future orientation. The students were chosen as the unit of analysis because I wanted to have a more in-depth understanding of the ways tracking informed Black youth future orientation and racial identity perceptions (Merriam, 1988; Yin, 2009).

Sample

Participants, Sampling Criteria and Recruitment

Participants for this dissertation study were recruited as part of a larger study investigating the associations among schooling experiences, perceptions of opportunity, and self-efficacy in elementary and middle school students. In the larger study, a middle school and one of its "feeder" elementary schools were invited to participate based on their racial and economic diversity and size (with approval from the school district and the institutional review board at UNC-Greensboro). The school district selected is the third largest school district in the state, serving more than 72,000 students in urban and rural communities. The student population is racially, ethnically, and socioeconomically diverse;

approximately 41% of students identify as Black, 37% as White, 12% as Latino, 6% as Asian, and 4% as Multiracial/Other, and 56% receive free or reduced-price lunch.

Lovehall Middle School is one of the larger middle schools in the district with a total of 973 students. It is racially (49% White, 35% Black, 6% Latino) and economically (39% eligible for free lunch; 6% eligible for reduced lunch) diverse and largely reflects the demographic profile of the school district. To recruit this site, I contacted the principal of Lovehall Middle School and asked permission to conduct the study. The principal placed me in contact with the assistant principal, Mrs. Blake, who set up a meeting to speak with me about consent distribution and survey administration. After informing Mrs. Blake of the logistics, we arranged a meeting with the seventh grade Language Arts teachers, the school principal, the principal investigator of the larger study, and myself. During the meeting the principal investigator of the larger study and I introduced ourselves, described the purpose of the study, and discussed gift cards the principal, teachers and participants would receive. They were informed that the school would receive $100 gift card for participating, students would receive $10 for completing the survey and $15 for completing the interview, and teachers who had 15 or more of their students return consent forms would be entered into two drawings for $25.

Parental consent packets were distributed to all 7th grade students (approximately 316) via their Language Arts classes. Through a multi-phase recruitment process (described in more detail below), a total of 45 consent forms were returned (40 parents provided consent for their child to participate; 5 denied consent). Participants for this dissertation study were selected from the larger sample based on criteria that included 1)

identification as Black; 2) being a first time seventh grader; and, 3) being a student in non-honors or honors Language Arts classes. It was important to have first time seventh graders to ensure that youth's feelings about school and seventh grade were not impacted by having been retained. Using students from different Language Arts tracks aided in understanding how Black youth's schooling experiences, racial identity, and future orientation development differed based on their stratified school position.

Survey Participants

All eligible Black seventh graders at the middle school who had parental consent to participate and signed assent forms completed the survey. Several rounds and methods of recruitment were necessary to obtain a reasonably sized sample of Black participants representing different economic, social, and academic track positions.

First, parental consent packets for each seventh grader were given to Mrs. Blake, the assistant principal, to distribute to the Language Arts teachers so they could be sent home with students. After one week, I collected the returned consent forms from Mrs. Blake. At the time of the study, there were approximately 108 Black seventh graders attending Lovehall Middle School; however, the first round of packets only returned 10 signed consent forms from Black youth. In efforts to recruit more participants, I created a brief description of the study for the parents that was disseminated through parent connect. Parent connect is an online system created through the school district that allows parents to view their child's school information and access their teachers. The next round of parent consent distribution returned 15 signed forms from Black students. I scheduled a date the following week with Mrs. Blake for survey administration.

Due to student absences or not being able to be excused from class, only 15 of the 25 Black students with parental consent completed the survey in the first round of survey administration. I consulted with Mrs. Blake to have another date to administer surveys. In efforts to recruit more participants before the second scheduled survey administration date, the principal investigator and I attended a parent "report card pick-up" event held at the school where parents had the opportunity to speak with their child's teachers and receive their report card. Unfortunately, there were not many seventh grade parents who attended parent report card pick up, but we were able to obtain consent from the 3 parents who attended. Out of 12 students with consent, the second round of data collection included approximately 10 Black participants.

The two rounds of survey administration included 25 Black participants that were predominantly stratified into the non-honors Language Arts position. In efforts to recruit more Black participants from the honors position, I scheduled a meeting with the seventh grade counselor, Mrs. Black to discuss recruitment strategies. She informed me that there were not many Black students stratified into the honors Language Arts classes and it would be easier for her to meet with them individually and redistribute the parental consent forms to them directly. A third survey administration was scheduled for one week later and out of 17 Black students who consented to participate in the survey, 15 completed the survey.

Interview Participants

Parents were given the option to provide consent for their children to participate in the survey only or the survey and interview. Of the 43 Black students with consent to

participate in the survey, 38 also had consent to participate in the interviews. Parents who

consented for their children to participate in the interviews were contacted to schedule the

interview at a time and place that was convenient for them after the surveys were

completed. Parents were given the option to have their children complete the interviews

at school, their home, or the campus of UNC-Greensboro.

Drawing from the survey sample, I employed stratified purposeful sampling to

obtain participants for the interviews. This sampling method is useful for including

particular subgroups of people to discuss the topic being investigated. For sampling

purposes, I selected youth from the two social class positions, as measured by parental

education (institutionalized advantage and institutionalized disadvantage), who were

stratified into honors and non-honors Language Arts classes. Interviews were conducted

with 20 Black seventh graders, 9 students from the honors and 11 from the non-honors

school position. Within this sample, there were 10 students from the low-income position

and 10 from institutionalized advantage social class position. Using this process, I

investigated how students' future orientation and racial identity perceptions are similar

and different based on their tracked level, social class position, and economic class

position (see Table 1).

Table 1

Positions of Participants Interviewed

		Non-Honors	Honors
Low-Income	Institutionalized Advantage	1	2
	Institutionalized Disadvantage	5	0

Table 1

(Cont.)

		Non-Honors	Honors
Middle Income	Institutionalized Advantage	1	6
	Institutionalized Disadvantage	4	1
Total		11	9

Data Collection Methods

Survey Procedures

The first two survey administrations were conducted by myself, the principal

investigator of the larger study, and a graduate student in the library at the middle school.

The final survey administration was conducted by myself in the library. Teachers were

emailed a list of students participating in the survey and asked to send them to the library

at 8:30 am. Once all students were present, we introduced ourselves, gave them a brief

description of the study, and distributed the assent forms (see Appendix B). After the

assent forms were signed, the surveys were distributed. Each survey had an identification

number on each page. While distributing the surveys, the principal investigator, graduate

student, and I recorded the identification number for each student. Participants took 30-45

minutes to complete the survey.

Interview Procedures

Face-to-face semi-structured interviews were used to allow for the opportunity to

gain insight into the participant's perspective. In semi-structured interviews the

researcher guides the interview process by asking prepared questions but also questions

that arise during the interview (Hatch, 2002; Merriam, 1988). The students were interviewed to gain a better understanding of their perceptions of their schooling experiences with tracking, racial identity, and perceptions of opportunity for their future. Participants for the interviews were purposively selected based on their economic, social, and Language Arts position. After each round of survey administration, I identified a certain number of students from the honors position and a certain number from the non-honors Language position. Within these two samples, I made sure students had diverse economic and social positions to ensure I did not interview students from one social position stratified into honors or non-honors Language Arts. Once the students were selected I contacted parents to schedule the interview at a time and place that was convenient for the parent. Most of the participants that were selected participated in the interview. Two parents did not return my telephone calls so I selected two new students who did participate in the interviews. The interviews lasted approximately 45 minutes to 1 hour, which included time for background, guiding, and essential questions (Hatch, 2002). Most of the interviews occurred at the participants' homes while the remaining interviews occurred at Lovehall after school.

Measures

Demographics

The demographic questionnaire distributed to parents in the consent package asked them to report on their level of educational attainment, salary, and occupational title for themselves and the child's secondary caregiver (see Appendix A). Parents' level of educational attainment ranged from "less than high school" to "graduate degree."

They were also asked to list the college(s)/university they had attended to assist in coding colleges by Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU) and predominately White Institutions (PWI). Household income categories ranged from "0 - $15,000" to "greater than $100,000." In addition, caregivers were asked to report the number of people living in the household to assist in creating the indicator of economic position.

Economic position. For the purposes of analyzing the survey data, *economic class position* was divided into two groups. Parental income and number of people in the household were used to create the economic groups. Participants with a household annual income at or below 300% of the poverty line were considered low-income and participants above 300% were considered middle class. Three hundred percent was chosen as the cutoff point to provide a more realistic picture of low-income families in this country. The current poverty threshold was created in the 1960's but since that time the cost of housing, food, and other necessities have risen tremendously while wages for the working class have slightly increased or remained the same, causing many American families to financially struggle to maintain their household (Zweig, 2001). There were only three survey participants who were from households with income above 500% of the poverty line and they were placed into the middle class economic position.

Social position. For the purposes of this study, two social position groups were identified on the basis of parents' educational attainment. Parents who obtained a Bachelor's degree or higher were considered to engage in practices that align with institutionalized advantage. There are three reasons educational attainment was used to distinguish between the social classes in this sample of Black youth. First, Black parents

with higher education are assumed to have more familiarity with the culture of the schooling institution (Mills & Gale, 2007). Second, because of the history of slavery, Jim Crow, and the institutionalization of racism toward Blacks, educational attainment is the predominant way for Blacks to gain social mobility. Third, parents' educational attainment influences their career options, and research illustrates that parents' roles and responsibilities in their jobs can lead to particular socialization experiences for children (Bernstein, 1971; Kohn, 1989; Lareau, 2003).

Survey

The survey for this dissertation was developed for the larger study and included items from existing scales, items adapted from other studies, and some items that were developed specifically for this study by the principal investigator and myself (see Appendix C). Some of the response options of existing measures were modified to increase consistency across the various items in the survey. The survey items were refined through piloting with middle school students, which helped to improve the effectiveness of the measures. Further details about each of the survey items used in this study appear below.

Schooling treatment. A set of items was created for this study to explore youth perceptions of the factors that influence the way they and other students are treated at school by peers and teachers. Participants were asked how much the following seven items mattered for how kids are treated by teachers: grades, test scores, how smart they are, their behavior, their race, their gender, how hard they try in school, how much money their family has, where they live, and how well the teacher knows their family. Items

were on a 3-point Likert-type scale with response options "no, this does not happen at my school," "yes, this sometimes happens at my school," and "yes, this happens a lot at my school."

Across the various survey items asking about treatment of students at school, 13 items related to how youth experience race at school. To explore whether these items clustered together and perhaps tapped into latent constructs that could be included in the analysis, the 13 items were factor analyzed using principal component analysis with Varimax (orthogonal) rotation (see Appendix E). The analysis yielded three factors explaining 58% of the variance. Factor 1 was labeled *peer racial mistreatment* (4 items) and explained 22% of the variance. Peer racial mistreatment described students' perceptions of unfair treatment by peers in school and how race mattered for who students befriend each other in school. Factor 2 was labeled *teacher racial mistreatment* (5 items) and explained 16% of the variance. Teacher racial mistreatment described students' perceptions of unfair treatment by teachers. Factor 3 was labeled *racial disrespect* (3 items) and explained 13% of the variance. Racial disrespect described students' beliefs that teachers and peers did not value their race. No substantial increases in alpha for any of the scales could have been achieved by eliminating any of the items. Composite scores were created for each of the three factors based on the mean of the items that had their primary loadings on each factor. Higher scores indicated greater racial mistreatment and greater feelings of disrespect.

School stratification. Several items asked students about the factors they perceived as important for placing students in their stratified courses. Participants were

asked "at your school, are students divided into classrooms/classes based on . . ." their grades, test scores, how smart they are, behavior, racial group, gender, how hard they try in school, how much money their family has, the neighborhood they come from, how well the teacher knows their family, the language their family speaks and whether or not their family came to America from a different country. Items were on a 3-point Likert-type scale with response options "no, this does not happen at my school," "yes, this sometimes happens at my school," and "yes, this happens a lot at my school." The alpha coefficient for the scale of 10 items is .80. The items with means of 1.5 or greater are considered factors that students perceive as important for influencing school stratification.

Pattern of Adaptive Learning Scales (PALS): Academic-related perceptions, beliefs, and strategies. The PALS (Midgley et al., 2000) was developed to examine the association between students school context and their motivation, affect, and behavior. There are five subscales in the PALS, but only the *skepticism about the relevance of school for future success* subscale was used in this study; this 6-item scale assessed students' perceptions about the relationship between doing well in school and future success. One example of a question was, "My chances of succeeding later in life depend on doing well in school." Students responded to the items on 5-point Likert-type scale that ranged from "not at all true" to "a lot true." The items from the PALS were summed and averaged to create a composite score; the alpha coefficient for the items is .83.

Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI). The MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998) explores the significance and qualitative meaning of race in Black youth self-

concept. There are three scales in the MMRI, but only the racial centrality and regard scales were used in this study because these dimensions address how Black youth feel about their racial group, how they racially identify, and how the school context influences the salience of their race. The centrality scale consists of 8 items that assess the extent to which people define themselves by their race (e.g., "I have a strong sense of belonging to Black people"). The regard scale has two subscales of 6 items each: private and public. The private regard measures individuals' feelings about being Black and their membership within their racial group (e.g., "I feel good about Black people") and the public regard measures individuals' perceptions of how their racial group is viewed by others (e.g., "In general, others respect Blacks") public regard describes. Participants rated each of the MMRI items on a 7-point Likert-type scale from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree." Subscale items were summed and averaged to create a composite score. The alpha coefficient for the centrality scale is .73, .81 for the private regard scale is .81, and .78 for the public regard scale.

Students Occupational Aspirations (SOA). The SOA was created for this study to assess youth knowledge about the type of job they wanted in the future. Participants were asked an open-ended question about the type of career they aspired to obtain. After reading through all of the responses, the careers fell into four categories: professional sport, medical field, specialized trade, and professional career. Professional sport describes Black youth who aspired to be professional football, basketball, and volleyball players. The medical field describes participants who aspire to be doctors, nurses, and veterinarians. Specialized trade describes participants who aspire to have occupations

such as hair stylists, mechanics, and photographer. Professional career describes students who aspire to have occupations such as teacher, lawyer, and real estate agent.

Barriers to Future Dream Job (BFDJ). The BFDJ was created for the study that examined youth perceptions of barriers for obtaining their desired job. Participants were asked "how much do you worry that the following things will make it difficult to get your dream job" in relation to 12 items on a 5-point Likert-scale from "not at all" to "a lot" (e.g., "there are not enough jobs like this available"). The items from the BFDJ were summed and averaged to create the analysis score. The alpha coefficient for the scale is .90.

Future Events Questionnaire (FEQ). The FEQ (Nuttin & Lens, 1985) is a 10-item questionnaire that assesses youth beliefs about their opportunities for future schooling and jobs (e.g., "When you think about your life when you grow up, how likely is that you will go to college?"). Items were rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale from "very unlikely" to "very likely." The items from the FEQ were summed and averaged to get the score variable used in the analyses. The alpha coefficient for the FEQ is .75.

Future Schooling Aspiration and Expectation. These two items explored youth beliefs about how far they would like to go in school and how far they believed they would actually go. Response options ranged from "go to high school, but not necessarily graduate" to "go to graduate school to earn a professional degree (e.g., doctor, lawyer, business owner). These questions have been used in multiple studies examining youth schooling outcomes (e.g., Beal & Crockett, 2010; Berzin, 2010; Irvin, Meece, Byun, Farmer, & Hutchins, 2011). There was not a significant difference between students'

schooling expectations and aspirations. Therefore, schooling expectations was used to examine youth future schooling because scholars have found that schooling expectations are perceived as the most realistic schooling option pursued (Beal & Crockett, 2010; Gottfredson, 1981).

Interviews

The students were interviewed to gain a better understanding of their perceptions of their schooling experiences, tracking, racial identity, and perceptions of opportunities for their future (see Appendix D). The interview started with introductory questions that asked the participants to tell me a little bit about themselves such as what they like to do for fun and their favorite classes. Many participants used this time to tell me about their schooling aspirations and hobbies. The next set of questions focused on students' future orientation and asked students how they perceived their life at different time points in the future as well as their career aspirations and expectations. Next, participants were asked questions about their school experiences that focused on their relationships with their teachers and peers as well as what they were learning in their Language Arts classes. Questions also asked students about their perceptions of tracking and how they felt about students being stratified in this way. Lastly, students were asked questions about their racial identity that focused on what being Black meant to them and how they perceived race mattered at their school. In addition, participants were asked questions that tried to understand how Black youth understood and conflated race and class. For example, participants were asked to explain what "ghetto" and "acting Black" meant.

Data Analysis

As a parallel mixed method design, the data from each method were analyzed

separately and integrated to form a meta-inference. A meta-inference is a conclusion

gathered from the integration of the results from each method (Teddlie & Tashakkori,

2009). The meta-inference was created by using the themes that emerged from the

qualitative data to further explain the results from the survey analyses as well as explain

themes that were not found using the surveys (Creswell & Clark, 2007; Johnson et al.,

2007).

Interviews

All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed after each interview and

uploaded into Nvivo. Nvivo is a qualitative software that is used for data management,

coding, and analyses. From a constructivist perspective, I employed thematic coding and

data analysis because this type of analysis complemented the results from the surveys to

create meta-inferences to answer the research questions. Thematic analysis is a method

used for identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns found across data that explain

participants experiences and perceptions (Braun & Clarke, 2006). A theme captures

important information about the data in relation to the research questions. This study

used theoretical thematic analysis because my research questions were based on previous

literature as opposed to inductive which is more data-driven and linked to the data

themselves (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Thematic analysis involved immersing myself in the data by constantly reading

and re-reading the data to look for patterns that related to each research question (Braun

& Clarke, 2006; Hatch, 2002). During this process, I answered each question separately. I started by using Nvivo to select student responses that appeared to reflect answers to the specific research question and placing these responses in a separate node. A node is collection of references about an area of interest that allows the similar information to be viewed in one place. The nodes were separated based on the demographic information needed for the specific research question. For instance, to understand differences in students' perceptions of school stratification, student responses were divided into two primary nodes: honors and non-honors. I read through the participant responses two to three times to select the responses and put them under the correct node. After this was completed, I read through the selected responses in the node to start the coding process. The codes represented features of the data that were similar and centered on my research question. Responses were selected and coded based on their similar ideas. Once responses were coded, I went through the node again to ensure responses were coded appropriately. After the nodes were finalized, I read through them to identity the themes.

Because being objective in research is impossible, trustworthiness is critical in qualitative research (Hatch, 2002; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Trustworthiness provides researchers with techniques that minimize researcher bias and demonstrate credible research. In order to demonstrate trustworthiness I used: method triangulation, data triangulation, and peer debriefing. Method triangulation involves using two methodologies in a study (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Using qualitative and quantitative methods helps provide different ways of investigating a research problem. Data triangulation uses two or more sources to collect data. Using surveys and interviews

as data collection techniques will strengthen the findings. Debriefing involves sharing

the data with a peer to expose any bias that may be prevalent in the research, talk to them

about emotions that may arise from the interviews, and push me to think of next steps in

the research process (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). After each interview, I talked with a peer to

discuss how I felt the interview went, my feelings about students' responses to questions,

and plans for the next interview. The debriefing helped me to think about students'

responses in new ways that I may not have thought of without discussing it. In addition,

debriefing helped me manage my emotions when students discussed their unjust school

experiences that prevented them from having access to quality education.

Researcher Subjectivity

My research interest in the schooling experiences of Black youth has been

tremendously impacted by my experiences interning as a professional school counselor.

Before attending graduate school to obtain my Ph.D., I graduated with a Master's in

Counselor Education. While in school to obtain my master's degree, I interned at two

Title I schools in a southeastern city. Schools are considered Title I if more than forty

percent of their student population receives free or reduced lunch. In the two schools at

which I interned, more than ninety percent of the students received free and reduced

lunch. Students at these schools were challenged with harsh circumstances such as food

insecurity, homelessness, unstable housing, incarcerated parents, and parents working

multiple jobs. While students were managing their home circumstances their role as

students in the school context was to behave well and excel academically. However,

trying to meet the demands expected as a student and manage their home environment

was difficult for most students. As a result most students were not academically excelling and misbehaving in class, which impacted teachers' interactions with students.

I observed and interacted with teachers and administrators who were frustrated with students' behaviors at school as well as their school achievement. Teachers were constantly referring students to the administrator's office and yelling and berating students in front of their classmates. In efforts to get students to change their behaviors and increase their achievement, students were brought to the counselor's office for counseling. However, due to the restrictions of funding given to Title I schools and administrators seemingly not understanding the critical role school counselors have in promoting positive development for youth, the school counselor was instructed to administer testing, supervise classes when teachers were absent and substitutes were unavailable, and other tasks that were not relevant to the school counseling position. As a result, as the intern, I counseled all students who were sent to see the counselor for low school performance and misbehavior. Some of the students I counseled were working through difficult issues such as rape, sexual molestation, homelessness, parental drug addiction, bullying for sexual orientation, dirty or torn clothing, and being sexually active. In my counseling sessions many of these students revealed their desire to achieve economic mobility through professional occupations while others wanted to drop out of school as soon as possible.

As a counseling intern, my assumption was that students who continued with school and obtained a college degree would have an opportunity to achieve economic mobility. In addition, I believed achieving economic mobility would make their lives

better. As a result, I wanted to return back to graduate school to learn effective ways to create prevention and intervention programs aimed at preventing Black youth from dropping out of school. However, after returning to school I read about the ways structures work to reproduce inequality, limiting certain people's opportunities for achieving economic mobility. This new knowledge changed my research interest from wanting to create interventions to wanting to create policies to change structural inequality.

My research interests lie in examining the way social structures work to perpetuate race and class inequality in the schooling system. I am interested in investigating the opportunity gap that exists in schools between students of color and Whites and between the poor and working classes and the middle class. The opportunity gap focuses on understanding the structural barriers that prevent certain groups from having access to quality learning opportunities, as opposed to the achievement gap, which focuses on improving child and family dynamics. However, addressing the opportunity gap does not imply that people do not have agency, but that agency is limited to the existing social structure available. Specifically, I am interested in investigating the way Black youth perceive school tracking, the meaning they attach to being Black, their aspirations and expectations for the future and how these differ based on their economic and social class positions.

My Positionality

I am situated within this study as a Black woman who was tracked into AP courses and raised with a middle class economic background. In addition, with both of

my parents having advanced degrees, my social class background produced cultural styles and behaviors valued in the schooling institution. I am also a researcher who wants to gain information on how Black youth perceive their schooling experiences and understand how racial identity and future orientation development may differ by students' social and economic class positions. I think the positionalities that have greatly influenced this research focus are my race, economic class, and social class. I think one of the main reasons that I view social and economic class as significant factors in impacting Black youth socialization comes from my own personal experiences.

I was raised as a middle class child in a small racially segregated town in South Carolina. Both of my parents have advanced degrees, which has significantly impacted my social class and socialization. One socialization experience that impacted me and influences this research was using Standard English. My parents encouraged me to speak Standard English. One way they enforced this socialization was through a grammar jar. If I spoke incorrectly, I had to place a marble in the jar. When I reached ten marbles I lost a privilege, such as playing the Nintendo or watching television, for a week. My economic class also impacted my schooling experiences.

I attended a small predominately Black semi-private school from kindergarten to eighth grade that was located on the campus of the university where my parents worked. The students who attended this school had parents who also held mostly professional occupations. After graduating from this school I attended a public high school that was composed of predominately Black students with diverse social and economic class backgrounds. It was in high school that I was accused of talking White. I was confused

by this accusation, because I did not understand how someone could talk White. This experience caused me to think about what it meant to be Black and informed my perceptions of my racial identity.

My parents' social class position impacted their beliefs about schooling. Their beliefs about schooling, especially my mother's, impacted my college preparation. Once I started ninth grade my mother intervened in my schooling to ensure I was tracked into the right courses that would put me on the pathway to college. For example, during my first year of high school I wanted to take a home economic course, but my mother forced me to take a keyboarding class. She explained that the keyboarding course would be viewed better on my transcripts for college than a home economics course. Additionally, when I started tenth grade my parents began preparing me for the SAT through a SAT prep course. My parents' involvement in the schooling institution and preparation for the SAT provided me with the skills and knowledge that lead to my college acceptance. Through their preparation and consistent discussions with me about college, I always viewed the opportunity of attending college as available. Therefore, I think Black youth's social and economic class positions are important in impacting their ideas about their future opportunities.

From Kindergarten through college I attended predominately Black schooling institutions that were comprised of a majority of Black faculty and students. As a result, my race in the schooling institution was not made salient until graduate school. As the only student of color in many of my courses in a Human Development and Family Studies department I felt myself having to critique White students and White professors'

beliefs and perceptions about Black culture. Students would make comments about Blacks from the deficit perspective and White professors would not negate their comments leaving White students to believe this was true. In addition, many of the students I took courses with strongly believed in blaming people of color for their economic and social positions while ignoring structural inequalities. While it was surprising to observe and hear these White students' beliefs about Blacks, it was even more disheartening to witness White professors agree with these assumptions. It was here I learned and understood that I was merely a Black body that was viewed as the token or example of diversity in the department and needed to "prove" I belonged and was capable of achieving in graduate school. While these experiences are difficult, I am glad I encountered them because it helped me understand how institutionalized racism and the normalization of Whiteness is perpetuated and maintained.

My experiences as a child and graduate student have strongly influenced my research. Race is an important social construction that not only impacts my interaction with others, but how I am perceived. However, my economic and social class positions provided me with opportunities and access to resources that prepared me for academia. In addition, my social class position growing up informed my racial identity formation. As a result I do think that there are differences in the way Blacks' economic and social class positions can influence the way they view and perceive their world and future life opportunities.

Critical Reflexivity

One of the difficult things about conducting this research is trying to manage being in the dual position of the researcher and the researched. I think my positionalities have impacted my research through the types of questions I asked and how I interacted with my research participants. While I shared similarities with the students in this research such as my race, I was aware that differences would and did exist that made their experiences different from mine. My positionalities in terms of race, economic class, and social class worked to create advantages and disadvantages for conducting this research.

My Black body was an advantage. As an advantage I think there was an unspoken level of comfort in the interviews because of collective community present within the Black race. However, even though there was that comfort, I did not assume that rapport did not need to be built. It was important that I acknowledged and illustrated that even though the students were Black it did not mean that they would automatically identify with me. In addition, I think many students felt comfortable talking about race and their experiences because I was Black. While my Black body was an advantage, it was also a disadvantage. When asked questions about race, many participants would respond to a question and say "you know what I mean" with the underlying assumption that I understood because I was also Black. I would have to ask students to provide more detail about their perspectives to ensure I was accurate in representing their voices.

My economic and social class was as an advantage because I could relate to some of the stories students told and was able to relate to their experiences. While I understood

these experiences I did not assume I knew the answers to some of my questions. My social and economic position may have been a disadvantage with students who did not share the same economic or social class as myself because they may have viewed me as different from them which may have created uncomfortable feelings for them. However, I was unable to detect any discomfort and I worked hard to build rapport with these students to increase their comfort level. In addition, I was responsive in listening and asking questions to ensure I gained the information needed to understand their positioning.

Collectively, I think my positionalities have impacted my interpretation and analysis of the data because there were times I saw myself and my experiences reflected in these students' stories. One of the hardest components of conducting this research was writing up the results, because I constantly thought about the way these stories and perspectives would impact the way Blacks are perceived by others in society. I wanted to ensure I gave voice to the ones who are often ignored to gain a better understanding of how their positionalities impact their racial identity and future orientation. This research study shed new light on the ways school stratification can influence Black youth ideas about themselves and others as racial beings and learners that I did not know before that have impacted the way I view schooling institutions.

CHAPTER VI

RESULTS

The purpose of this study was to analyze the relationships among school stratification, racial identity, and future orientation in Black youth from diverse economic and social positions. The first section provides an overview of the data with descriptive statistics and then subsequent sections sequentially addresses each of the three research questions. For each question, the results from the quantitative section are reported first, followed by the qualitative results, and then the interpretation which provides an integrative analysis.

Descriptive Statistics

Surveys

Descriptive statistics were calculated for the demographic characteristics of participants and the various measures used in this study (see Table 2). There were 40 participants in this study. Sixty percent of participants were female, 50% were from the institutionalized advantage social position, 45% from the Honors Language Arts Position, and 55% from the middle class economic position.

Interviews

Descriptive statistics were calculated for the subsample of youth who participated in the interviews. There were nine participants from the honors position and eleven participants from the non-honors position, and an equal proportion of participants from

each economic and social position (i.e., ten participants from each position). There were

three parents who attended predominately White institutions (PWI) and seven who

attended a historically Black College or University (HBCU). There were not significant

differences found in participants' responses based on parents attending a PWI or HBCU,

so this indicator is not mentioned in the results. However, there were only three parents

who attended PWIs which may have impacted the non-significant findings.

Table 2

Sample Characteristics and Key Variable Descriptives

Variable	N	Mean or %	SD	Range	
Child and Family Characteristics					
Child is Female	40	.60		0	1
Parent 1 Education	40	4.65	1.12	1	7
Parent 2 Education	28	4.50	1.22	1	7
Family Income	40	3.30	1.69	1	7
Social Position	40	.50		0	1
Honors Language Arts	40	.45		0	1
School Variables					
Peer racial mistreatment	40	1.50	.47	1	7
Teacher Racial Treatment	40	1.30	.39	1	7
Racial Disrespect	40	1.50	.43	1	7
School Stratification					
Grades	39	2.38	.71	1	3
Test Scores	39	2.44	.64	1	3
Smart	39	2.26	.72	1	3
Behavior	39	1.77	.78	1	3
How hard they try in school	39	1.82	.68	1	3
How well teacher knows family	39	1.18	.51	1	3
Racial Group	39	1.15	.49	1	3
Gender	39	1.10	.39	1	3
Money their parents have	39	1.13	.34	1	3
Neighborhood they live in	39	1.18	.56	1	3

Table 2

(Cont.)

Variable	N	Mean or %	SD	Range	
School Variables (cont.)					
Language family speaks	39	1.38	.63	1	3
Family came to America	39	1.13	.34	1	3
Racial Identity Variables					
Private Regard	40	5.6	.65	1	7
Public Regard	40	4.3	.65	1	7
Racial Centrality	40	4.2	.73	1	7
Future Orientation Variables					
Educational Aspiration	40	7.47	1.0	2	8
Educational Expectation	39	6.85	1.5	2	8
Pattern of Adaptive Learning Scales	40	4.32	.74	1	5
Student Occupational Aspiration	40	2.63	1.0	1	4
Future Events Questionnaire	40	4.23	.68	1	5
Barriers to Future Job	40	1.91	.79	1	5

Research Question 1

How do Black youth's economic and social class positions associate in distinct ways with their tracking placement, racial identity, and future orientation?

Quantitative Results

Differences in Youth Outcomes by Economic and Social Position. Chi-square tests and one-way analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) were used to examine the relationships between economic and social position and Black youth's tracking placement, racial identity, and future orientation.

Tracking placement. A chi-square test was performed to examine the relationship between economic and social position and the tracking placement of Black youth. The

relationship between economic position and tracking placement was not significant

(χ^2 (1, $N = 40$) = 1.4, $p = .23$). However, the relationship between social position and

school tracking placement was significant (x^2 (1, $N = 40$) = 6.5, $p = .01$). Black youth in

the institutionalized advantage position were more likely to be stratified into the honors

schooling position than Black youth from the institutionalized disadvantage position (see

Figure 1).
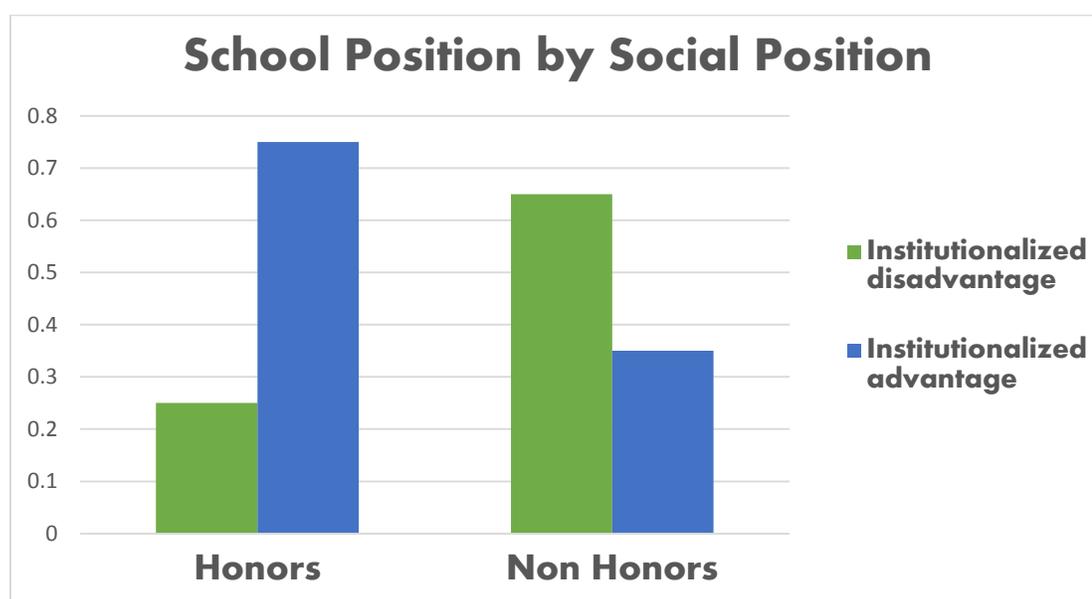
Figure 1. Black Youth School Position Stratified by their Social Position.

Racial identity. A series of one-way analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) were

conducted to examine differences in youth racial identity by their economic and social

positions. Social and economic position were used in separate models to examine

differences in scores on the three subscales of the MMRI used in this study (public

regard, private regard and racial centrality) (Sellers et al., 1998). The covariates included

in the models were student gender, family income or household education (depending on the model), and language arts position.

   Private regard. Students' level of private regard did not vary by their economic position (F (1, 34) =.36, p=.56 or social position, (F (1,35) = .05, p=.82) (Appendix E).

   Public regard. Students' level of public regard did not vary by their economic position (F (1,35) =.13, p=.72) or social position (F (1,34)=.00, p=.94) (Appendix E).

   Racial centrality. Students' level of racial centrality did not vary by their economic position (F (1,34) = .09, p = .75) (Appendix E). However, students' level of racial centrality did vary by their social position (F (1, 35) = 3.0, p = .06) (see Table 3). Students from the institutionalized advantage position reported higher levels of racial centrality (M = 4.5, SD = .73) than students from the institutionalized disadvantage position (M = 3.8, SD = .70).

Table 3

Analysis of Co-Variance for Racial Centrality by Social Position

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
Gender	.12	1	.12	.23	.64
Language Arts Position	.11	1	.11	.19	.66
Income Level	.16	1	.16	.29	.59
Social Position	18.88	1	1.50	3.0	.06
Error	711.31	35	.54		
Total	20.57	40			

Future Orientation. A series of one-way analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) were conducted to examine differences in youth's future orientation by their economic and social positions. Specifically, economic and social position were used in separate models to examine group differences in skepticism about the relevance of school for future success, barriers to future dream job, future schooling expectations, future career, and future events questionnaire. The covariates included in the models were student gender, family income or household education (depending on the model), and language arts position.

Skepticism about the relevance of school for future success. Students' level of skepticism for future success did not vary by their economic position (F (1, 34) = .24, p = .63) or social position, (F (1, 34) = .74, p = .34) (see Appendix E).

Barriers to future dream job. Students' level of barriers did not vary by their economic position (F (1, 34) = .00, p = .93) or social position (F(1, 35) = .08, p = .78) (see Appendix E).

Future schooling expectations. Students' level of future schooling did not vary by their economic position (F (1, 34) =.39, p = .67) or social position (F (1, 35) = .39, p = .48) (see Appendix E).

Students' occupational aspirations. Students' level of occupational aspirations did not vary by their economic position (F (1, 33) = 1.4, p = .24) or social position (F (1, 34) = .46, p = .51) (see Appendix E).

Future events questionnaire. Students' level of future events did not vary by their economic position economic position ($F(1, 34) = 1.1$, $p = .30$) or social position ($F(1, 35) = .16$, $p = .67$) (Appendix E).

Summary. The survey results found that economic and social positioning were associated with some but not most aspects of tracking placement, racial identity, and future orientation in distinct ways. Social position was positively associated with tracking placement such that Black youth from the institutionalized advantage position were tracked into honors Language Arts at higher rates than Black youth from the institutionalized disadvantage position. The private and public regard of the MMRI did not differ by economic and social position. However, racial centrality levels varied by students' social positioning with students from the institutionalized advantage position reporting higher scores than students from the institutionalized disadvantage position. None of the future orientation measures varied significantly by participants' economic or social positioning.

Qualitative Results

Understanding students' perspectives based on economic and social position.
During the interviews, students were asked a series of questions related to their school tracking position, future orientation, and racial identity. In efforts to understand if differences existed between, as well as within, social and economic positions, students' responses were analyzed according to their position. There were five participants from the low-income and institutionalized disadvantage position, two participants in the low-income and institutionalized advantage position, five in the middle class and

institutionalized disadvantage position, and eight in the middle class and institutionalized advantage position. A thorough analysis of participant responses suggested that participants from the same social position regardless of economic position had similar perspectives and beliefs. Unless indicated, the results discuss differences found between the social positions with 10 students from the institutionalized disadvantage and 10 from the institutionalized advantage position.

School tracking position. Black youth were asked if money and parental education had an influence on students' tracked placement. In general, Black youth in this sample, regardless of their social position, did not mention money as an important factor for students' schooling position. In addition, only students from the institutionalized disadvantage position believed parents' educational level was important for children's school track position through *school knowledge*.

Many participants from the institutionalized disadvantage position believed parental education was important because it increased parents' chances of being able to help their children with homework. For instance, Donyea (middle class and institutionalized disadvantage) said:

> Sometimes, because like things we are learning around school they have never heard before, or never knew it and sometimes it seems unfair to some people like you don't have an older sibling or parent to help you, you might be real frustrated than you were before cause you don't have anyone to help you so you don't know.

Similarly, Taliyah (low-income and institutionalized disadvantage) believed "their parents can help them with school work so they can benefit from it."

Racial identity. Black youth were asked to describe what being Black meant to them, what their parents told them about being Black, and how they believed being Black mattered for their lives. Two themes emerged from these questions: race matters and race does not matter. Participants from both positions were proud to be Black but there were differences among those from different social positions with respect to why students believed race mattered.

Differential treatment. There were a few students from the institutionalized disadvantage position who believed race caused Black students to be treated differently. For instance, Alexandria (low-income and institutionalized disadvantage), said, "sometimes you get treated differently, like some students like my same skin color, like some teachers, I'm not saying no names but some teachers treat us different than the White kids." Erving (middle class and institutionalized disadvantage) believed "there are racist White people and it will be hard for me to get a job." One student, Anthony (low-income and institutionalized disadvantage), described the racial slurs that occurs between students.

> You hear White kids calling blacks the n word too. Like this White guy, he actually said it as a hurtful word to someone that was Black and I asked him why he said that and he looked at me and just walked away. I guess he was just mad enough to say it.

Fear. One participant, Anthony (low-income and institutionalized disadvantage), discussed the fear he has growing up as a Black boy. He described the frequent conversation he has with his aunt that prepares him to be safe.

Anthony: A lot of Black boys are getting arrested and getting killed and you are going to have to be careful with the way you act.

Kamilah: The way you act. What do you mean?

Anthony: Cause like my aunt always talk to me about this. She say you know what you are I say yes ma'am. She says what are you? I say a black man, so she say people already say that Black people aren't going to be successful, and they are just worthless and she said if you act bad or anything then people will think they are right so I have to be careful and not give them any reason to kill me.

Race salient. Some participants in the institutionalized advantage position discussed how their race became salient during certain situations. Alexandria (low-income and institutionalized advantaged) thought more frequently about race at school during testing. She said "when I take test, my scores I think about it. Because like most of the time the other races they usually do better and get higher scores and I want to do good." In alignment with Steele (1997b) description of stereotype threat, being one of three Black youth tracked in her honors class, Alexandria worried she would not perform well on tests. These worries became more salient during test-taking, potentially impeding her ability to perform.

Sierra (middle class and institutionalized advantage) said "I talk about it with my mom and dad when there are situations at school like when people get opportunities that I don't get sometimes, I think did that happen because I'm Black? Yea that races through your mind sometimes when things happen."

Be an example. Many students from the institutionalized advantage position believed they had to illustrate to others that they were different from the stereotype of

Blacks presented in the media. Jamarii (middle class and institutionalized advantage) said

> I like being black because I can show White people up. They think we stupid, and we don't do anything, and we not good and stuff, or that we act bad all the time, and like we make bad decisions cause that's all on TV, it's not good. Like all Black people get in trouble.

Similarly, Julian (middle class and institutionalized advantage), said,

> Julian: You have to represent your family because everybody that is Black doesn't come from a clean family, so you have to represent your family. You can't be loud and stuff, cause you know that's what most White people think of Black people, that we loud and ratchet and stuff so you have to represent.
>
> Kamilah: What is clean?
>
> Julian: Like basically if you come for a job, don't come in a V neck and leggings and boots and your hair jacked up, all wrapped up, come with some profession.

Alexandria (low-income and institutionalized advantaged) believed "I can serve as a good example to other people. I can be one of the first to do something that some Black people haven't gotten to do so I can be one of the first."

Only three participants from the institutionalized disadvantage position and two participants from the institutionalized advantaged position expressed being proud to be Black. Donyea (middle class and institutionalized disadvantage) said "I love my color and I truly believe I can succeed" and Genesis (low-income and institutionalized disadvantage) stated "like some people don't like their color or race, but me I do, I really like my race." Black youth in the institutionalized advantage position were also proud to be Black. Nya (middle class and institutionalized advantage) said

> I'm Black and I'm proud. When we are successful it shows to all the other people who think Black people can't do anything. It shows that that just because we are of a different skin color it doesn't mean we can't do the same thing you can do.

Even though some participants from the non-institutionalized advantage position expressed that race mattered for the way students are treated by peers and teachers, most participants, including these students believed race was not a determining factor for people's lives. Many Black youth from both positions expressed that they were taught that "it doesn't matter about your color" which may have influenced them that race does not prevent people from accomplishing their goals. Sierra (middle class and institutionalized advantage) explained "it's not really about your skin or what's on the outside. I think it's just about how you convey yourself to others, like pretty much how you convey yourself to others and the things you do, not what you look like" and Julian (institutionalized disadvantage) "race isn't that important because I don't think race matters as it did a long time ago." Similarly Ifaa (low-income and institutionalized advantage) "it doesn't really matter what your race is, you can kinda do anything you want."

Future orientation. Participants were also asked to describe how they perceived their future at various time points: in 5 years, at 21 years old, and at 30 years old. One significant difference among the four positions was that the low-income and institutionalized disadvantage participants discussed having a job to pay bills at all age points. Participants from the other positions only discussed getting a job after attending college, and mostly identified professional occupations. Most Black youth aspired to have professional occupations such as doctor, lawyer, and engineer. However, their

knowledge and preparation for obtaining these careers differed based on their social

position (as described in more detail below).

   Role of parents' education. Participants from both positions believed that parental

education was influential for children's future schooling and career trajectories, however,

their reasoning differed. Black youth from the institutionalized disadvantage position

expressed that because their parents did not have a degree they encouraged their children

to attend college. Most participants from the low-income and institutionalized

disadvantage position expressed that their parents wanted them to do "good" and be

"more successful than them." Genesis (low-income and institutionalized disadvantage)

stated "parents want to see their kids grow up to be better than what they were, you know

like go to college if they didn't." Only one participant from the institutionalized

disadvantage and middle class position viewed parental education as important for

children's future. In describing how a parent who has attended college can help their

child, Donyea said "someone who knows all the stuff, you can make the other succeed if

they try to follow in your footsteps."

   Participants from the institutionalized advantage position believed parents'

educational level influenced children's beliefs about their ability to obtain higher

education like their parents. For instance, Ifaa (low-income and institutionalized

advantage) said, "if their parents had a good education, went to college, then their kids

will be like I can do this too" and Sierra (middle class and institutionalized advantage)

stated "Everybody wants to be like their mom and dad everybody does, like oh I wanna

go to Duke like my mom or I wanna go to Carolina like my dad." Makenzie (middle class

and institutionalized advantage) said, "if their parents went to college they would know more about school and how to help you."

Obtaining a career. Students from all positions believed it was important to "stay in school" and "get good grades" to obtain their career. A few students from the low-income and institutionalized disadvantage position mentioned attending college to obtain their careers, but students from the institutionalized disadvantage position with a middle class economic position had more specific knowledge about necessary steps for obtaining their careers. For instance, Alyssa (low-income and institutionalized disadvantage) who aspired to be a doctor believed "going to college" would ensure she obtained her career, but Eden (middle class and institutionalized disadvantage) who also aspired to be a doctor said "I think it's four years of college and then another two years of college." Even though Eden was not accurate in her description, like most of the participants from the institutionalized disadvantage position who were middle class, she had more knowledge about the schooling needed to obtain a career as a doctor.

Participants from the institutionalized advantage position expressed more knowledge about strategies to obtain their career and the level of education needed. Students from the institutionalized advantage social position acknowledged needing a college and graduate degree to obtain engineering, medical, and law occupations. For instance, Erving (low-income and institutionalized advantage), who aspires to be a doctor stated "I need to go to college and then medical school" and Freddie (middle class and institutionalized advantage) who aims to be a police officer said "go to college for criminal justice and get a Master's degree."

Participants' from both social positions reported that their parents wanted them to be successful and attend college. However, the differences in participants' knowledge about what is needed to obtain their desired careers may have in part been influenced by their parents' educational level. Because parents from the institutionalized advantage position had the opportunity to attend college, they may have more knowledge about the preparation needed to attend college and the type of schooling needed to obtain professional occupations. This knowledge may have influenced the types of strategies they discussed with their children for accomplishing their professional career goals. For instance, Ifaa (low-income and institutionalized advantage) said "my mom talked to me about going to middle college that way I won't have to spend so much time in college and then go to medical school if I be a doctor or get a graduate degree to be an engineer." Parents from the institutionalized disadvantage position prepared their children through words of encouragement and expressing the importance of college. For instance, Taliyah (low-income and institutionalized disadvantage) said, "my momma said she doesn't want us to end up like her, like she had my sister at a young age, she wants us to be successful, she wants us to go to college." In addition, parents from this position communicated with their children about their future by asking them about their career aspirations and instructing them that they could accomplish their goal. For instance India (low-income and institutionalized disadvantage) said "my momma ask me what I wanna do and tell me I can do anything I want."

Career barriers. All participants believed it was their responsibility to pursue their career and "making bad grades" would prevent them from obtaining their career.

Erving (middle class and institutionalized disadvantage) said "getting F's can stop me, but I'm not going to do that." Most participants from the institutionalize advantages position believed "nothing" could stop them from obtaining their career. For example, Freddie (middle class and institutionalized advantage) said "nothing going to stop me." Some students from the institutionalized disadvantage position believed that their social network could prevent them from obtaining their career. For example, when asked what could prevent him from obtaining his career, Jesse (low-income and institutionalized disadvantage), said "friends, cause like my friends are wild and influence me to do some bad stuff sometimes so they try to drag me down."

Interpretation

Research has not explored the relationships among economic and social position and Black youth school tracking positioning, future orientation, and racial identity. It is important to explore these associations within Black youth to understand how economic and social positioning can impact Black youth in distinct ways. This study found that there were similarities and differences within Black youth for their school position, plans for the future, and their perceptions of racial identity.

There were significantly more students from the institutionalized advantage position stratified into honors Language Arts than students from the institutionalized disadvantage position. Lareau (2003) found that parents with higher education participated in extensive use of verbal negotiations with their children unconsciously fostering children's language skills by discussing meaning of words and explaining why they wanted their children to perform tasks. In addition, parents with higher education are

more likely to enroll their children in quality childcare because they believe it is important for children's' early learning development (Vincent, Braun, & Ball, 2008). These are two possible pathways by which parents with more education are able to promote the types of early learning experiences that increase the likelihood that their child would be tracked into honor classes.

Economic position was not a statistically significant predictor of school position for Black youth. However, there were more Black youth from the middle class position stratified into the honors track (55%) than Black youth from the low-income position (35%). With a larger sample size this relationship may be found significant. One reason this relationship may be found significant with larger samples is because middle-class parents can afford quality childcare, enrichment materials, and/or academic tutors that can facilitate learning for their children (Lareau, 2003). These resources may improve Black youth language skills impacting their placement into honors.

Black youth generally did not perceive social and economic positioning as influential for tracking placement. The quantitative and qualitative data revealed that participants from both economic and social positions did not believe money was influential in Black youth school position. Additionally, it was only youth from the institutionalized disadvantage position, more from the low-income position, who viewed parents' education as important for Black youth tracking placement. They believed that parents with higher education were able to provide their children help with homework, which may impact their child's schooling performance and school position. Black youth from this position may have been more aware of the relationship between homework and

parental education because they may need help with their homework but are not able to receive it from their parents. More low-income participants from the institutionalized disadvantage position may have discussed the relationship between homework and parental education, because their parents may not be able to afford tutors that can offer them assistance so they view this as a significant problem.

The survey responses indicated that participants' levels of private and public regard (as measured by the MMRI) were not significantly associated with students' economic and social position. However, the interviews revealed that the items measuring public and private regard may not be useful in measuring the way economic and social position associate with Black youth's ideas about race. In the interviews, Black youth from the institutionalized advantage position believed that Blacks are viewed negatively by others, but that they represent themselves in ways that ensure they are viewed differently. Therefore, Black youth from the institutionalized advantage position may have similar private and public regard scores as Black youth from the institutionalized disadvantage position, but these scores are influenced by different feelings about being Black which can impact their racial identity differently. However, the items in this measure do not address this. The means for private and public regard were very similar across the groups, but the private regard scores were higher on average than the public regard scores (see Appendix E). This finding is consistent with most literature that finds higher private than public scores in Black youth and young adults (Chavous et al., 2003; Seaton et al., 2009; Sellers, Copeland-Linder, Martin, & Lewis, 2006). One reason for this finding may be attributed to Black community organizations working to promote

"Black is Beautiful" to adolescents to instill pride about being Black. Another factor may
be the type and frequency of racial socialization messages parents use with their children.
Research has illustrated that racial socialization, especially cultural messages, is
positively associated with positive racial identity (Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph, &
Nickerson, 2002; Hughes et al., 2006).

Even though economic and social position do not seem to be predictors of private
and public regard feelings, there are other factors such as neighborhood context which
may impact how Black youth view themselves and how they believe they are perceived
by others. The race and class of the neighborhood may impact Black youth racial identity
formation. Racial inequalities in employment perpetuate the higher poverty rate among
Blacks contributing to racially segregated neighborhoods (Fauth, Leventhal, & Brooks-
Gunn, 2007). Black youth living in economically disadvantaged neighborhoods may
observe fewer people working jobs that pay living wages and may internalize these
observations as what it means to be Black and how they are perceived by others (Cook et
al., 1996). At the same time, many middle class Black neighborhoods are in close
proximity to economically disadvantaged neighborhoods (Pattillo-McCoy, 1999). Black
youth living in these neighborhoods may observe more neighbors working than Black
youth in poor neighborhoods, but because of their close proximity to economically
disadvantaged neighborhoods, Black youth may still observe a large proportion of Black
adults enduring financial hardships impacting their racial identity development. Black
youth living in predominately White neighborhoods may also develop different public

and private regard feelings than Black youth living in predominately Black neighborhoods.

Black youth from both social positions believed that race was not a determining factor in people's lives and that they could do anything they aspired to do. Black youth from both positions believed that Black people are treated differently by some White people, but their reasoning differed based on their social position. Participants from the institutionalized disadvantage position believed Blacks received differential treatment because some Whites are racists. Blacks from the institutionalized advantage position believed that stereotypes of Blacks in the media impacted Whites' feelings and treatment towards Blacks. Even though Black youth's reasoning differed based on their social position, their feelings about Whites viewing Blacks differently may explain why they had similar public regard feelings.

Racial centrality scores differed significantly by social position, but not economic position. Black youth from the institutionalized advantage position had higher centrality feelings than Black youth from the institutionalized disadvantage position. Higher centrality feelings means that Black youth from the institutionalized advantage position viewed their race as a more important part of their self-concept than youth from the institutionalized disadvantage position (Sellers et al., 1998). These results could explain why the interviews revealed that youth from the institutionalized advantage position believed they needed to be an example for their race. Participants in the institutionalized advantage position are more likely one of a few or the only Black person in schooling contexts possibly impacting the salience of their race. Feeling that their race is more

salient in these situations may explain why they feel race is an important part of their self-concept. In addition, being one of a few or the only Black youth in these contexts may influence them to feel they need to be an example for their race to illustrate to Whites that Blacks do not behave like the stereotypical Black portrayed in the media.

Most Black youth from both economic and social positions aimed to have occupations that required a college degree or higher and aspired to attend college or graduate school. As a result, there was not a significant difference in students' schooling expectations and career aspirations by students' economic or social position. Also, there were not significant differences between positions for *skepticism about the relevance of school for future success.* In the interviews, participants from both positions acknowledged that they needed to make good grades and remain in school if they wanted to obtain their aspired occupations. However, youth perceptions of the way their parents prepared them for their aspired careers differed by social position. Because parents from the institutionalized advantage position have attended college they may have more familiarity with college majors and the type of education needed to purse certain occupations. This familiarity with the college environment may influence these parents to have more detailed schooling discussions with their children. As a result, Black youth from the institutionalized advantage position were able to talk about attending college and graduate or medical school to obtain their career and name their potential college majors. However, Black youth from the institutionalized disadvantage position only discussed attending college even when their aspired occupation required graduate or medical school. In addition, parents from the institutionalized advantage position

encouraged the enrollment of early college to make the transition to college easier and

make their children competitive candidates for college. Because parents from the

institutionalized disadvantage position have not attended college, they are not afforded

the opportunity to know the strategies that can make their children more competitive for

college. However, these parents frequently encouraged their children to attend college

for any career they aspired to have. The hidden strategies used by parents in the

institutionalized advantage position perpetuate inequality among Black youth from the

different social positions.

The survey results indicated that the future orientation measures perceived

barriers to future dream job or future events questionnaire did not differ significantly by

students' economic or social class position. The interviews suggested that one reason for

this finding may be because many Black youth believed that "nothing" would prevent

them from obtaining their career, but among the students who talked about barriers, they

identified bad grades or not attending school as potential barriers. The interviews also

revealed that students in the institutionalized disadvantage position believed their friends

could prevent them from obtaining their career. Black youth from the institutionalized

disadvantage position believed that their friends' "bad" behavior influences them to

misbehave and get in trouble with their parental figures and schooling agents. As a result,

they believed this type of behavior could prevent them from obtaining their aspired

career.

Research Question 2

How is tracking placement associated with Black youth's experiences in their Language Arts class and their perceptions of tracking? Are there differences based on students' tracked position?

Quantitative Results

Language arts position differences in causes of school stratification. A series of independent sample t-test were conducted to examine the relationship between Black youth Language Arts position and their perceptions of factors that influence school stratification (see Table 4). There was a significant difference between Language Arts position on the importance of grades, test scores, and being smart for students' school position. Students in the honors position reported that grades mattered for stratification at higher rates ($M = 2.7$, $SD = .5$) than students in the non-honors position ($M = 2.1$, $SD = .7$), $t(37) = 2.67$, $p = .01$, Cohen's $d = .9$, large effect. Students in the honors position also reported that test scores mattered for stratification at higher rates ($M = 2.7$, $SD = .4$) than students in the non-honors position ($M = 2.2$, $SD = .7$), $t(37) = 1.9$, $p = .07$, Cohen's $d = .9$, large effect. Finally, students in the honors position reported that being smart mattered for stratification at higher rates ($M = 2.6$, $SD = .6$) than students in the non-honors position ($M = 2.0$, $SD = .7$), $t(37) = 2.76$, $p = .01$, Cohen's $d = .9$, large effect. Even though there were not significant differences between tracks for behavior and how hard students try in school, students in both tracks believed these mattered for students' school position. Notably, students from both positions did not tend to endorse

structural factors (e.g., money, race, gender) as important factors in school tracking

decisions.

Table 4

Results of *t*-test and Descriptive Statistics for School Stratification Reasons by School
Position

	School Position				95% CI for Mean Difference		
	Honors $N = 17$		Non-Honors $N = 22$				
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*		t	df
Test Scores	2.7	.5	2.2	.7	.04 , .71	1.9[*]	37
Grades	2.7	.6	2.1	.7	.21, .93	2.7[*]	37
How Smart You Are	2.6	.6	2.0	.7	.23, .95	2.8[*]	37
Behavior	2.1	.6	2.0	.9	-.54, .32	-.44	37
Racial Group	1.1	.3	1.2	.6	-.33, .21	-.40	37
Gender	1.0	.0	1.2	.5	-.39, .02	-1.5	37
Try hard in School	2.4	.6	2.3	.7	- .16, .59	.97	37
Money Family Has	1.2	.4	1.1	.3	-.10, .27	.78	37
Neighborhood	1.1	.5	1.2	.6	-.42, .2	-.60	37
Teacher Knows Family	1.1	.3	1.2	.6	-.41, .16	-.72	36
Language Family Speaks	1.3	.5	1.5	.7	-.51, .19	-.79	37
Family From Another County	1.1	.3	1.1	.4	-.21, .17	-.17	37

[*]$p < .05.$

Qualitative Results: Applying a PVEST Lens

As mentioned above, the PVEST model is a useful framework for understanding

how perceptions of experiences can play a key role in identity formation. The

components of this model is used here to organize and discuss the qualitative results

related to how students' experiences in their Language Arts classes may have influenced

their perceptions about the causes of school tracking and their ideas about themselves and others as students.

Net vulnerability and net stress. The net vulnerability component describes the risk and protective factors that can influence the type of experiences people have in their social contexts while the net stress engagement component describes the experiences that actually challenge youth development. In this study, the net vulnerability component describes if race and economic and social position are risk and/or protective factors for youth perceptions of the causes of stratification and their beliefs about themselves. Students' experiences with school stratification and perceptions of tracking were found to be risk factors for youth in non-honors classes. These experiences were associated with their perceptions and beliefs about themselves as students and their abilities. Neither economic nor social position was found to be a protective factor for youth tracked into non-honors classes.

The net stress component describes youth experiences in their stratified classes which may have informed their ideas about the type of students who are tracked into the honors and non-honors classes. Participants stratified into different Language Arts classes had different schooling experiences. The common themes that emerged in the responses of students from both tracks were learning experiences, teacher expectations, homework, and labels. One additional theme, behavior management, emerged for the non-honors track.

Learning experiences. The academic curriculum is important for students to gain knowledge and new information about Language Arts. However, based on the students'

reports, there were differences in the implementation of the academic curriculum between the honors and non-honors classes. Many students in non-honors classes described not learning because the teacher was constantly focused on managing behavior. For example, India (non-honors) stated, "People don't know how to be quiet and stop playing. The teacher have to keep talking to them. They do it all the time. And during class until it's time to go to lunch and we don't learn nothing" and Jamarri (non-honors) said: "We don't get through lesson, she just has to talk to us and bring administrators in."

Participants in both tracks described the reading activities performed in their classes. They were required to read a story independently and/or the teacher read them a story and asked questions. Students in non-honors did not understand the point of these activities or how they contributed to their learning. India (non-honors) said, "We don't do no work in that class, all we do is read." Anthony (non-honors) believed,

> He doesn't really teach us anything new, we come in class get a book read for about 5 minutes, then he may read a story for a little while and he may ask us a few questions, but we aren't doing anything.

In contrast, students in honors classes described these reading activities as helpful for the facilitation of their reading and writing skills. For instance, Celeste (honors) said "We read every day for about 30 minutes…my teacher's preparing us to become good writers, learners, and readers." Similarly, Alex said "she teaches us a lot, she makes us read and think about what we are learning about to become better readers."

Most students in both tracks described "track your thinking" as a daily activity they did in their class. Track your thinking was described as "like if your reading you

have to underline what you are reading and then you have to write what you are thinking" or "to read something and write what you think it means while you are reading." However, students in honors classes described more concepts that they were learning in their classes. They described learning about "making inferences," "writing their own stories," and "plot and character effects." Donyea said, "we learn what words mean, we have 40 words a month on the synonym and hyperbole list and we have to know all of them." In this sample at least, participants in honors expressed learning Language Arts concepts that participants in non-honors had not discussed yet and may not have the opportunity to discuss.

Teacher expectations. Participants in honors and non-honors classes had different perceptions of their teachers' academic expectations of them. Students in non-honors believed their teachers' academic expectations for students were not based on their schooling performance but rather their behavior. Alyssa (non-honors) said "she don't expect the same from all students because some of them act crazy" and India (non-honors) believed that her teacher's expectation "depends on how the kids act." Similarly, when asked about his teacher's expectations, Erving (non-honors) believed "not too good, because we have a lot of students that is always making disruptions, but on the better days when we can actually get things done she seems pretty happy."

Contrary to the responses of participants in non-honors classes, students in honors described the ways their teachers expressed their positive expectations for them. Freddie stated, "she supports us and always tell us we are doing good" and Alexandria (honors) said "she thinks we will succeed and be good examples for other students in

high school." One student in honors, Sierra, believed teachers had higher expectations

for students in honors than non-honors which may be viewed as too much pressure from

teachers to academically perform. She explained:

> They always compare you and say you're advanced, you're suppose to use your
> common sense or you're advanced, you shouldn't have as many questions or
> shouldn't be blah blah, or you should be good you have brains, that's the only
> negative connotation to being in advanced, they always expect a lot and
> sometimes it's too much, compare us to other kids and I think they just want us to
> be the best that we can be, and learn the most, but I do think sometimes when they
> compare us, it do make us want to be like okay we can get this, cause they go if
> you guys are on the same level as the regular kids then why are we calling you
> advanced, and then you're like ohh ok I really want to get this like I want to be
> like ahead but sometimes your like it's too much.

Homework. Homework provides students with the opportunity to practice or

review work that was discussed during class time to enhance instruction (Cooper,

Robinson, & Patall, 2006). Many students in non-honors described receiving either no

homework, work sheets, and/or independent reading assignments. However, students in

honors described receiving written paper assignments, projects, and vocabulary packets.

Erving (non-honors) said "really, I will say nothing, we don't get no homework."

Donyea (honors) stated "we get a packet every week that we have to turn in."

Previous research has indicated that students in non-honors classes receive

simplified worksheets that do not challenge them to think critically about their

assignments (Oakes, 2005). This was also evident from the homework assignments given

to students in non-honors class, vocabulary worksheets that they were given on Monday

and due on Thursday. Students described them as having a "sentence and there are two

blanks and on the back there will be definitions and you have to fill in the right word."

However the honors students described their packets as "challenging." Alexandria explained "we get a lot of passages that we have to read and tell the point of view and message of the story and answer some questions." Freddie said "our homework is based on what we are learning that week. It's challenging because she makes us think. This week we have to write a story using ten vocabulary words we are learning about."

One large component of the Language Arts standardized testing focuses on reading comprehension; the ability to read and process text and understand its meaning. For reading comprehension, students are given passages to read and then asked a series of questions related to the passage. Knowing the definition of words can have an effect on students' understanding of passages possibly impacting their ability to answer the questions correctly (Cain & Oakhill, 2014). Learning new words can strengthen students' vocabulary possibly increasing their reading comprehension. The type of assignments students received in honors such as learning vocabulary words and reading stories and answering questions seemed to prepare them for the reading comprehension component of standardized tests influencing their opportunities to perform better than students in non-honors.

Labels. As Tyson (2011) found in her research, students in this study labeled the non-honors classes for the "dumb" students and the honors classes for the "smart" students. Students in the non-honors classes did not like stratification because they believed it publicly illustrated who the "dumb" and "smart" students were. For example, Alyssa (non-honors) said "it's mean because it tells you like who dumb and smart," and

Anthony (non-honors), who also did not like stratification because "you can tell who's there and who's not quite there and who's already there."

Students were also bullied by each other based on their tracking placement. Alexandria (honors) said if students in honors get mad with students in non-honors they may tell them "that's why I'm in advanced and you're not" or "you don't know anything 'cause you're not in advanced." Genesis (non-honors) said she's heard "your dumb cause you can't read, so you in the slow class" several times. Students in honors were called "nerds" by their peers in the non-honors classes. From these students' experiences, stratification can influence students to think negatively about their peers in non-honors and bully them.

Non-honors position: Behavior management. According to students in the non-honors classes, teachers consistently focused on behavior management in the classroom. In these classes it was important for students to learn how to comply with the rules and follow their teachers' orders. One rule that was important for students to learn was to stand in a line and enter a classroom quietly. If they did not comply with this, students had to practice it repeatedly until their behavior was viewed as satisfactory by the teacher. For example, Anthony explained:

> We always end up getting in trouble, have to line up outside coming in but if somebody talks we have to go back outside, we did it like five times today and we did 11 or 12 times yesterday. We did it two times just to see what happen, and then we have to do it over and over and over again. And sometimes if we put our stuff down, we have to pick it up and go back outside and do it over, and then when we get it right we finally get on with the lesson.

Anthony explained that in his class students have to continuously practice standing in line to ensure they are learning to be disciplined subjects. This is repeated until the teacher believes they "know" how to comply with rules. When asked how long this takes, Anthony stated, "hmmm we left lunch around 11:20 something and we didn't finish until 12:28."

Students in non-honors classes explained that their teachers spent a majority of their class time on discipline and managing students "bad" behavior. The behavior management strategies teachers implemented in non-honors classes were similar. When there were multiple students disrupting the class teachers would have an administrator come to the class to reprimand students. However, when multiple students were misbehaving, one teacher forced all students to "write the rules 100 times."

For individual students, teachers would begin by verbally reprimanding students and giving them multiple warnings about sending them to the principal's office to call their parents, receive detention, or suspension for one to three days. Some teachers would tell students to "get out" of the class when they misbehaved. One student, Genesis, stated, "once they kicked out they go across the hall to Mr. G." Genesis explained, Mr. G was "Mrs. B's (the language arts teacher) teacher, like who gets bad kids, across the hall." The student had never been sent there so she was unsure what the students did in that class. However, it was understood that Mr. G disciplined the "bad" kids and she did not want to be sent there. However, other students who were excused from class did not go to Mr. G. For instance, Taliyah stated that when she is "kicked out"

of class she goes "to any other class and just sit there until time to go home or the next class."

Reactive coping. The reactive coping component describes the problem solving strategies youth use to cope with their net stress. The way youth cope with their net stress impacts their identity and development. In the context of this study, the reactive coping component explores the ways Black youth cope with being in their respective Language Arts classes and the connotations associated with those classes. Many students in non-honors discussed their dislike for being stratified into the "dumb" classes. However, when asked how they coped with this label, most of them said it "does not bother me." Other students said that when students were called "dumb" they would "cuss" or "try to fight" the students bullying them. Regardless of how students coped with being labeled "dumb," these negative connotations may influence their beliefs about themselves.

Students in honors classes believed that being called "nerd" was a positive attribute. For instance Ifaa (honors) said "I tell them they are just jealous they are not in the class with smart people. I like being a nerd, it just means I'm smart." Makayla (honors) said, "it doesn't bother me, it makes me think I am in a class full of smart people."

Emergent identity. The emergent identity describes the way youth view themselves in their different contexts. In this study, this component relates to how youth experiences in their language Arts classes may link to their beliefs about themselves as students and their future orientation. Students' experiences in their classes with their teachers and peers may influence their perceptions of the causes of school stratification.

They were not explained the purpose or reasoning for school stratification, therefore, students created their own understanding of the separation of students based on their experiences in their stratified courses. The themes that emerged to explain school stratification were standardized testing, students' behavior, learning pace, and feelings about school. These perceptions of the rationale for school stratification may have shaped their identity formation as a student, consequently influencing their future orientation, particularly in the schooling and career domain. The themes that emerged regarding students' perceptions of themselves and others as students were: smart kids, fast learners, behavior issues, and future achievers.

Perceptions of EOGs as the basis for tracking. Most participants stratified in both tracks believed that standardized testing, End of Grade (EOG) tests, were responsible for students' placement into honors and non-honors. Jamarri (non-honors) said, "they put the ones who make 3s and 4s in the same class and the 1s and 2s in the same class." Similarly Taliyah (non-honors) stated "sometimes, we have benchmarks…a written test, a math test and I think science too and I think that's how they figure out who does what and how we focus." An honors students, Alexandria, referring to being in the honors class, said "I guess teachers and whoever put our classes together, they did it how we tested it and we did what we were suppose to so we got in." One student, Sierra (honors), was not pleased that standardized testing was used to stratify students. Sierra explained:

> There needs to be more thought put into it. I don't think there should be a test and then boom you're in this class, cause some people may not be good at testing or

some people may be amazing at testing or they are just like guessing, and then in
some amazing class and they really don't know what is going on.

Testing, tracking, and student identity. Participants' beliefs that EOG scores

stratified students into honors and non-honors classes may have influenced their

perceptions that the honors classes are for the "smart" students and the non-honors

classes are for the "dumb" students. These perceptions may in turn influence their

identity as students. Jamarri (non-honors) said "most of the classes here like all the smart

kids are put into the same class . . . the ones with 3s and 4s [on EOGs] are the smart ones

and the 1s and 2s need a lot of help." Anthony (non-honors) did not approve of

stratifying kids based on being "smart" or "dumb." He said, "honestly, they should put

everybody inside a class no matter how smart you are so that everybody can learn more."

Students in honors classes believed their classes were more "challenging" and "harder"

because they were in the "smart" class. For instance Ifaa (honors) said "in advanced, it

means you learn above the normal core, above what you are suppose to for your grade or

the normal class." Similarly, Alexandria (honors), said "my class gets hard sometimes

cause I'm with the AG [academically gifted] students so it's a bit of a challenge because

we can handle it."

Perceptions of learning pace as the basis for tracking. Many participants

believed that students learned at different paces and stratification was necessary to ensure

all students in the classroom were on the same pace to effectively learn. Erving (non-

honors) believed students were stratified so "people on the same level can go at the same

pace." Alex (honors) believed stratification was needed to prevent students from being

stressed. He said, "if you're not up there with the smarter kids and you try and don't get it then you stressed out but with a group like you then you won't get stressed and can get good grades."

Learning pace as basis for tracking associated with fast and slow learners student identity. All students in non-honors believed that the advanced class was for the students who "read faster" and could "quickly pick up" the material. Taliyah (non-honors) said, "like some people have troubles reading so it's like you are put in a group that they have trouble reading too." Anthony (non-honors) believed students in non-honors are "just trying to catch up with the advanced kids so we moves at a slower pace." Similarly, Genesis (non-honors) said "students in advanced are really fast readers and doing good and people in regular are just trying to pick up the pace and catch up to the advanced kids."

These perceptions lead participants to believe that students needed to be stratified to prevent the fast learners" from "being bored" and the "slow learners" from getting behind. Anthony (non-honors) believed students in honors would get "bored cause they know how to do it so they need to be in a different class so they can keep going." Eden (non-honors) said:

> Some students don't really process it as fast as others, so if one person that is really smart they may want the teacher to keep going but then there some students that don't want them to keep going, and they are stuck on what they just learned and are at a slower place so the advanced students go at a faster pace, and the regular students go at a slower even pace.

Makayla (honors) believed "if they are in advanced, that's their level so usually they won't need much help. But in the regular class they're going to need more help so it takes time away from the teacher teaching."

Perceptions of behavior as the basis for tracking. Behavior was used frequently to explain students' stratified position. Genesis (non-honors), said:

> Some students may feel they are not smart enough or they want to be in advanced reading but they can't because they are on different reading levels and they choose to goof off . . . that's why they are not in advanced reading.

Alexandria (honors) believed "most of the kids in the accelerated classes really listen and the ones that are not just fool around and have bad behavior." Ifaa (honors) stated "the people in my accelerated class like are well behaved but the people in the normal classes they get in trouble a lot, they do bad stuff like fight."

Behavior as basis for tracking associated with behavior problem student identity. The frequent behavior management strategies used in the non-honors associated with students' belief that students were in these classes to help manage their behavior. For example, Taliyah (non-honors) said "sometimes kids need a teacher who can help them learn faster and make their behavior better" and Jesse (non-honors) who said "the ones in advanced are really smart and the one who not need some improvement with reading and staying on task and their behavior."

Perceptions of feelings about school as the basis for tracking. Many participants in both tracks believed students deserved to be in the in non-honors classes because they "didn't really care about school" or "try hard." For instance, Ifaa (honors)

believed "most of the kids in that class don't try hard, they just want to talk to their

friends and socialize." Taliyah (non-honors) believed some students "don't pay attention

as much as they should in class because they don't care." Carson (honors) believed "kids

in advanced really take school more seriously and really like it and like school and like

doing it more, but the ones in common core they just really don't try."

Academic motivation as basis for tracking associated with future achievers as

student identity. Participants' beliefs about stratification based on students' academic

motivation may have influenced them to have ideas about which students would be

successful. Eden (non-honors) said "it makes me feel bad because the ones in advanced

they know they are going to progress and get higher and go to college and they know it's

helping them for their future." Similarly, Ifaa (honors) believed stratification "cancels

people chances of trying to learn higher and be successful, I think the kids who actually

try to move to higher class but don't can affect their motivation."

Life state coping. The life-state-coping outcomes describe the positive or

negative consequences youth may experience due to their identity motivated behaviors.

In this study, this component describes the implications that tracking experiences can

have on students' later success. Students in honors were introduced to more Language

Arts concepts and received assignments that better prepared them for the EOGs. This

preparation may influence their scores and stratified placement in middle and high school

as well as their preparation for college. Students' experiences in their stratified courses

may have influenced their perceptions of why tracking occurred. These perceptions may

be linked to their ideas about who they are as students. Students in both tracks believed

students in honors were "smart" and more likely to "succeed" while students in non-honors were perceived as "slow learners" who did not "care about school" and would have a hard time "succeeding."

Interpretation

The cultural-ecological perspective argues that school practices socialize youth with the competencies needed to grow into competent adults (Ogbu, 1981). This study found that beyond the academic curriculum, school stratification implicitly and explicitly socialized youth with the hidden curriculum. Students' schooling position influenced the skills and behaviors they learned that would make them productive workers (Apple, 2004; Dreeben, 1968). Students were taught these skills through their experiences and routines with school staff, especially their teachers. Students in honors were socialized with skills centered on preparation for college and professional careers while students in non-honors were socialized with skills catered to discipline and subordination. It is important to understand how Black youth perceive these stratified experiences because it can impact how they feel about themselves as students, which can influence their future orientation.

In the non-honors classes, students are trained to comply with rules and fear authority figures. Students at Lovehall are required to stand in a straight line and refrain from talking when walking to their classes. However, it was only students in non-honors who discussed being forced to repeat this task until it was deemed satisfactory by the teacher. For example, India, said

> If he [teacher] say go in the classroom quietly and people start talking, then we have to come back out then back in and do this back and forth in the classroom until we know how to be quiet and sometimes it take until lunch time.

The classes at Lovehall are a minimum of sixty minutes depending on the class. Sometimes students in non-honors practiced lining up quietly for the entire period, eliminating their time for academic learning and implying it was more important for students to exemplify subordinate behavior than learn. They were instructed not to talk to each other or the teachers, not to offer suggestions, and to "just do what you are told." These students were being socialized with skills that are predominately found in low-wage jobs.

Students in honors classes at this school appear to be trained to value achievement and individualism. They are given weekly assignments and tests with the best scores publicly acknowledged in the classroom. Students strive hard to earn the best score and were encouraged by their teachers that "hard work," "dedication," and "not giving up" were keys to earning the best scores or "success." Students who do not submit their assignments are usually given one day leniency but are scolded by their teachers that "it is your responsibility" to "remember" and submit the assignments because "you are responsible for your education." Teachers are implicitly training these students to value hard work, individual effort, and success. These are the same type of skills that are viewed as important for professional occupations.

The surveys and interviews revealed that Black youth believed the EOGs were responsible for students' school position, but students' in honors believed the EOGs mattered more than students in non-honors. In North Carolina students take the EOGs

for language arts, mathematics, and science in grades third through eighth. The scores range from 1 to 5, with scores 2 and below considered below grade level proficiency standards and not meeting college and career readiness standards; a score of 3 characterizes students as meeting grade level but not meeting college and career readiness; and scores of 4 and 5 are viewed as meeting grade level expectations and those for college and career readiness. College and career ready is defined as the achievement and skills that students have that deems them ready for their future schooling and career trajectory. If students score a 1 or 2, schooling agents have the power to retain students for that subject or promote students to the next grade level and stratify them into the non-honors or academically challenged courses. However, students who score 3 through 5 are promoted to the next grade level, with their school position determined by schooling agents. Using the EOGs as one way to stratify students makes it visible which students scored well and which ones did not score as well.

The EOGs are assumed to assess students' college and career readiness skills. In addition to these scores influencing students' school position, they may influence teachers' expectations of the students who will and will not attend college to pursue their career aspirations. Scores on the EOGs may lead teachers to believe that students who score 4 or above and/or stratified into honors are more academically capable of attending college than students who score 3 or below and/or are stratified into non-honors. This could explain why teachers in non-honors were more focused on ensuring students complied with rules than teaching them their academic curriculum.

Students' perceptions that the EOGs mattered for their school position was linked to students' beliefs that the honor classes were for the smart students and the non-honors classes were for the "dumb" students. While students in both positions believed being smart mattered for school stratification, students in honors believed being smart mattered more than students in non-honors. The significant difference between school positions could be attributed to students' perceptions of teachers having particularly high expectations for students in the honors classes. Many students in honors were eager to explain that because they were in the advanced language art class their class was harder and more challenging than the non-honors class. However, these students declared that they could handle the challenge because they were smart. Sierra explained that when students in her class were not understanding the material, her teacher would frequently remind them that they are stratified into the honors class so they should be quickly grasping the material and not have many questions. According to Sierra, this reprimand by the teachers encouraged her and her peers to try harder and ask fewer questions to understand the lesson. This message from teachers can influence students in the honors track that they are smarter than the students in non-honors.

The surveys and interviews also indicated that students (regardless of schooling track) believed behavior mattered for students' school position. They believed that students with "bad" behavior were stratified into non-honors classes. Behavior as a cause for stratification was a salient theme found in the interviews from participants, which may explain why the surveys did not find a significant difference between school positions. Students' perceptions of behavior as a factor may have been influenced by their

experiences in their classes. Students tracked into non-honors witnessed their teachers constantly trying to manage students' behavior, which may have influenced them to believe that the non-honors classes were for students who needed behavior management. Students in honors compared the behavior of students in their elective classes to their core classes, which may have influenced them to believe that the non-honors classes were for students who misbehaved.

Students in both positions believed "how hard students try in school" mattered for students tracking placement. Students in both positions believed that if students in non-honors cared about school they would try harder with their academic work to be tracked into honors. These feelings influenced students' beliefs that moving tracks the next year was possible. A majority (87%) of students believed that it was "somewhat likely" for students to be able to move to a different language arts and/or Math level the next year. However, research has shown that moving tracks is nearly impossible (Kelly & Price, 2011). Even though students believed moving tracks was possible, they acknowledged that students' motivation could be decreased if they tried to move tracks but were unsuccessful.

The interviews revealed that Black youth believed that students' learning pace influenced their school position. Many Black youth believed that students had different learning paces with some students grasping the material slower than other students. This perception of the reasoning for tracking makes intelligence appear innate as opposed to structured and strengthen through resources. Youth from the institutionalized advantage social position are more likely to start school cognitively ahead of their peers impacting

their academic performance (Dearing et al., 2009; Vincent et al., 2008). As a result, these students are tracked into honors classes at higher rates with the perception that they are smarter or faster learners than students from the institutionalized disadvantage position. In addition, instead of separate classes being used to provide students with the quality time they need to increase students' academic performance, teachers biases about these students abilities impacts their interactions and teaching practice, limiting youth stratified into non-honors future schooling preparation and later outcomes (Lucas, 1999; Oakes, 2005).

The survey results suggested that students believed grades impacted students' school position. Students in honors reported that grades mattered at higher levels than students in non-honors. This finding could be attributed to Black youth believing that students stratified into non-honors did not care about school and did not try hard with their academic work influencing them to earn bad grades. However, in the interviews, students in both tracks reported earning "good" grades.

Black youth were not informed by schooling agents about school stratification, but their experiences in their classes informed their ideas. This study found that Black youth identified individualist factors as opposed to structures as the reasoning for students' placement in honors and non-honors classes. Black youth may have focused on individualistic causes because the ideology of the American Dream ignores structural barriers and proclaims that anyone can achieve with hard work. By not understanding the ways structures work to impact school stratification and only identifying the individualistic factors creates implications for Black youth identity formation and future

orientation construction. Students perceived students in honors as smart and fast learners who would be successful and have the skills needed to attend college and have professional occupations. However, students in non-honors were perceived as dumb and slow learners who did not try hard in school. Students may internalize these beliefs impacting how they feel about themselves as students. Research has illustrated that the way students feel about themselves as students impacts their career aspirations, expectations, and academic performance (Bandura, 1996; Bandura et al., 2001; Betz, 2007). Furthermore, internalized beliefs can influence students' ideas about attending college. If students in non-honors perceive that they are not smart they may believe they do not have the skills and abilities needed to be successful in college.

Research Question 3

How does tracking placement relate to Black youth's ideas about race? Are there differences within track based on economic and social class position?

Quantitative Results: Racialized School Experiences and Racial Identity

Prior to examining position differences in racial experiences and identity beliefs, a series of multiple regressions were conducted to examine the relationship between youth perceptions of racialized school experiences and racial identity to understand which school experiences are associated with Black youth racial identity. More specifically, three aspects of school racial experiences (peers' racial mistreatment, teachers' racial mistreatment, and racial disrespect) were tested as predictors of racial identity. The racial centrality, private regard, and public regard of the multidimensional model were used as indicators of racial identity (Sellers et al., 1998). The covariates included in the

regressions were student gender, household income, household education, and language

arts position.   The models for private regard F (3, 30, p = .18) and racial centrality

F (4, 29, p = .88) were not found to be significant. However, the model for public regard

was significant (F (3, 36) = 2.62, p = .06), explaining 17% of the variability. An

inspection of the individual predictors revealed that racial disrespect (Beta = -.28,

p = .02) was a significant predictor of public regard. The more disrespect Black youth

perceived at school, the lower their feelings of public regard (see Table 5).

Table 5

Summary of Linear Regression Analysis for Variables Predicating Public Regard

Variable	B	SE	β
Gender			
Language Arts			
Household Education			
Household Income			
Teacher Racial Treatment	-.304	.27	-.16
Racial Disrespect	-.43	.24	-.23[*]
Peer racial mistreatment	-.17	.22	-.13
R^2		.20	
F for change in R^2		.03	

Position differences in racialized school experiences. Three separate one-way

analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) models were conducted to examine differences in

youth school racial experiences by their position differences (i.e., three outcomes by 2

positions). The social, economic, and language arts position were used in separate

models to examine differences in youth peer racial mistreatment, teacher racial mistreatment, and racial disrespect.

   Social position. The independent variable, social position, included two levels: institutionalized advantage and institutionalized disadvantage. The covariates included in the social position models were student gender, household income, and language arts position. The models for teacher racial mistreatment (F (1, 35) = .33, p = .54) and peer racial mistreatment (F (1, 35) = 2.4 p = .14) were not significant (Appendix E). The ANCOVA was significant for racial disrespect, (F (1, 35) =1.9, p = .04). Students from the institutionalized disadvantage position reported higher levels of racial disrespect (M = 1.7, SD = .46) than students from the institutionalized advantage position (M = 1.2, SD = .40).

   Schooling position. The independent variable, schooling position, included two levels: honors and non-honors language arts. The covariates included in the school position models were student gender, household income, and household education. There were no significant differences in school experiences by student's schooling position; the models for teacher racial mistreatment (F (1, 35) = .39, p = .54), peer racial mistreatment, (F (1, 35) = 1.3, p = .26), and racial disrespect, (F (1, 35) = .27, p = .61) were insignificant (see Appendix E).

   Economic position. The independent variable, economic position, included two levels: low-income and middle class. The covariates included in the economic position models were student gender, household education, and language arts position. The models for teacher racial mistreatment (F (1, 35) = .01, p = .91) and racial disrespect

(F (1, 35) = .27, p = .61) were not significant (see Appendix E). The ANCOVA was

significant for peer racial mistreatment (F (1, 34) = 2.96, p = .06) (see Table 6). Black

youth from the middle class (M = 1.7, SD = .46) position reported more racial

mistreatment from peers than Black youth from the low-income position (M = 1.3,

SD = .36).

Table 6

Analysis of Co-Variance for Peers' Racial Treatment by Economic Position

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
Gender	.02	1	.02	.09	.75
Household Education	.13	1	.13	.61	.44
Language Arts	.11	1	.11	.51	.48
Income Level	.66	1	.65	2.96	.011
Error	7.45	34	.22		
Total	95.3	39			

Qualitative Results: Applying a PVEST Lens

The Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST) argues

that the meaning youth ascribe to their experiences is critically important and creates

variability in the way structures and experiences impact Black youth outcomes. The

(PVEST) model provides a useful framework for illustrating the ways Black youth

perceive their experiences with racialized tracking, and how these experiences may

inform their ideas about race and possibly help shape their racial identity formation

within the school context. The individual components of the PVEST model will be used to organize and discuss the qualitative results.

Net vulnerability. In this study, race and economic and social position are viewed as risk and/or protective factors for youth for their school tracking position. Before conducting the current study I argued that being stratified into a non-honors track would be a risk factor for Black youth racial identity development, and conversely, that being in the honors track would be a protective factor. However, the way Black youth in both school positions internalized their stratified Language Arts experiences may negatively inform their racial identity development within the school context. Because the honors classes were overrepresented by White youth and the non-honors classes were overrepresented by Black youth, Black youth from both positions seemed to internalize these stratified experiences as racialized and representing the expected behaviors for Black and White groups. An institutionalized advantage social position appeared to be a protective factor for youth stratified into non-honors classes. The two students stratified into non-honors from the institutionalized advantage social position believed they were viewed differently by their teachers, which seemed to impact their teacher-student interactions and ideas about race (explained in further detail below). These students also appeared to be viewed differently by school staff. For example, the assistant principal described both of these students as "good kids" when I arrived to conduct my interviews. However, the other students in the non-honors track from the institutionalized disadvantage position were viewed as "troubled." She said, "Are you sure you want to use them for your study?" and "It seems you are using a lot of the troubled kids."

Net stress engagement. The net stress engagement component is relevant for describing youth's various experiences in their stratified Language Arts classes that informed their racial identity development. Black youth in the non-honors track discussed more negative experiences in their classes than Black youth in honors classes. In the non-honors group, two themes emerged: differential teacher treatment within race and disruptive behavior. The honors track had two themes: core vs. elective classes and learning experiences. There was one similar theme mentioned by students in both tracks: differential teacher treatment between races.

Non-honors position: Differential teacher treatment within race. From students' perspectives, teachers had different expectations for students from the institutionalized advantage social position influencing the time they spent with them, their interactions, and treatment with these students. Even though there were only two students interviewed from the institutionalized advantage social class position stratified into the non-honors class, both experienced special relationships with their teachers. The verbal exchanges they shared with their teachers illustrated that the teachers believed these students were different from the other Black students in the class. For example, Jamarri stated "I've had teachers tell me, they take me in a separate room and tell me your not like the rest, you're a good student." Similarly, in discussing her treatment with teachers, Nya said, "like every now and then if we working independently then they will talk to me on the side and say 'you know Nya you're very smart' and that I'm a really good student." Nya explained that her teacher only talked to "the people who actually care about their future, not the ones talking and not being quiet." Teachers spoke to Nya

and Jamarri in private to prevent others from explicitly recognizing their preferential treatment. However, unconsciously these teachers may also treat Nya and Jamarri differently than the other students in their classes in more obvious ways.

    Non-honors position: Disruptive behavior. All students stratified into non-honors Language Arts labeled their class as "bad." Bad was described as having students who engaged in "cussing," "talking back to the teacher," "not listening to the teacher," and who "don't pay attention." For example, Jesse explained that students consistently "cuss at the teacher and call her a fat ass." Some of the youth stated they did not participate in "bad behavior," while others internalized these behaviors as representations of themselves. For example Taliyah explained "I ain't gone lie sometimes I be being bad . . . I just wanna talk to my friends."

    Participants believed that their peers' "bad" behavior in class prevented the teacher from effectively teaching and students from learning. For example, Briana stated that her teacher:

> . . . has a hard time, so say we be talking and she trying to read a book, or teach us something and she tells us to be quiet, but we just keep talking and just talking over her, and she has a hard time getting us to be quiet, so we don't learn nothing.

Similarly, Jamarri, explained that "we have off and on days but most of the time it's off days . . . we don't get through the lesson cause she has to keep talking to students to be good."

    Some students' perceived that the misbehavior in the class was partly a reflection of teachers not being able to effectively manage the students in their class. For instance,

Nya, said that there are students in her class who like to "try to bad" but that her teacher rarely has to "put students out of class because when she gets this face (scowling her face) and stops talking, we know she means business so we shuts up then." Students may disrupt the class, but if teachers are not gaining the respect of students then it likely increases students' chances of misbehaving. For instance, Anthony, stated his teacher told the class "this is the worst class in seventh grade and probably the whole school" and in response Anthony said "that makes me not like him and not even wanna listen to him."

Honors position: Learning. Students stratified into honors only had positive things to say about their Language Art classes and teachers. As opposed to students in non-honors, students in honors discussed more learning experiences, "loving" their teachers, and learning "a lot." Students believed that their teachers were there to help them learn and would not "give up on them." For example, Alexandria stated "she told us one time that if we don't understand the work she will still help us to get there and that we can succeed to get what we want cause we do good in her class." Similarly, Sierra believed her teacher:

> enjoys teaching and you can really tell from how she teaches us, because she like if you're not getting something she really wants you to get it so she breaks stuff down for you, because she really wants you to get it she really likes to teach, she not just there or she doesn't not like children overall you can really tell she likes

Honors position: Core vs. elective classes. Students stratified in the honors classes compared the racial make-up of their elective classes to their core classes. The core classes were composed of mostly White students while their elective courses had mostly Black students. Black youth believed that there was a difference in behavior

between students in their core classes and their elective classes. Participants believed that students got in "more trouble" in their elective classes than in their core classes. Makayla explained that "there are more Black people in my elective class but in my other classes there are only like three or four Black people so not that many people get into trouble." Additionally, Makenzie said "a lot of students talk back to teachers and get in trouble….but this really only happens in my elective classes where there are more Blacks." In addition, the high rates of "bad behavior" in the elective courses by Black youth influenced Black youth in honors to think the large racial disparity between the elective and core classes was due to students' feelings about education and/or behavior. For example, Donyea stated "Black people may not really care about their education as much as White people do" and Alexandria said a "majority of Black people are in the non-accelerated classes cause some of them have really bad behavior."

The ways of being of Black youth in the honors and non-honors classes impacts their ideas of authentic Black. In the elective classes, Black youth have a higher probability of interacting with Black youth from different social and economic positions than their own. As a result, Black students in the honors and non-honors classes may view Black students from different positions than their own as different. Because Black youth are not able to articulate these differences as related to economic or social position, they use race to explain the differences. Students from the honors position attribute the differences to Black students not caring about education while students from the non-honors school position may view Black youth from the honors position as "acting White" because they are stratified into "White" classes. For instance, Sierra described that "in

my elective classes but never my core classes I always hear I act White. . . . I guess cause I'm not the average Black kid," with "average" being associated with "being bad."

Students discussed the racial differences in their core and elective classes, but were "happy" to be one of the few Blacks stratified into honors. They believed they were viewed differently by their teachers than other Black youth and were happy to distance themselves from the "other" Black youth who are portrayed "negatively" in school. For instance, Alexandria stated, "I am happy that I am one of the ones in the accelerated classes cause that makes me look good....being one of the only couple of Black kids in the smart classes," and in discussing her teachers Alexandria said, "they make think of me in a positive way because I show I do try and I do care and I do try to get really good scores and grades not like other Black kids so I think they think of me positive."

In addition to being happy, Black youth felt that being one of the only few Black made their race more salient. As one of the only Black youth in the honors classes Black youth wanted to illustrate that they are also "smart" and can "behave in class." For example, Alexandria explained that it was during tests that her race became more salient for her. She said:

> because like most of the time White students they usually do better and get higher scores and there was this one I got the highest score on a test so that made me really proud and it made me think of that cause usually White students that gets the high score

Differential teacher treatment between races. Participants were asked if they noticed differences in teacher treatment between Black and White students. Black youth in both tracks acknowledged that they observed differential teacher treatment between

students of color and White students. Black youth stratified into non-honors class

discussed more racial mistreatment than Black youth in honors classes. Some Black

youth in the non-honors track believed students' behavior in the classroom caused the

difference in treatment between Black and White students from teachers. Jamarri (non-

honors) believed the teacher targeted Black students in the class because "they always

being bad." Taliyah (non-honors), detailed how her teacher distributed candy to students

who exhibited "good" behavior:

> Sometimes if we good and paying attention then she will give us candy, but
> sometimes I don't get candy, the White kids always get candy though…. I guess
> cause she like them better and they good

In a more explicit example, Anthony (non-honors), believed his teacher liked White

students better than Black students. Anthony read a list on his teacher's clipboard that

divided students into bad, good, and favorites. The majority of the students in the class

were listed under bad, three to four students were listed under good, and two students

were listed under favorite. When asked to describe the students on the list and how he felt

he stated:

> Well, it was all Black people on the bad list, mix people on the good but probably
> more White, and all White on the favorite list . . . honestly, [I think] it's crazy,
> cause he's not suppose to have favorites, good people or bad people.

Jamarri, believed that White students behaved differently in the non-honors than in the

honors classes. Jamarri is stratified into non-honors Language Arts but honors for Math

and has the opportunity to observe the differences in his White peers' behaviors. He

explained:

> yea like one class like my Language Arts they will be down and not talking, and
> then in the class with more of their racial group they won't be down they will be
> happy . . . if they have mostly Black people in class then they will just sit there
> and do nothing, and then when more White people are around and then they have
> all the fun in class.

Jamarri believed the differences in his White peers' behavior was because "they not use

to seeing Black people and think we like what they see on tv . . . that we bad and make

bad decisions."   Because school stratification limits all students' opportunities to interact

with other students who are not stratified in their track, White students may create

generalizations that Black youth are "bad," perpetuating this negative stereotype and fear

of Blacks. Furthermore, Black youth stratified into all non-honors classes attend all their

classes together and have the same lunch period impacting their friendship formation. As

a result, Black youth are more likely to have classes with their friends increasing the

chance that they will talk and play more frequently in their classes than White youth

stratified into these classes where they are the minority.

Some students stratified into non-honors believed the differential treatment was

caused by students' grades. For example, Eden (non-honors) stated:

> some really good students who are really good students they always get A plus
> and they are like the teacher's pet, They expect them to do very very good and not
> get bad grades and be mean to people or misbehave, but then the others they
> would really expect them to talk during class or not study or get an F on their test

When asked who the "good students" were, Eden whispered "well usually those

the White kids in my class." Black youth in honors believed that the negative portrayal of

Black students "being bad" and "not caring about school" created the differential

treatment between Black and White youth. The teachers at Lovehall Middle School teach

both honors and non-honors classes rather than having different teachers for each of the

academic tracks. Teaching students in both Language Arts positions gives teachers

exposure to a range of Black students, but from students' perspectives, it seems that

teachers' experiences in the non-honors class with Black students may influence them to

generalize and stereotype Black students instead of viewing them individually. In

discussing her teachers, Sierra said:

> I guess they are expecting rowdy people that don't have the best background and
> maybe don't have the best education, or don't really know how to act or don't
> wear the best clothes or don't have the most money and don't speak as well.

If teachers consciously or unconsciously hold these beliefs about students it could explain

why some participants believed teachers treated White students differently. Ifaa

(honors), said "like every time they [teachers] have a question or demonstration they call

on the White kids." Youth stratified into the honor classes felt they needed to exemplify

they were "different" from their Black peers for their teachers to think of them positively.

For example, Alexandria said:

> Most of the teachers think that we have bad behavior, we don't care, and that we
> don't try but then they see some of us actually do try and do care and do want to
> succeed and then they think of us positively

Some students could not identify a reason for the differential treatment between

Black and White students causing them to be confused as to why it happened. For

example, India (non-honors) stated:

> he [the teacher] will call the students by names to go to lunch and it will be all the White kids to go to lunch then it's only the Black kids left and we only got a few minutes to eat lunch…I don't know why he do that

Similarly confused, Taliyah (non-honors) stated:

> I'm not saying no names but some teachers treat us differently than the White kids, we be up in the class and then all the White kids got all the good grades and we got D and F knowing they be cutting up.

Alexandria (honors) described a time in her class she felt she observed differential

treatment between Black and White students:

> Like I remember when I was in 6th grade, and a kid of my race asked for help on a question and the teacher said no, and a kid from another race asked for help and the teacher helped him with the same exact question that he wouldn't help the other kid out with, but that's like the only time I've ever seen something like that happen . . . that made me think it had something to do with racism but I didn't really think of it like that, because the whole year they were helping me out and being nice to my race but it made me think that just that one time it happen

Reactive coping. In this study, the reactive coping component refers to the ways

Black youth managed being stratified in their Language Arts classes. While students in

both positions were coping with different experiences, their strategy to "ignore" these

experiences were similar. In the non-honors group, one theme emerged: being labeled as

bad. The honors group also had one theme: acting White. There was one similar theme mentioned by students in both tracks: differential treatment between tracks.

Non-honors position: Being labeled as bad. Many students in the non-honors track believed their class was viewed as "bad." Many participants coped with this label by saying "they did not care" or "it doesn't bother me." Even though these students said being in a class labeled "bad" did not impact them, unconsciously students may have a negative reaction to this label. According to the self-fulfilling prophecy students may behave "badly" because they think their teachers believe they will act in this manner (Guyll, Madon, Prieto, & Scherr, 2010; Merton, 1948).

The two students stratified in non-honors from the institutionalized advantage social class position were "embarrassed" by the way their "ghetto" classmates behaved. These students distanced themselves from their peers in their classes in hopes of being viewed "differently" and not like "those other Black students." For instance, Nya stated "I just sit quiet in the corner doing my work while they act crazy" and Jamarri, said "I just try to stay to myself." These students viewed their White teachers in the classroom as authority figures and wanted to "prove" to them that not all Blacks act the same way. They believed it was their responsibility to illustrate to their White peers and teachers through their behavior, language, and grades that not all Black youth are the same.

Honors position: Acting White. Black youth who were told they acted White said they "don't care" or "don't mind" they were called this term because it "doesn't get" to them. However, these students were visibly annoyed (e.g., rolled eyes, sucked teeth) that students called them this because of their linguistic style or behavior in the classroom.

For instance, Sierra, said "it's so annoying and I hate that term so much . . . but it doesn't matter." Subconsciously, being labeled as acting White may have influenced their ideas about their race and themselves possibly impacting their racial identity formation.

Differential treatment between races. Students in honors and non-honors viewed the differential treatment between Black and White students from teachers as wrong, but when asked how they felt about it, they stated "it doesn't matter." However, the differential treatment seemed to inform their ideas about their own race and the White racial group as discussed in more detail in the emergent identity section.

Emergent identity. In this study, the emergent identity component delineates how Black youth experiences in their stratified courses in the schooling context informed their ideas about their own and other racial groups. Students' experiences in their stratified Language Arts classes informed their ideas about Black and White racial groups, influencing their racial identity development within the school context. The overrepresentation of Blacks in non-honors and Whites in honors and the interaction with other Black youth from different positions in their elective courses influenced students to racialize their experiences with little attention to economic or social class differences. Even though students did not discuss any strategies for managing the negative experiences within their classes, by the way they discussed race, these experiences still seemed to inform their racial identity formation. In discussing race several themes emerged across the positions: behavior, linguistic style, style of dress, and school feelings.

Behavior. The overrepresentation of Black youth in non-honors and elective

classes seemed to associate with the way Black youth perceived signifiers for behaviors

that represent Blacks as a whole. For instance, Black youth in the non-honors class

described the term "acting Black" as White students who were "doing bad stuff like us,"

"acting bad," "getting sent out the classroom" and "cussing at the teacher." Students in

honors also used negative characteristics to describe acting Black such as "being rude"

and "cursing." These attributes are the same ones students used to describe the students

in the non-honors and elective classes. Alyssa (non-honors) believed White students who

acted Black by "cussing at the teacher" behaved this way "to fit in with us." Students in

honors believed more Black youth were not stratified into honors because of their "bad

behavior."

Only two students in non-honors and two students in honors acknowledged that

there were behavioral variations among Black youth. However, they believed parents

were responsible for students "bad behavior." For instance, Jamarri (non-honors), argued

that the students were not receiving "home training" and Ifaa (honors) said "their parents

don't motivate them to do better in school." Students from different positions used

individualistic reasoning to explain the differences in behavior, not recognizing that

structures can influence behavior and ways of being.

Black youth also described listening to rap music as a signifier for acting Black.

Taliyah (non-honors) stated, "Yea, so when people want to be Black, like White people,

there is this boy and he White and he listen to all the little Black songs he say he don't

like no country or no White songs." Makayla (honors) explained that listening to rap was

a signifier for acting Black because "a lot of rappers are Black and have a lot bad stuff in them like drugs and sex . . . you know what Black people do." Contrary to Black youth perceptions of rap, Whites are the largest consumer of rap music (Yousman, 2003). However, because most of the rappers are Black and the lyrics are "bad," listening to rap is considered a signifier for being Black.

Interestingly, no students from either track described social behaviors that were signifiers for Whites. This could result from Whiteness being normalized in schooling institutions (Gillborn, 2005). Whiteness gains power by "othering" other racial groups, making the behaviors associated with Whiteness normalized and other behaviors, usually perceived as negative, easily noticeable (Gillborn, 2005). As a result, Black youth in this study were unable to define behaviors they associated with Whites, but were able to define Black behaviors that are perceived as negative that may deviate from the normalized behaviors.

Language. Previous scholars have illustrated that language development is influenced by social class positioning (Bernstein, 1971; Lareau, 2003). The overrepresentation of Black youth from the institutionalized disadvantage social class position in non-honors and elective classes impacted the language style used more frequently in these classes. As a result, Black youth in these classes racialized this linguistic style and labeled it "talking Black." Talking Black was defined as "using slang" and "cussing."

The underrepresentation of Whites in non-honors classes influenced Black youth to think that using Standard English was a signifier for Whiteness. Black youth in non-

honors described talking White as "prissy" and "proper." However, Black youth tracked

in this schooling position from the institutionalized advantage social class position did

not think using Standard English was talking White, but knew their peers believed it was

talking White. For example, Nya who was accused of talking White by peers stated:

> yea, some people in my class say I talk like a White person. They say like Nya are
> you sure you're not White . . . they say I talk like a White person because I don't
> know I guess because I talk proper and in complete sentences.

Black youth tracked into honors were upset that their peers described using Standard

English as talking White. For instance, Sierra said "it's like just because you talk with

intelligence . . . that doesn't mean you're acting white that just means your acting with

intelligence" or Alexandria who said "it's so annoying because it's just using correct

grammar."

Participants recognized that language differences existed within Black youth but

they did not identify social positioning as influencing the development of Standard

English. Many of them viewed parents as responsible for students' linguistics styles.

Anthony (non-honors) believed parents had a strong influence on their children's

language development. For example:

> they may talk in slang, like use short words as an actual word, causes that just the
> way they were raised, they hear people talking like that, so they picked it up as
> they were going along so they talk like that.

Similarly, Makenzie (honors) said "yea, you know some use different grammar, they

don't pronounce their words well while others use correct grammar . . . they get that from

their parents." They believed parents were responsible for the different language styles, but when asked what caused the differences for parents, they were not able to give reasons. By not understanding the vital role social positioning has in influencing language development, youth are internalizing these differences as caused by individualistic factors as opposed to structures that restrict Blacks' opportunities to quality schooling.

     Dress. During the interviews, students were asked their perceptions on style of dress for Black and White students. They did not describe any particular style of dress as "Black" but there were styles that were considered "White." From their descriptions of White dress styles, students were conflating race with economic class position. Alyssa (non-honors) described students who "dress White" as "wearing the top brands like Uggs, Toms, or Sperry." Similarly, Makenzie (honors) described being called "acting White" because she wears Uggs. She said "I guess a lot of White people wear them that's why they call me that." Uggs are boots that can range from $150-$300. Black youth attending Lovehall School from the low-income economic position are unable to afford this luxury. However, because there are more White youth attending the school from a middle class or higher economic position that can afford these shoes and more Black youth from the low-income economic position who cannot afford them, youth racialize this classed experience.

     The only dress differences students noticed within Black youth caused by economic position was for the "very poor." Students in both tracks described Black youth

who wore "old school stuff" and "ripped shoes" as "real poor." Freddie explained that "a lot of Black kids are poor so I see them wear the same clothes every day."

School feelings. Interestingly, it was the Black youth stratified into honors classes that believed race mattered for students' placement in their stratified courses. However, they did not view that students were tracked because of their race, but that racial differences in behavior and motivation lead to the overrepresentation of Blacks in non-honors and Whites in honors. For instance Donyea (honors) stated: "Black people may not really care about their education as much as White people do, that's why there are more Whites in my class." Similarly, Makayla (honors) stated "it's a smarter class that's why there are more White people in that class." These students believed that White students cared more about school than Black students and that all Black students did was "be bad." Lastly, Celeste (honors) said "because really usually I'm not saying that White people succeed better than Black people I think most White people that go here they succeed they wanna do better but Black people that go here they just don't really care about their education they just care about drama."

Ghetto. Ghetto was a familiar term for all students that strongly related to their ideas about race. Even though all youth had heard of the term ghetto and over half of them participated in using the term, it was difficult for them to explain what it meant. However, this term was racialized and classed. For instance, Nya (non-honors) stated the term is "just for the black students' cause I guess it's a Black people word (using quotations) . . . I don't know why, they just crazy" and Celeste (honors) said, "like a White person could be ghetto but people just use it on Black people and I don't like it

cause why would you use it on a Black person and not a White one." Similarly, Taliyah (non-honors) stated "it's only the Black kids cause they say White kids are living in the rich neighborhoods and the Black kids are living in the ugly messed up houses . . . they say the ghetto people don't have no money so that's why they wear FUBU" and Freddie (honors) who said "ghetto is like for the poor kids at my school."

Language style was one way Black participants racialized and classed the term ghetto. However, the track students were in influenced how they viewed the term. Black students in the non-honors class used talking ghetto and talking Black interchangeably. For instance, in describing someone she believed acted Black, Alyssa (non-honors) said "he don't talk like he White, he talk Black, he talk like he ghetto." However, students in honors classes described talking ghetto as not using Standard English. For instance, Alexandria (honors) viewed talking ghetto as "grammar is not right" and Sierra said "not talking very intelligent you know using slang and cussing." However, cussing was also a signifier some students used for talking Black.

All participants believed "being loud" was an indicator for being ghetto. For example, when asked about hearing the term ghetto, Nya (non-honors) stated:

> Yes girl all the time. I hear ratchet ghetto all the words. To them it's like when they're being real loud. I use the term all the time let me be honest especially ratchet, it's like when they are real loud and being crazy

Life-state-specific coping. In this study, this component describes how tracking can provide positive and negative consequences for Black youth future identity development. Black youth made generalizations about Blacks as a whole based on their

experiences in their classes, their limited interaction with other Black youth from different social and economic positions, and the racial make-up of their honors and elective courses. These experiences seemed to influence their racial identity development within the school context. Participants generalized Black youth as having "bad" behavior and "not caring about school." In addition, participants observed differential treatment between Black and White students from teachers. While students in non-honors did not verbalize caring about this label or the differential treatment, students stratified into honors and from the institutionalized advantage   social class position believed they needed to "prove" they were different from the "others" by demonstrating "good" behavior and earning "good" grades. These students are developing a racial identity that prepares them for professional occupations where they may be one of a few Blacks and will constantly feel the need to "prove" themselves. However, other Black students did not have this feeling, which may mean that they internalize themselves as bad.

Interpretation

The qualitative and quantitative results reported suggest that racialized tracking was associated with Black youth's ideas about themselves and others as racial beings. The practice of school stratification limited Black youth's opportunity to interact with other Black students who were from different social and economic positions than their own. These brief interactions occurred in the hall while transitioning to their perspective class or within their elective courses. These stratification experiences along with the overrepresentation of Blacks in non-honors courses and the overrepresentation of Whites in honors courses influenced youth's ideas about Black and White racial groups. Even

though there was a small sample size, the surveys and interviews revealed that there were significant differences by students' economic and social position in perceived school experiences related to race and the impact of these experiences on their racial identity within the school context. The study also found that the disproportionate racial make-up of classes caused by school stratification relates to Black youth's ideas about their own and other racial groups.

The surveys revealed that the students' reports of experiencing racial disrespect in school were negatively related to their feelings of public regard feelings. Public regard refers to individuals' beliefs that others view their racial group positively or negatively (Sellers et al., 1998). The more participants perceived that their teachers and peers did not respect their racial group, the more negative their public regard feelings. Feeling racial disrespect varied significantly by social position such that students from the institutionalized disadvantage   social position reported not feeling respected by their teachers and peers at higher rates than youth from the institutionalized advantage position. In the interviews, students from the institutionalized disadvantage position expressed that a signifier for being Black was exhibiting "bad behavior." Having this label generalized to Blacks as a whole can influence Black youth that because they are viewed as "bad" they are not respected. Students from the institutionalized advantage position also believed Black students are viewed as bad but felt they were exempt from this label. Black youth from the institutionalized advantage position described how they had "proved" to their teachers and peers that they were "different" from the "other Black students" through their good behavior and academic achievement. Black students from

the institutionalized advantage position felt these characteristics earned their teachers'

respect, impacting their perceptions of racial respect.

Black youth from the institutionalized advantage position discussed being

instructed by teachers and parental figures to be a "good example" for their race for the

way Blacks should behave. Participants from this position are describing a Black middle

class ideology called politics of respectability that has been around for centuries (Du

Bois, 1903; Frazier, 1957; Harris, 2014). Politics of respectability focuses on certain

members, the elite, of the Black community trying to transform the behaviors and

practices of individuals from their racial group that are deemed unacceptable by larger

society (Harris, 2014). Through the politics of respectability, Black politicians and

leaders significantly focus on changing individuals, ignoring the structural forces that

prevent the economic and social mobility of Blacks. Du Bois (1903) described the

"Talented Tenth" that encouraged Black elites to force the untalented Blacks to get rid of

their bad behaviors to "prove" to Whites that Blacks deserved full citizenship. Similarly,

in a 2010 Father's day speech at Apostolic Church of God in Chicago President Barack

Obama used four sentences to acknowledge that poverty, school inequality, and lack of

job opportunities were a problem within the Black community but spent the remaining of

the speech instructing the Black community on the behaviors they needed to change to

"be better citizens." President Obama discussed the negative parenting practices in the

Black community and condemned Black men for being absent fathers and contributing to

negative developmental outcomes for children. In his speech he said

If we are honest with ourselves, we'll admit that what too many fathers also are is missing—missing from too many lives and too many homes. They have abandoned their responsibilities, acting like boys instead of men. And the foundations of our families are weaker because of it. Children who grow up without a father are five times more likely to live in poverty and commit crime; nine times more likely to drop out of schools and 20 times more likely to end up in prison. They are more likely to have behavioral problems, or run away from home or become teenage parents themselves. And the foundations of our community are weaker because of it. How many times in the last year has this city lost a child at the hands of another child? How many times have our hearts stopped in the middle of the night with the sound of a gunshot or a siren? How many teenagers have we seen hanging around on street corners when they should be sitting in a classroom? How many are sitting in prison when they should be working, or at least looking for a job? How many in this generation are we willing to lose to poverty or violence or addiction? How many? . . . It's great if you have a job; it's even better if you have a college degree. It's a wonderful thing if you are married and living in a home with your children, but don't just sit in the house and watch "Sports Center" all weekend long. That's why so many children are growing up in front of the television. As fathers and parents, we've got to spend more time with them, and help them with their homework, and replace the video game or the remote control with a book once in awhile. That's how we build that foundation. . . . You know, sometimes I'll go to an eighth-grade graduation and there's all that pomp and circumstance and gowns and flowers. And I think to myself, it's just eighth grade. . . . An eighth-grade education doesn't cut it today. Let's give them a handshake and tell them to get their butts back in the library! . . . It's up to us—as fathers and parents—to instill this ethic of excellence in our children. It's up to us to say to our daughters, don't ever let images on TV tell you what you are worth, because I expect you to dream without limit and reach for those goals. It's up to us to tell our sons, those songs on the radio may glorify violence, but in my house we give glory to achievement, self-respect and hard work. It's up to us to set these high expectations. And that means meeting those expectations ourselves. That means setting examples of excellence in our own lives. (http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0608/11094.html)

The interviews conducted in this study uncovered the ways Black youth unconsciously participate in the politics of respectability through the use of the term ghetto. Originally, ghetto was used to describe poor and segregated neighborhoods, but now ghetto and the more recent term "ratchet" are used to describe unacceptable behaviors of Blacks that are usually attributes of Blacks from the low-income and institutionalized disadvantage

position (Harris, 2014). However, Black youth from all positions called Black youth from diverse economic and social backgrounds these terms as a way to distance themselves from these types of behaviors used by their Black peers.

Peer racial mistreatment described students' perceptions of how their peers in school treat and befriend students in their racial group. The only significant group difference in perceptions of peer racial mistreatment was for economic position. Students from the middle class position reported higher rates of peer racial mistreatment than students form the low-income position. Students from middle class backgrounds may have more interaction with students from other racial groups through school extra-curricular activities and organizations that require money for participation. However, students from low-income positions are not afforded the opportunity to participate in these activities. While this theme was not prominent in the interviews, two students mentioned that money was important for students to participate in extra-curricular activities offered at their school. Students' economic position may grant them access to opportunities, such as participation in extra-curricular activities that are not given to other students impacting their experiences with other students. This finding illustrates that there are differences between students' economic and social position in relation to their peer racial mistreatment and that middle class Black youth may have different experiences than low-income Black youth. In addition, this finding underscores the importance of examining distinct differences in Black youth positions, because students who were from the institutionalized advantage positon were not all middle class nor were

they all stratified into honors Language Arts which could explain why economic position was significant for peer racial mistreatment and not language art or social position

Significant differences were not found among the different positions for students' perceptions of teachers' racial mistreatment. This is probably because students from all positions reported observing differential treatment between Black and White students from teachers. However, the interviews revealed that Black youth's reasoning for the differences in racial mistreatment differed by social and language arts position. Black youth stratified in the honors and institutionalized advantage social position were more likely to believe that the differences in racial mistreatment were caused by Black youth's bad behavior and negative feelings about school. As a result, Black youth from these positions reported feeling they needed to prove their schooling abilities in ways they did not believe their White counterparts had to do. Black youth stratified into non-honors believed their teachers provided preferential treatment to the White students because they were "better behaved," "liked better," or "for no reason." Because Black youth were overrepresented in non-honors, Black youth generalized the behavior of students in those classes as "Black youth are bad" informing their ideas of the ways Black youth behave. These experiences informed Black youth's ideas about what it means to be a Black and White body within the schooling context.

The interviews revealed how school stratification contributed to Black youth's conflation of race and economic and social position. Black youth conflated race and social position through linguistic style. Black youth stratified into non-honors who are from the institutionalized disadvantage position racialized language perhaps because they

have limited interaction within school with other Blacks from the institutionalized advantage social position. From their experiences, mostly White students used Standard English. The Whites who did not use Standard English were viewed or described as acting Black because they "talk ghetto." The White students labeled as acting Black may be from the institutionalized disadvantage social position, but because of the absence of class in everyday talk, Black youth may not recognize or know how to verbalize the differences they observed as class based.

There are significantly more Black youth from the low-income and institutionalized disadvantage position and White youth from the middle class and institutionalized advantage position at Lovehall which dominates the signifiers used to describe being Black and White. Because these signifiers do not account for within racial group differences created by social and economic position, Black youth who deviate from these characteristics are considered as acting White. Black youth from the institutionalized disadvantage and low-income position racialized expensive clothing styles, such as Uggs, because many of their Black peers are unable to afford them. As a result, they perceive that these are shoes for White people. This illustrates another example of Black youth using race to explain differences because they unable to articulate the differences found as related to class.

The qualitative and quantitative results both suggested that Black youth ideas about race were associated with their tracking placement and social and economic positions. The overrepresentation of Blacks in non-honors and Whites in honors associated with Black youth beliefs about Black and White racial groups. Black youth

believed that Blacks displayed bad behavior and had less school motivation than White

youth, unconsciously endorsing the culture of poverty thesis. In addition, they believed

that Blacks were perceived negatively by teachers; however, Black youth from the

institutionalized advantage position expressed that they were perceived differently by

their teachers because they illustrate they are different from the "other" Black youth. In

addition, the significant difference in students' school track position found by social

position, could also help explain why students conflated race and class.

CHAPTER VII

LIMITATIONS, DISCUSSION, AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Study Limitations

While this study revealed new findings regarding Black youth, there are

limitations that should be acknowledged. The limited sample size of 40 survey

participants attending one particular school prevents this study from being generalizable

to other Black youth who attend different schools, and limits the statistical power to

detect group differences. However, the findings do suggest that future studies with larger

sample sizes would be beneficial for the research field. In addition, using a sample from

a city in the southeastern United States may limit the representativeness and

generalizability of these findings to other less-similar geographical regions. For instance,

in larger cities or rural counties, students' experiences and interactions with people from

their own and other racial groups will be different impacting their racial identity

formation and future orientation development. It is also important to acknowledge that

the cross-sectional and non-experimental design precludes drawing causal inferences

from the data. While the results illustrate various ways that school stratification is

associated with the experiences, perceptions and beliefs of Black youth, it cannot be said

that these were caused by school stratification.

The current study did not find significant differences between economic and

social position for the private and public regard of the multidimensional model of racial

identity. During the writing of my analyses, I was made aware of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity-teen (MIBI-t) that was recently created to examine Black identity development in adolescents. The MIBI-t is a shorter version of the MMRI and consists of three items as opposed to six for the racial centrality, private regard, and public regard scales and participants respond on a 5 point Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree instead of a 7-point Likert scale. In addition, the MIBI-t slightly changes the wording of a few of the items in the scales (e.g., Most people think Blacks are as smart as people of other races (MIBI-t)). While these differences are minor, they could make a difference in the scores for the scales as well as why there were not significant differences found between economic and social position.

I think another limitation of detecting differences in racial identity for the MMRI is that these items do not detect the way adolescents are thinking about race. The results from the qualitative portion of this study indicate that one way Black youth think about race is conflating race and class, which impacts the way they think about what it means to be Black (e.g., language styles). Therefore, in examining racial identity development, it may be important to ask Black youth questions that address race and class in order to have a more accurate description of how Black youth are understanding race. More specific questions about economic and social class in the interviews may have potentially helped unpack how youth think about the intersection of race and class. The interviews did reveal that Black youth from the institutionalized social position may have a negative view of Blacks but believe they are perceived differently. Therefore, when examining racial identity it may be beneficial to explore if there are differences in how Black youth

view themselves and how they believe other Blacks are viewed and why they believe account for these differences.

The survey results did not find significant differences between economic and social position for the future orientation measures. However, as the qualitative results revealed, it is not that Black youth have different aspirations but rather that their knowledge of obtaining them differs. Therefore, differences may have been found with the survey data, if the questions focused on other areas of career aspirations such as what are the strategies needed to obtain their occupation and how much schooling they need to obtain their specified occupation.

Using multiple sources of data collection is a strength for research studies, but may also pose a limitation for the current study. Because students completed the survey prior to the interviews, students' responses during the interviews may have been influenced by what they believed the researcher was expecting based on the survey's content. For example, when students were asked about the factors that cause school tracking, some students may have given responses that were on the survey instead of providing their feelings or thoughts. Future studies can try and control for this limitation by allotting a three-four week time span between survey administration and conducting the interview to give students the opportunity to forget what was on the survey.

Discussion and Future Directions

Research has consistently shown that Black youth are tracked into non-honors classes at higher rates than White youth impacting their learning experiences and preparation for future schooling (Brodbelt, 1991; Oakes, 1990; Tyson, 2011). However,

scholars have paid little attention to tracking placement differences among Black youth, especially as it relates to their social and economic positions. By not exploring within-group differences, scholars may be overlooking the important role that other factors have in contributing to students' tracking placement and their subjective experience of tracking. This study found that Black youth's social position (as measured by parents' education level) was indeed associated with their school track position. Black youth from the institutionalized advantage position were tracked into honors Language Arts at significantly higher rates than Black youth from the institutionalized disadvantage position. These results indicate that social position may play a strong factor in Black youth tracking placement. Future research should explore the relationship between social position and Black youth tracking placement with larger samples to examine whether these findings generalize to other samples. Unexpectedly, students' economic position was not associated with their tracking placement. The relatively small sample size of this study may have contributed to the non-significant finding between tracking placement and economic position because there was low power to detect group differences. Another factor that may have contributed to the non-significant findings is the way income was measured. Due to the limited variability in income from participants, there was only the opportunity to create two economic class groups: low and middle. This may have been due to the way the income category was created with salary in increments of $15,000 (e.g., $0-$15,000; $15,000-$30,000). If salaries were in a lower increment, there may have been more variability to detect differences. Studies with larger sample sizes should

still explore this association to understand if economic position class is significantly associated with school position.

Only two studies have examined the association between schooling performance and racial regard and centrality and these studies found contradictory results. Chavous and colleagues (2003) found that high centrality and high private and public regard were positively associated with academic beliefs while Harper and Tuckman (2006) found that Black youth with low centrality and low public and private regard had higher academic achievement. One important limitation in these studies, which may explain their contradictory results, was not exploring how the school context may influence racial identity development. The results from this study indicated that public regard feelings were negatively associated with racial disrespect, such that the more Black youth believed their racial group was not respected by teachers and peers the lower their public regard feelings. These results suggest that students' school experiences may vary by school and it is these experiences that shape racial identity formation. Therefore, it is important to examine the school context and students experiences within their school when studying racial identity. In addition, perceptions of racial disrespect differed significantly according to students' for social position, such that Black youth from the institutionalized disadvantage position reported not feeling respected at higher rates than youth from the institutionalized advantage social position. The authors in the previous studies did not examine within-race differences based on social or economic position, but this study indicates that future research may need to focus more attention on

understanding how these positions may play a significant role in Black youth racial identity development.

The interviews revealed that Black youth conflate race and social class, which likely influences their perceptions about what it means to be Black and possibly their racial identity formation. For instance, many Black youth from the institutionalized disadvantage social position racialized using Standard English as White. Racializing linguistic style also meant that students from this position perceived that "authentic" Black language style includes slang, profanity, and non-Standard English. Black youth who deviate from this linguistic style are not viewed as authentic and are considered as acting White. Because America is portrayed as a classless society and the implications class has on life is relatively ignored, Black youth lack awareness about class preventing them from being able to discuss differences in class terms. In addition to social position, Black youth also conflated economic position and race. Some Black youth from the low-income position racialized expensive clothing as White. For example, Black youth who wore Uggs were considered to be acting White. The overrepresentation of Black youth in the low-income and institutionalized disadvantage positions can lead Black youth to believe that the ways of being, behaviors, and communication patterns associated with these positions represent authentic Black. Further qualitative research is needed to gain a more in depth understanding of other signifiers around which Black youth may conflate race and social or economic class in determining what it means to be Black. In addition, future research should investigate the ways White youth may conflate race and class to inform their ideas of what it means to be White and Black.

One possible reason Black youth may believe the ways of being from the low-income and institutionalized disadvantage position represent authentic "Black" is because of school and neighborhood segregation. Racial inequalities in education and employment perpetuate the higher poverty rate among Blacks as compared to Whites, contributing to racially and economically segregated neighborhoods and schools (Adelman, 2004; Fauth et al., 2007). As a result, low-income Blacks, predominately from the institutionalized disadvantage social position, reside in similar neighborhoods and middle-class Blacks predominately from the institutionalized advantage position reside in different neighborhoods. This segregation can inform Black youth ideas about what it means to be Black. Policies are needed that change neighborhood structures as well as school districting policies to increase youth exposure to people from their own and other races from diverse economic and social positions. More importantly, policies are needed that challenge class inequality such as living wages and universal childcare to provide more opportunities to low-income and institutionalized disadvantage youth and families. Future research is needed that investigates the way racial identity formation may be similar and/or different based on the schools' racial and class composition. For example, Black youth attending racially homogenous schools may have different racial identity formation than Black youth attending racially heterogeneous schools.

Furthermore, the results from the interviews indicated that Black youth's tracking position did relate to their ideas of what it means to be Black. Because of the limited interaction shaped by school stratification Blacks from the institutionalized advantage and institutionalized disadvantage position have with one another in schools, it can

possibly influence their ideas about what it means to be Black. Black youth in the honors

classes viewed Black youth in their elective classes as "bad" and perceived that this is

how they are viewed by teachers until they prove they are different. In addition to

creating differential learning opportunities these results indicate that school stratification

may play a negative role in informing Black youth ideas about what it means to be Black.

Studies with larger sample sizes may uncover more ways that school stratification

associates with Black youth racial identity formation. Future research should also

examine the ways school stratification may impact White youth's ideas about what it

means to be White and Black.

　　　Black youth perceived that their school position was a result of meritocratic

factors as opposed to structures. As a result, these perceptions associated with students'

beliefs that the honors classes are for smart and well-behaved students who try hard in

school. If youth internalize these perceptions as reflections of themselves as students it

can possibly impact their identity formation as students and their ideas about what is

possible for their future. This study found that regardless of economic or social position,

most Black youth had expectations of attending college and having professional careers.

However, Black youth from the institutionalized advantage position were able to

articulate the type of education needed to acquire these careers as well as name their

future college majors. This unspoken knowledge provides Black youth from the

institutionalized advantage position advantages on strategies to attend college not

provided to Black youth in the institutionalized disadvantage position increasing their

chances of college acceptance.

The results from this study also indicated that school stratification intersects and possibly shapes Black youth's beliefs about what it meant to be Black. Many participants perceived that Black youth had bad behavior and did not care about school, thereby influencing their position in the non-honors class. These negative perceptions about what it means to be a Black student may influence Black youth's ideas about future educational attainment. In exploring Black youth perceptions, it is important to understand how they are internalizing negative perceptions of race, because the experience may be about economic and/or social class differences. However, Black youth may not know how to verbalize the differences they observe as class based.

Summary

The cultural-ecological perspective argues that the schooling institution socializes youth with the competencies needed based on the demands of the environment. Using this perspective, stratifying students into different classes based on race, economic, and social position exits because of the stratified society. By portraying these stratified classes as based on meritocracy legitimates the preparation of youth for different schooling and career trajectories while also aiding in the perpetuation of the racial and class inequality that exists in society. This study illustrated that school stratification did indeed create differential learning and schooling experiences. However, the way students perceived and coped with these experiences varied by their position (track, economic, social) within stratification creating variability in their racial identity and future orientation.

Implications

School stratification is practiced in covert and overt ways in schools. While the preparation of students for different schooling and career trajectories may be explicitly hidden; as this study illustrates, students are aware that students are aware of stratification and that students are perceived and treated differently based on their assigned class. In addition, students perceive that the separation is caused by their academic ability and/or behavior. The inequities in society (e.g., low wages, racial discrimination) create variability in students' cognitive abilities, which makes teaching all students at the same level difficult for teachers (Borman & Dowling, 2010; Mickelson, 2005). Separating students into different classes can help to ensure students are receiving the attention they need as well as increase their academic achievement (Venzant Chambers, Shawn, Huggins, & Scheurich, 2009). However, school stratification does not strengthen students who start school cognitively behind their peers. Instead, school tracking causes teachers to have different expectations for students impacting their instruction and interaction with students (Oakes, 2005) . In addition, this study found that school stratification impacts students' ideas about race as well as how students view themselves as students. Although school stratification has implications for schools and families, this section details the implications of the current study's findings for what schools and families may do to support youth.

One significant reason students have different experiences is due to teachers expectations (Kelly & Carbonaro, 2012; Page & Rosenthal, 1990). In order to combat teachers' negative expectations of students, teachers should be required to attend a school

stratification training that explains how economic and social positioning can impact students' cognitive abilities and the negative consequences of tracking. By understanding how these factors play a role in students' abilities, it can change teachers' beliefs about academic achievement being solely based off individual merit. In addition, this training may change their perceptions of students possibly changing their academic expectations of students. Furthermore, once teachers are aware of how school stratification creates different schooling trajectories for students, they may feel an obligation to ensure all students are learning the same material and have the same opportunities.

Teachers may find it necessary to have different classes based on student need. However, schooling agents have a responsibility to explain to students why they are placed into different classes. By explaining to students that the inequities in society (e.g., racial, economic) provides advantages to some students not afforded to others, and that school tracking placement is a consequence of these inequities, students will not internalize that their placement as a reflection of who they are as students, but understand that resources play a large factor in impacting students cognitive functioning. Furthermore, schools need to be more strategic in assigning students to their core and elective classes. Because students' ideas about race are strongly impacted from their assigned classes, schooling agents should make sure classes are diverse in race, economic, and social positioning as well as cognitive ability. This will ensure that students have opportunities to interact with other students from different social and economic backgrounds than their own to reduce their generalizations about others.

School stratification negatively informs Black youth ideas about race. In order to strengthen Black youth racial identity formation, parents should engage in racial socialization with their children. Racial socialization is described as a developmental process used by parents that aids in informing children about themselves as it relates to their race and racial group (Coard, Wallace, Stevenson Jr, & Brotman, 2004; Hughes et al., 2006). In this developmental process Black parents use verbal and nonverbal behavioral practices to prepare their children for success in a White supremacist society that oppresses their racial group (Caughy, Nettles, O'Campo, & Lohrfink, 2006). There are four components of racial socialization that have been most often studied: preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, cultural socialization, and egalitarianism (Bennett, 2006; Bowman & Howard, 1985; Caughy et al., 2006; Coard & Sellers, 2005; Hughes et al., 2006; Neblett, Chavous, Nguyên, & Sellers, 2009).   Preparation for bias has been defined as preparing children with tools to manage racial discrimination from others (Hughes et al., 2006). Promotion of mistrust is described as messages that encourage Black youth to be cautious in White contexts and in interactions with Whites (Hughes et al., 2006). Cultural socialization refers to teaching youth about Black heritage and history and using cultural traditions and customs to promote racial pride (Hughes et al., 2006; Thornton, Chatters, Taylor, & Allen, 1990). Egalitarianism refers to messages that encourage youth to value individualized qualities and equality (Demo & Hughes, 1990; Thornton et al., 1990). Based on the messages youth internalize about race, it would be important for parents to engage in cultural socialization and promotion of bias messages. Black youth in this study had a tendency to make negative generalizations

about Blacks based on their experiences in their classes. Through cultural socialization messages parents can talk with their children about what it means to be Black and decrease their negative perceptions about being Black. Many Black youth in this study believed that racism was no longer a factor in determining Black youth lives. In promotion of bias, parents could focus on how structural racism plays a factor in their lives and strategies to manage this bias.

REFERENCES

Adelman, R. M. (2004). Neighborhood Opportunities, Race, and Class: The Black
Middle Class and Residential Segregation. *City & Community, 3*(1), 43-63.

Ainsworth-Darnell, J. W., & Downey, D. B. (1998). Assessing the oppositional culture
explanation for racial/ethnic differences in school performance. *American
Sociological Review*, 536-553.

Ansley, F. L. (1997). White supremacy (and what we should do about it). In R. D. J.
Stefancc (Ed.), *Critical white studies: looking behind the mirror* (pp. 592-595):
Temple University.

Anyon, J. (2006). Social class, school knowledge, and the hidden curriculum. In L. Weis,
C. McCarthy & G. Dimitriadis (Eds.), *Ideology, curriculum, and the new
sociology of education: Revisiting the work of Michael Apple* (pp. 37-45). New
York: Routledge.

Apple, M. W. (2004). *Ideology and curriculum*: Routledge.

Applebaum, B. (2010). *Being white, being good: White complicity, white moral
responsibility, and social justice pedagogy*: Lexington Books.

Aronson, J., Lustina, M. J., Good, C., Keough, K., Steele, C. M., & Brown, J. (1999).
When white men can't do math: Necessary and sufficient factors in stereotype
threat. *Journal of experimental social psychology, 35*(1), 29-46. Auger, R. W.,
Blackhurst, A. E., & Wahl, K. H. (2005). The development of elementary-aged

children's career aspirations and expectations. *Professional School Counseling, 8*(4), 322-329.

Baker, J. A. (1999). Teacher-Student Interaction in Urban At-Risk Classrooms: Differential Behavior, Relationship Quality, and Student Satisfaction with School. *The Elementary School Journal, 100*(1), 57-70.

Bandura, A. (1996). Multifaceted impact of self-efficacy beliefs on academic functioning. *Child Development, 67*(3), 1206-1222.

Bandura, A., Barbaranelli, C., Caprara, G. V., & Pastorelli, C. (2001). Self-efficacy beliefs as shapers of children's aspirations and career trajectories. *Child Development, 72*(1), 187-206.

Barnett, W. S., & Larny, C. E. (2013). Achievement Gaps Start Early. *Closing the Opportunity Gap: What America Must Do to Give Every Child an Even Chance*, 98.

Barta, J. J., & Allen, M. G. (1995). The dilemma of tracking and grouping in early childhood and middle grades: are we speaking the same language. *Beyond tracking: Finding success in inclusive schools*, 95-104.

Beal, S. J., & Crockett, L. J. (2010). Adolescents' occupational and educational aspirations and expectations: Links to high school activities and adult educational attainment. *Developmental psychology, 46*(1), 258-265.

Bell, D. (1979). Brown v. board of education and the interest-convergence dilemma. *Harv. L. Rev., 93*, 518.

Benner, A. D., & Graham, S. (2012). The Antecedents and Consequences of Racial/Ethnic Discrimination During Adolescence: Does the Source of Discrimination Matter? *Developmental Psychology Developmental Psychology*.

Bennett deMarrais, K., & LeCompte, M. (1999). Theory and its influences on the purposes of schooling. *The way schools work: A sociological analysis of education*. New York, NY: Longman.

Bennett, M. (2006). Culture and Context: A Study of Neighborhood Effects on Racial Socialization and Ethnic Identity Content in a Sample of African American Adolescents. *Journal of Black Psychology, 32*(4), 479-500.

Bernstein, B. (1971). Class, Codes and Control. Volume 1: Theoretical Studies Towards a Sociology of Language.

Berzin, S. C. (2010). Educational aspirations among low-income youths: Examining multiple conceptual models. *Children & Schools, 32*(2), 112-124.

Bettie, J. (2003). *Women without class: Girls, race, and identity*: Univ of California Press.

Betz, N. (2007). Career Self-Efficacy: Exemplary Recent Research and Emerging Directions. *Journal of Career Assessment, 15*(4), 403-422.

Bluestone, C., & Tamis-LeMonda, C. S. (1999). Correlates of parenting styles in predominantly working-and middle-class African American mothers. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 881-893.

Bolland, J. M. (2003). Hopelessness and risk behaviour among adolescents living in high-poverty inner-city neighbourhoods. *Journal of Adolescence, 26*(2), 145-158.

Bonilla-Silva, E. (2010). *Racism without racists:Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in the United States* (3rd ed.). Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.

Borman, G., & Dowling, M. (2010). Schools and inequality: A multilevel analysis of coleman's equality of educational opportunity data. *Teachers College Record, 112*(5), 1201-1246.

Borman, G. D., Hewes, G. M., Overman, L. T., & Brown, S. (2003). Comprehensive School Reform and Achievement: A Meta-Analysis. *Review of Educational Research, 73*(2), 125-230.

Bourdieu, P. (1973). Cultural reproduction and social reproduction. In R. Brown (Ed.), *Knowledge, education, and cultural change*: Tavistock.

Bowles, S., & Gintis, H. (1976). Schooling in capitalist America: Education and the contradictions of economic life. *New York: Basic*.

Bowman, P. J., & Howard, C. (1985). Race-related socialization, motivation, and academic achievement: A study of Black youths in three-generation families. *Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry, 24*(2), 134-141.

Braddock, J., & Slavin, R. E. (1992). Why ability grouping must end: Achieving excellence and equity in American education. In M. E. Poole & S. Page (Eds.), *Beyond tracking: Finding success in inclusive schools*. Bloomington, Indiana: Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation

Brantlinger, E. (2003). *Dividing classes: How the middle class negotiates and rationalizes school advantage*: Routledge.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology, 3*(2), 77-101.

Breen, R., & Jonsson, J. O. (2005). Inequality of opportunity in comparative perspective: Recent research on educational attainment and social mobility. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 223-243.

Breen, R. J. J. O. (2005). Inequality of opportunity in comparative perspective: Recent research on educational attainment and social mobility. *Annu. Rev. Sociol. Annual Review of Sociology, 31*(1), 223-243.

Brint, S. G. (2006). *Schools and societies*: Stanford University Press.

Brodbelt, S. (1991). How Tracking Restricts Educational Opportunity. *The Clearing House, 64*(6), 385-388. doi: 10.2307/30182083

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1997). Ecological models of human development. *Readings on the development of children*, 37-43.

Brooks-Gunn, J., Duncan, G. J., Klebanov, P. K., & Sealand, N. (1993). Do neighborhoods influence child and adolescent development? *American Journal of Sociology*, 353-395.

Brown, W. T., & Jones, J. M. (2004). The substance of things hoped for: A study of the future orientation, minority status perceptions, academic engagement, and academic performance of Black high school students. *Journal of Black Psychology, 30*(2), 248-273.

Bryant, D., Clifford, R. M., Saluja, G., Pianta, R., Early, D., Barbarin, O., . . . Burchinal, M. (2002). Diversity and directions in state pre-kindergarten programs. *Chapel*

Hill, NC: National Center for Early Development and Learning, FPG Child

Development Institute, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Burris, C. C., & Welner, K. G. (2005). Closing the achievement gap by detracking. *The Phi Delta Kappan, 86*(8), 594-598.

Cabrera, N. (2013). Positive Development of Minority Children (Vol. 27). University of Maryland SRCD Ethnic and Racial Issues Committee.

Cain, K., & Oakhill, J. (2014). Reading comprehension and vocabulary: is vocabulary more important for some aspects of comprehension? *L'Année Psychologique/Topics in Cognitive Psychology*.

Carbonaro, W. (2005). Tracking, students' effort, and academic achievement. *Sociology of Education, 78*(1), 27-49.

Carbonaro, W., & Gamoran, A. (2002a). The production of achievement inequality in high school English. *American Educational Research Journal, 39*(4), 801-827.

Carbonaro, W. J., & Gamoran, A. (2002b). The Production of Achievement Inequality in High School English. *American Educational Research Journal, 39*(4), 801-827.

Carter, P. (2003). "Black"cultural capital, status positioning, and schooling conflicts for low-income African American youth. *Social Problems, 50*(1), 136-155.

Carter, R., & Goodwin, A. (1994). Racial identity and education. *Review of Research in Education, 20*, 291-336.

Caughlan, S., & Kelly, S. (2004). Bridging Methodological Gaps: Instructional and Institutional Effects of Tracking in Two English Classes. *Research in the Teaching of English, 39*(1), 20-62.

Caughy, M., O'Campo, P. J., Randolph, S. M., & Nickerson, K. (2002). The influence of racial socialization practices on the cognitive and behavioral competence of African American preschoolers. *Child Development, 73*(5), 1611-1625.

Caughy, M. O. B., Nettles, S. M., O'Campo, P. J., & Lohrfink, K. F. (2006). Neighborhood matters: Racial socialization of African American children. *Child Development, 77*(5), 1220-1236.

Chambers, T. V. (2009). The "Receivement Gap": School Tracking Policies and the Fallacy of the "Achievement Gap." *The Journal of Negro Education, 78*(4), 417-431. doi: 10.2307/25676096

Chavous, T. M., Bernat, D. H., Schmeelk-Cone, K., Caldwell, C. H., Kohn-Wood, L., & Zimmerman, M. A. (2003). Racial identity and academic attainment among African American adolescents. *Child Development, 74*(4), 1076-1090.

Chiu, D., Beru, Y., Watley, E., Wubu, S., Simson, E., Kessinger, R., . . . Wigfield, A. (2008). Influences of math tracking on seventh-grade students' self-beliefs and social comparisons. *The Journal of Educational Research, 102*(2), 125-136. doi: 10.3200/joer.102.2.125-136

Coard, S., Wallace, S. A., Stevenson Jr, H. C., & Brotman, L. M. (2004). Towards culturally relevant preventive interventions: The consideration of racial socialization in parent training with African American families. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 13*(3), 277-293.

Coard, S. I., & Sellers, R. M. (2005). African American families as a context for racial socialization. *African American family life: Ecological and cultural diversity*, 264-284.

Coker, T. R., Elliott, M. N., Kanouse, D. E., Grunbaum, J. A., Schwebel, D. C., Gilliland, M. J., . . . Schuster, M. A. (2009). Perceived racial/ethnic discrimination among fifth-grade students and its association with mental health. *American Journal of Public Health, 99*(5), 878-884.

Cole, M. (2009). *Critical Race Theory and education : a Marxist response*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Cook, T. D., Church, M. B., Ajanaku, S., Shadish, W. R., Kim, J. R., & Cohen, R. (1996). The Development of Occupational Aspirations and Expectations among Inner-City Boys. *Child Development, 67*(6), 3368-3385.

Cooper, H., Robinson, J. C., & Patall, E. A. (2006). Does homework improve academic achievement? A synthesis of research, 1987–2003. *Review of Educational Research, 76*(1), 1-62.

Creswell, J. W., & Clark, V. L. P. (2007). Designing and conducting mixed methods research.

Crosby, M. S., & Owens, E. M. (1993). *The disadvantages of tracking and ability grouping: A look at cooperative learning as an alternative*: National Dropout Prevention Center at Clemson University.

Cross, W., Parham, T. A., & Helms, J. E. (1991). The stages of Black identity development: Nigrescence models.

Darling-Hammon, L. (2013). Inequality and school resources: What it will take to close the opportunity gap. In P. W. Carter, K. (Ed.), *Closing the Opportunity Gap*. New York: Oxford.

Dearing, E., McCartney, K., & Taylor, B. A. (2009). Does Higher Quality Early Child Care Promote Low-Income Children's Math and Reading Achievement in Middle Childhood? *Child Development, 80*(5), 1329-1349.

Demo, D. H., & Hughes, M. (1990). Socialization and racial identity among Black Americans. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 364-374.

Donelan, R. W., Neal, G. A., & Jones, D. L. (1994). The promise of Brown and the reality of academic grouping: The tracks of my tears. *The Journal of Negro Education, 63*(3), 376-387.

Dreeben, R. (1968). *On what is learned in school*: Addison-Wesley Reading, MA.

Dreeben, R., & Barr, R. (1988). Classroom composition and the design of instruction. *Sociology of Education*, 129-142.

Du Bois, W. E. B. (1903). *The talented tenth*: James Pott and Company.

Duncan, G. J., & Raudenbush, S. W. (2001). Neighborhoods and adolescent development: How can we determine the links. *Does it take a village*, 105-136.

Epps, E. G. (1995). Race, Class, and Educational Opportunity: Trends in the Sociology of Education. *Sociological Forum, 10*(4), 593-608. doi: 10.2307/684773

Erikson, E. H. (1959). Identity and the life cycle: Selected papers. *Psychological issues*.

Fauth, R. C., Leventhal, T., & Brooks-Gunn, J. (2007). Welcome to the Neighborhood? Long-Term Impacts of Moving to Low-Poverty Neighborhoods on Poor

Children's and Adolescents' Outcomes. *Journal of Research on Adolescence,*
17(2), 249-284.

Flores, A. (2007). Examining disparities in mathematics education: Achievement gap or
opportunity gap? *The High School Journal, 91*(1), 29-42.

Fordham, S., & Ogbu, J. U. (1986). Black students' school success: Coping with the
"burden of 'acting white'." *The Urban Review, 18*(3), 176-206.

Frazier, F. (1957). *Black bourgeoisie*: Simon and Schuster.

Gamoran, A. (1987). The stratification of high school learning opportunities. *Sociology of*
Education, 60(3), 135-155. doi: 10.2307/2112271

Gillborn, D. (2005). Education policy as an act of white supremacy: Whiteness, critical
race theory and education reform. *Journal of Education Policy, 20*(4), 485-505.

Giroux, H. A., & Penna, A. N. (1979). Social education in the classroom: The dynamics
of the hidden curriculum. *Theory & Research in Social Education, 7*(1), 21-42.

Gorski, P. (2008). The Myth of the``Culture of Poverty''. *Educational Leadership, 65*(7),
32.

Gottfredson, L. S. (1981). Circumscription and compromise: A developmental theory of
occupational aspirations. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 28*(6), 545.

Griffin, K. A., & Museus, S. D. (2011). Application of mixed-methods approaches to
higher education and intersectional analyses. *New Directions for Institutional*
Research, 2011(151), 15-26.

Grusky, D. B. (1994). *Social stratification : class, race, and gender in sociological*
perspective. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.

Gushue, G. V., Clarke, C. P., Pantzer, K. M., & Scanlan, K. R. (2006). Self-efficacy, perceptions of barriers, vocational identity, and the career exploration behavior of Latino/a high school students. *The Career Development Quarterly, 54*(4), 307-317.

Guyll, M., Madon, S., Prieto, L., & Scherr, K. C. (2010). The potential roles of self-fulfilling prophecies, stigma consciousness, and stereotype threat in linking Latino/a ethnicity and educational outcomes. *JOSI Journal of Social Issues, 66*(1), 113-130.

Hamilton, T. (2009). Understanding the Black College Student Experience: The relationships between Racial Identity, Social Support, General Campus, Academic, and Racial Climate, and GPA.

Hamm, J. V. (2001). Barriers and Bridges to Positive Cross-Ethnic Relations African American and White Parent Socialization Beliefs and Practices. *Youth & Society, 33*(1), 62-98.

Harper, B. E., & Tuckman, B. W. (2006). Racial identity beliefs and academic achievement: does being black hold students back? *Social Psychology of Education, 9*(4), 381-403.

Harris, F. C. (2014). The Rise of Respectability Politics. *Dissent, 61*(1), 33-37.

Hatch, J. A. (2002). *Doing qualitative research in education settings*: SUNY Press.

hooks, b. (1989). *Talking back : thinking feminist, thinking black*. Boston, MA: South End Press.

Houtte, M. V., Demanet, J., & Stevens, P. A. (2012). Self-esteem of academic and

    vocational students: Does within-school tracking sharpen the difference? *Acta*

    Sociologica, 55(1), 73-89. doi: 10.1177/0001699311431595

Hughes, D. (2003). Correlates of African American and Latino parents' messages to

    children about ethnicity and race: A comparative study of racial socialization.

    American Journal of Community Psychology, 31(1-2), 15-33.

Hughes, D., Rodriguez, J., Smith, E. P., Johnson, D. J., Stevenson, H. C., & Spicer, P.

    (2006). Parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices: a review of research and

    directions for future study. *Developmental psychology, 42*(5), 747.

Irvin, M. J., Meece, J. L., Byun, S.-y., Farmer, T. W., & Hutchins, B. C. (2011).

    Relationship of school context to rural youth's educational achievement and

    aspirations. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 40*(9), 1225-1242.

Ivankova, N. V., Creswell, J. W., & Stick, S. L. (2006). Using mixed-methods sequential

    explanatory design: From theory to practice. *Field Methods, 18*(1), 3-20.

Jackson, J. S., McCullough, W. R., & Gurin, G. (1997). Identity Development in Black

    Americans. *Black families*, 251.

Jay, M. (2010). Critical race theory, multicultural education, and the hidden curriculum

    of hegemony. *Multicultural Perspectives: An Official Journal of the National*

    Association for Multicultural Education, 5(4), 3-9.

Johnson, R. B., Onwuegbuzie, A. J., & Turner, L. A. (2007). Toward a definition of

    mixed methods research. *Journal of mixed methods research, 1*(2), 112-133.

Jones, R. K., & Luo, Y. (1999). The culture of poverty and African-American culture: An empirical assessment. *Sociological Perspectives, 42*(3), 439-458.

Kelly, S., & Carbonaro, W. (2012). Curriculum tracking and teacher expectations: evidence from discrepant course taking models. *Social Psychology of Education, 15*(3), 271-294. doi: 10.1007/s11218-012-9182-6

Kelly, S., & Price, H. (2011). The correlates of tracking policy opportunity hoarding, status competition, or a technical-tunctional explanation? *American Educational Research Journal, 48*(3), 560-585.

Kerpelman, J. L., Eryigit, S., & Stephens, C. J. (2008). African American adolescents' future education orientation: Associations with self-efficacy, ethnic Identity, and perceived parental support. *Journal of Youth & Adolescence, 37*(8), 997-1008. doi: 10.1007/s10964-007-9201-7

Kerpelman, J. L., & Mosher, L. S. (2004). Rural African American Adolescents' Future Orientation: The Importance of Self-Efficacy, Control and Responsibility, and Identity Development. *Identity, 4*(2), 187-208.

Kershaw, T. (1992). The effects of educational tracking on the social mobility of African Americans. *Journal of Black Studies, 23*(1), 152-169.

Kohn, M. (1989). *Class and conformity: A study in values*: University of Chicago Press.

Kozol, J. (1991). *Savage Inequalities Children in America's Schools*. New York, New York: Crown Publishers.

Krueger, A. B., & Whitmore, D. M. (2001). The Effect of Attending a Small Class in the Early Grades on College-Test Taking and Middle School Test Results: Evidence from Project STAR. *Economic Journal, 111*(468), 1-28.

Ladson-Billings, G. (2009). Critical Race Theory in Education. *The Routledge international handbook of critical education*, 110.

Lareau, A. (1987). Social class differences in family-school relationships: The importance of cultural capital. *Sociology of Education, 60*(2), 73-85.

Lareau, A. (2003). *Unequal childhoods: Class, race, and family life*: University of California Press.

Leahy, R. L. (1981). The development of the conception of economic inequality. I. Descriptions and comparisons of rich and poor people. *Child Development*, 523-532.

Leech, N. L., & Onwuegbuzie, A. J. (2009). A typology of mixed methods research designs. *Quality & Quantity, 43*(2), 265-275.

Lewis, O. (1959). *Five families: Mexican case studies in the culture of poverty*: Basic Books.

Lewis, O. (1969). The Culture of Poverty. In D. P. Moynihan (Ed.), *On understanding poverty: perspectives from the social sciences* (Vol. 1, pp. 187-200): Basic Books.

Lincoln, Y., & Guba, E. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*: Sage.

Lincoln, Y., Lynham, S., & Guba, E. (2007). Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, and emerging confluences, revisited. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 1-19). Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Lucas, S. R. (1999). Tracking inequality stratification and mobility in American high
schools. from http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=
site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=53639

Martin, M. J., McCarthy, B., Conger, R. D., Gibbons, F. X., Simons, R. L., Cutrona, C.
E., & Brody, G. H. (2011). The Enduring Significance of Racism: Discrimination
and Delinquency Among Black American Youth. *Journal of Research on
Adolescence, 21*(3).

McCabe, & Barnett. (2000a). First Comes Work, Then Comes Marriage: Future
Orientation Among African American Young Adolescents. *Family Relations,
49*(1).

McCabe, & Barnett, D. (2000b). The relation between familial factors and the future
orientation of urban, African American sixth graders. *Journal of Child and
Family Studies, 9*(4), 491-508. doi: 10.1023/a:1009474926880

McCabe, K. M., & Barnett, D. (2000c). The Relation Between Familial Factors and the
Future Orientation of Urban, African American Sixth Graders. *Journal of Child
and Family Studies, 9*(4), 491-508.

McCoy, S. Z. (2013). Navigating racialized contexts the influence of school and family
socialization on African American students' racial and educational identity.

McGee, G. W. (2004). Closing the Achievement Gap: Lessons From Illinois' Golden
Spike High-Poverty High-Performing Schools. *Journal of Education for Students
Placed at Risk (JESPAR), 9*(2), 97-125. doi: 10.1207/s15327671espr0902_2

Menacker, J. (1990). Equal Educational Opportunity: Is It an Issue of Race or Socioeconomic Status? *Urban Education, 25*(3), 317-325.

Merriam, S. B. (1988). *Case study research in education: A qualitative approach*: Jossey-Bass.

Merton, R. K. (1948). The self-fulfilling prophecy. *The Antioch Review*, 193-210.

Mickelson, R. A. (2005). How tracking undermines race equity in desegregated schools. *Bringing equity back: Research for a new era in American educational policy*, 16-48.

Midgley, C., Maehr, M. L., Hruda, L. Z., Anderman, E., Anderman, L., Freeman, K. E., . . . Middleton, M. J. (2000). Manual for the patterns of adaptive learning scales. *Ann Arbor, 1001*, 48109-41259.

Mills, C., & Gale, T. (2007). Researching social inequalities in education: towards a Bourdieuian methodology. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 20*(4), 433-447.

Neblett, E. W., Jr., Chavous, T. M., Nguyên, H. X., & Sellers, R. M. (2009). 'Say it loud—I'm Black and I'm proud': Parents' messages about race, racial discrimination, and academic achievement in African American boys. *Journal of Negro Education, 78*(3), 246-259.

Neblett, E. W., Jr., Smalls, C. P., Ford, K. R., Nguyên, H. X., & Sellers, R. M. (2009). Racial socialization and racial identity: African American parents' messages about race as precursors to identity. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 38*(2), 189-203.

Neblett, N., & Cortina, K. (2006). Adolescents thoughts about parents jobs and their importance for adolescents future orientation. *Journal of Adolescence, 29*(5), 795-811.

Nurmi, J. E. (1987). Age, sex, social class, and quality of family interaction as determinants of adolescents' future orientation: a developmental task interpretation. *Adolescence, 22*(88), 977-991.

Nurmi, J. E. (1989). Development of orientation to the future during early adolescence: A four-year Longitudinal study and two cross-sectional comparisons *International Journal of Psychology, 24*(2), 195.

Oakes, J. (1986). Tracking, inequality, and the rhetoric of reform: Why schools don't change. *Journal of education, 168*(1), 60-80.

Oakes, J. (1990). Multiplying inequalities: The effects of race, social class, and tracking on opportunities to learn mathematics and science.

Oakes, J. (1995). More than meets the eye: Links between tracking and the culture of schools. *Beyond tracking: Finding success in inclusive schools*, 56-68.

Oakes, J. (2005). *Keeping track: How schools structure inequality* New Haven, CT: Yale University.

Ogbu, J. (1981). Origins of human competence: A cultural-ecological perspective. *Child Development, 52*(2), 413-429. doi: 10.2307/1129158

Orr, A. J. (2003). Black-white differences in achievement: The importance of wealth. *Sociology of Education*, 281-304.

Oyserman, D., & Markus, H. (1990). Possible selves in balance: Implications for delinquency. *Journal of Social Issues, 46*(2), 141-157.

Page, S., & Rosenthal, R. (1990). Sex and expectations of teachers and sex and race of students as determinants of teaching behavior and student performance. *Journal of School Psychology, 28*(2), 119-131.

Pattillo-McCoy, M. (1999). Black Picket Fences: Privilege and Peril in the Black Middle Class Neighborhood. *Chicago: Univ. ChicagoPress*.

Phillips, B. A. (1914). The Binet tests applied to colored children. *Psychological Clinic, 8*, 190-196.

Pianta, R. C., Barnett, W. S., Burchinal, M., & Thornburg, K. R. (2009). The effects of preschool education: What we know, how public policy is or is ot aligned with the evidence base, and what we need to know. *Psychological Science in the Public Interest, 10*(2), 49-88.

Ramsey, P. G. (1991). Young children's awareness and understanding of social class differences. *The Journal of Genetic Psychology, 152*(1), 71-82.

Rosenbaum, J. E. (1986). Institutional career structures and the social construction of ability. *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education*, 139-171.

Rumberger, R., & Palardy, G. (2005). Does segregation still matter? The impact of student composition on academic achievement in high school. *The Teachers College Record, 107*(9), 1999-2045.

Schneider, C. (2004). Integrating critical race theory and postmodernism implications of race, class, and gender. *Critical Criminology, 12*(1), 87-103.

Seaton, E., & Yip, T. (2009). School and neighborhood contexts, perceptions of racial discrimination, and psychological well-being among African American adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 38*(2), 153-163. doi: 10.1007/s10964-008-9356-x

Seaton, E. K., Yip, T., & Sellers, R. M. (2009). A longitudinal examination of racial identity and racial discrimination among African American adolescents. *Child Development, 80*(2), 406-417.

Sellers, R., Smith, M. A., Shelton, J. N., Rowley, S. A. J., & Chavous, T. M. (1998). Multidimensional model of racial identity: A reconceptualization of African American racial identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 2*(1), 18-39.

Sellers, R. M., Copeland-Linder, N., Martin, P. P., & Lewis, R. H. (2006). Racial identity matters: The relationship between racial discrimination and psychological functioning in African American adolescents. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 16*(2), 187-216.

Skorikov, V., & Vondracek, F. W. (2007). Positive career orientation as an inhibitor of adolescent problem behaviour. *Journal of Adolescence, 30*(1), 131-146.

Spencer, M. B., Harpalani, V., Cassidy, E., Jacobs, C., Donde, S., Goss, T., . . . Wilson, S. (2006). Understanding vulnerability and resilience from a normative development perspective: Implications for racially and ethnically diverse youth. *Handbook of developmental psychopathology, 1*, 627-672.

Spurgeon, S. L., & Myers, J. E. (2010). African American Males Relationships Among Racial Identity, College Type, and Wellness. *Journal of Black Studies, 40*(4), 527-543.

Steele, C. (2003). Stereotype threat and African-American student achievement. *Young, gifted, and black: Promoting high achievement among African-American students*, 109-130.

Steele, C. M. (1997a). A threat in the air: How stereotypes shape intellectual identity and performance. *American psychologist, 52*(6), 613.

Steele, C. M. (1997b). A Threat in the Air: How Stereotypes Shape Intellectual Identity and Performance. *American psychologist, 52*(6), 613-629.

Steele, C. M. (1999). Thin ice:" Stereotype threat" and black college students. *ATLANTIC-BOSTON-, 284*, 44-54.

Steele, C. M., & Aronson, J. (1995). Stereotype threat and the intellectual test performance of African Americans. *Journal of personality and social psychology, 69*, 797-797.

Tashakkori, A., & Teddlie, C. (2003). The past and future of mixed methods research: From data triangulation to mixed model designs. *Handbook of mixed methods in social and behavioral research*, 671-701.

Teddlie, C., & Tashakkori, A. (2009). *Foundations of mixed methods research: Integrating quantitative and qualitative approaches in the social and behavioral sciences*: Sage Publications Inc.

Terenzini, P. T., Yaeger, P. M., Bohr, L., Pascarella, E. T., & Amaury, N. (1997). African American College Students' Experiences in HBCUs and PWIs and Learning Outcomes.

Terman, L. M. (1916). *The measurement of intelligence: An explanation of and a complete guide for the use of the Stanford revision and extension of the Binet-Simon intelligence scale*: Houghton Mifflin.

Thornton, M. C., Chatters, L. M., Taylor, R. J., & Allen, W. R. (1990). Sociodemographic and environmental correlates of racial socialization by Black parents. *Child Development, 61*(2), 401-409.

Trommsdorff, G., Lamm, H., & Schmidt, R. W. (1979). A longitudinal study of adolescents' future orientation (time perspective). *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 8*(2), 131-147.

Tyson, K. (2011). *Integration interrupted: Tracking, black students, and acting white after brown*: Oxford University Press, USA.

Tyson, K. (2013). Tracking Segregation, and the Opportunity Gap. In P. Carter & K. G. Welner (Eds.), *Closing the Opportunity Gap: What America Must Do to Give Every Child an Even Chance* (pp. 169-180). New York: NY: Oxford.

Valencia, R. R. (1997). *The evolution of deficit thinking : educational thought and practice*. London; Washington, D.C.: Falmer Press.

Vallance, E. (1973). Hiding the hidden curriculum: An interpretation of the language of justification in nineteenth-century educational reform. *Curriculum Theory Network*, 5-21.

Van Houtte, M. (2004). Tracking effects on school achievement: A quantitative

    explanation in terms of the academic culture of school staff. *American Journal of*

    Education, 110(4), 354-388.

Van Houtte, M., Demanet, J., & Stevens, P. A. (2013). Curriculum tracking and teacher

    evaluations of individual students: selection, adjustment or labeling? *Social*

    Psychology of Education, 1-24.

Venzant Chambers, T., Shawn Huggins, K., & Scheurich, J. (2009). To Track or Not to

    Track. *Journal of Cases in Educational Leadership, 12*(1), 38-50.

Vincent, C., Braun, A., & Ball, S. J. (2008). Childcare, choice and social class: Caring for

    young children in the UK. *Critical Social Policy, 28*(1), 5-26.

Weber, M. (1946). Class, status, party. *From Max Weber: essays in sociology*, 180-195.

Wiggan, G. (2007). Race, School Achievement, and Educational Inequality: Toward a

    Student-Based Inquiry Perspective. *Review of Educational Research, 77*(3), 310-

    333. doi: 10.3102/003465430303947

Wilson, J. W. (1987). The truly disadvantaged: The inner city, the underclass, and public

    policy. *Chicago: University of Chicago*.

Wilson, W. J. (1978). *The declining significance of race: Blacks and changing American*

    institutions: University of Chicago Press.

Yin, R. K. (2009). *Case study research: Design and methods* (Vol. 5): Sage.

Yosso, T. J. (2005). Whose culture has capital? A critical race theory discussion of

    community cultural wealth. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 8*(1), 69-91.

Yousman, B. (2003). Blackophilia and blackophobia: White youth, the consumption of rap music, and white supremacy. *Communication Theory, 13*(4), 366-391.

Zigler, E. (1970). Social class and the socialization process. *Review of Educational Research, 40*(1), 87-110.

Zweig, M. (2001). *The working class majority: America's best kept secret*: Cornell University Press.

APPENDIX A

PARENTAL CONSENT PACKET

Students' Views on School, Education and Future Opportunities

Dear Parent/Guardian,

This letter is tell you about an opportunity for your child to participate in a research study being conducted at his/her school through the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

My name is Danielle Crosby and I am a professor at UNCG in the Department of Human Development and Family Studies. I am working with a graduate student, Kamilah Legette, on a study to find out more about what elementary and middle schools students think about their school experiences, educational opportunities and their plans for the future. We hope this information will help designing effective programs for this age group.

Students participating in the study will complete a short survey asking about their ideas and opinions. There is also the option of having your student participate in a 30-minute interview about these same topics. We are also asking parents of participating students to complete a brief 1-page family background information survey. Students participating in the survey will receive a $10 gift card and students participating in the interview will receive a $15 gift card.

To learn more about this opportunity and decide whether your child will participate, please review, sign and return the two consent forms included with this letter. One of the forms is to indicate your permission for us to use the family background information you provide and the other form is to indicate your permission for your child to participate in the study. Please return the materials to your child's school using the enclosed envelope. Even if you decide that you do not want your child to participate, it would be very helpful if you could send the materials back to school indicating your decision.

If you have any questions please feel free to contact us at **dacrosby@uncg.edu** or **k_legett@uncg.edu**. Thanks so much for your time and consideration!

Sincerely,

Danielle Crosby

Parental Consent Form

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT GREENSBORO

CONSENT FOR A MINOR TO ACT AS A HUMAN PARTICIPANT: LONG FORM

Project Title: Students' Views on School, Education and Future Opportunities

Principal Investigator: Dr. Danielle Crosby

Participant's Name: _____

What are some general things you should know about research studies?
Your child is being asked to take part in a research study. Your child's participation in the study is voluntary. You may choose for your child not to join, or you may withdraw your consent for him/her to be in the study, for any reason, without penalty.

Research studies are designed to obtain new knowledge. This new information may help people in the future. There may not be any direct benefit to your child for being in the research study. There also may be risks to being in research studies. If you choose for your child not to be in the study or you choose for your child to leave the study before it is done, it will not affect your relationship or your child's relationship with the researcher, the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, or Guilford County Schools.

Details about this study are discussed in this consent form. It is important that you understand this information so that you can make an informed choice about your child being in this research study. You will be given a copy of this consent form. If you have any questions about this study at any time, you should ask the researchers named in this consent form. Their contact information is below.

What is the study about?
This project is a research study of students' thinking about different opportunities in America, their school experiences, and plans for the future. The goal of this study is to learn new about the perceptions and opinions of children during the elementary and middle school years, and to inform the design of educational mentoring programs. The project involves a short (1-page) questionnaire for parents, a survey for children, and an interview for a subsample of students who would like to participate.

Why are you asking my child?
Your child is eligible to participate in this project because they are in the 3rd, 5th, or 7th grade. Please note that Guilford County Schools is not conducting or sponsoring this research project.

What will you ask my child to do if I agree to let him or her be in the study?
You can give permission for your child to participate in the student survey only, <u>or</u> both the student survey and interview parts of this project. If you provide consent for the survey, your child will be asked to complete a questionnaire about their current school experiences and goals for the future. Topics asked about will include how they feel about school, what they would like to do as they get older, and their ideas about whether children of different genders, racial/ethnic groups, and economic backgrounds have equal opportunities when it comes to education and pursuing different careers. The survey should take 20-30 minutes to complete and will take place at school during a time that is convenient for your child and his/her teacher.

If you also provide consent for your child to participate in the interview, a 30-minute interview will be scheduled at a time and place convenient for your family (e.g., at school during afterschool hours or at home). The interview will include more in-depth questions about the topics asked about in the survey, including their ideas about school, and different pathways for reaching education and career goals.

If you indicate on the consent form that we may contact you in the future about your child participating in a follow-up study next year, you will receive a phone call and/or postcard during the summer of 2015 with information about Part 2 of this study. By consenting to have your child participate in Part 1 of this study this year, you are under <u>no</u> obligation to agree to have them participate in Part 2 in the future.

Is there any audio/video recording of my child?
Interviews will be audio-recorded to fully and accurately capture your child's responses. Because your child's voice will be potentially identifiable by anyone who hears the tape, confidentiality for things said on the tape cannot be guaranteed although the researcher will try to limit access to the tape as described below. Once the interviews are transcribed on to paper, the audio files will be destroyed.

What are the risks to my child?
The Institutional Review Board at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro has determined that participation in this study poses minimal risk to participants, meaning that they are not expected to be greater than what your child would encounter in everyday life. Being interviewed or recorded may be emotionally arousing or stressful for some children. Every effort will be made to make this a fun, interesting, and non-threatening

experience for children. However, if your child should become uncomfortable for any reason during the survey or interview, she or he has the right to skip questions and/or quit the interview at any time, without consequence to them or you.

If you have any questions about your child's participation in this study, their rights, or how they (or the information they provide) will be treated, please contact the Office of Research Integrity at UNCG toll-free at (855)-251-2351. General questions about this project or any benefits or risks associated with the study can be answered by Dr. Danielle Crosby who may be contacted at dacrosby@uncg.edu or (336) 334-4671, or Kamilah Legette at k_legett@uncg.edu.

Are there any benefits to my child or society as a result of this research?
There are no direct benefits to participating in this study, however there are several possible indirect benefits. First, your child may enjoy the opportunity to share their ideas and opinions, and to have them valued as important information. This study may also provide benefits to society by gathering information about the perceptions and motivations of elementary and middle school students. Understanding some of the ways children are motivated to achieve academically may help in the creation of programs that support school success and children's progress toward future goals.

Will my child get paid for being in the study? Will it cost me anything to be in this study?
There are no costs to you or your child for participation in the study. To acknowledge the time effort it takes to participate, your child will receive a $10 gift card for completing the survey and *$15* gift card for participating in the 30-minute interview session. Because surveys will be administered during the school day, the gift card for your child participating in the survey (even if not fully completed) will be mailed to the home address you provide.

How will my child's information be kept confidential?
All information obtained in this study is strictly confidential, unless disclosure is required by law. All forms, surveys, and audio files will be labeled by number only and will *not* contain your names or other identifying information, and will be stored in a file cabinet in the lead researcher's office. A de-identified electronic data file (which will not contain your child's name or other identifying information) will be kept on a computer in the lead researcher's office in compliance with best practices for data security. A master list with participant names and identification numbers will be kept in a locked file cabinet separate from the physical and electronic data. Only research team members in the Department of Human Development and Family Studies at UNCG will have access to study forms and data. No references will be made in any oral or written reports that connect your child or family to this study.

A summary of results, but <u>no</u> individual student information or identifying information, will be shared with teachers and staff at participating schools. At the completion of data collection and entry (approximately 2 years), the master list linking participant names and identification numbers will be destroyed by shredding the document. Other physical study materials (consent forms, surveys, and interview transcripts) will be kept for 7 years and then destroyed by shredding.

What if my child wants to leave the study or I want him/her to leave the study?
You have the right to refuse to allow your child to participate in this study, or to withdraw him or her at any time, without penalty. The investigators also have the right to stop your child's participation at any time. This could be because your child has had an unexpected reaction, has failed to follow instructions, or because the entire study has been stopped. If your child does withdraw, it will not affect you or your child in any way and they will still receive the gift card(s) mentioned above. If you or your child chooses to withdraw, you may request that any data that has been collected be destroyed unless it is in a de-identifiable state.

What about new information or changes in the study?
If significant new information relating to the study becomes available that may influence your willingness to have your child participate, this information will be provided to you.

Voluntary Consent by Participant:
By signing this consent form (on the next page), you are agreeing that you have read it or it has been read to you, you fully understand the contents of this document and consent to your child taking part in this study. All of your questions concerning this study have been answered. By signing this form, you are agreeing that you are the legal parent or guardian of the child who wishes to participate in the study described above.

Students' Views on School, Education and Future Opportunities –
Parent/Guardian Consent for Minor to Participate

Child's Name: _____ Child's Age: _____

Child's Grade Level: _____ School Name: _____

Parent/Guardian's Name: _____

Relationship to Child: _____ Best Contact Number:_____

Please mark one of the options below and sign and date this form to indicate whether you are willing to have your child participate in this study. *Regardless of your decision about your child's participation, please return this page to your child's teacher with the name and grade information completed above. This will help us to keep track of who has received study information.*

☐ I agree for my child to participate in the **survey part of this project only**.

☐ I agree for my child to participate in **both the survey and interview parts of this project**.

☐ I **do not agree** for my child to participate in this project.

_____   _____
Parent/Legal Guardian's Signature   Date

IF you have granted permission above for your child to participate in any part of this study, please also provide the address to which the gift card(s) should be sent (and a phone number for scheduling the interview).

_____ (Name)

_____ (Street Name)

_____ (City, State, Zip Code)

Also, do we have your permission to re-contact you by mail during Summer 2015 to let you know about an opportunity for your child to participate in a follow-up study during the 2015-2016 school year?

☐ YES
☐ NO

Students' Views Study—Family Information Sheet (Demographic Form)

1. Number of people in your household: _____

2. What is the <u>highest</u> level of education that the child's parent(s)/guardian(s) have completed?

    2a. Parent/Guardian #1: ___ Male   or   ___Female

        ☐ Less than High School
        ☐ Some High School
        ☐ Completed High School
        ☐ Some College
        ☐ Bachelor's Degree (completed 4-yr degree)
        ☐ Some Graduate School
        ☐ Graduate Degree (e.g., Master's, PhD, MD)

What college(s) or universities did PG1 attend?

_____

_____

    2b. Parent/Guardian #2: ___ Male   or   ___Female

        ☐ Less than High School
        ☐ Some High School
        ☐ Completed High School
        ☐ Some College
        ☐ Bachelor's Degree (completed 4-yr degree)

        ☐ Some Graduate School
        ☐ Graduate Degree (e.g., Master's, PhD, MD)

What college(s) or universities did PG2 attend?

_____

_____

3. Is the child's parent/guardian currently employed?

    3a. Parent/Guardian #1

        ☐ No
        ☐ Yes   If so, what is their occupation?
        _____

    3b. Parent/Guardian #2

        ☐ No
        ☐ Yes   If so, what is their occupation?
        _____

4. Which category best describes your household's annual income?

- ☐ 0 - $15,000
- ☐ $15,000 - $30,000
- ☐ $30,000 - $45,000
- ☐ $45, 000 - $60,000
- ☐ $60,000 - $80,000
- ☐ $80,000 - $100,000
- ☐ Greater than $100,000

5. Child's race/ethnicity:

_____

APPENDIX B

ASSENT FORM

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT GREENSBORO

CONSENT TO ACT AS A HUMAN PARTICIPANT

Project Title: Students' Views on School, Education and Future Opportunities
Project Staff: Dr. Danielle Crosby (Lead Researcher); Kamilah Legette (Graduate Research Assistant)

Participant's Name: _____

What are some general things you should know about research studies?

You are being asked to take part in a research study. Your participation in the study is voluntary. You may choose not to join, or you may withdraw your consent to be in the study, for any reason, without penalty.

Research studies are designed to obtain new knowledge. This new information may help people in the future though there may not be any direct benefit to you for being in the research study. There also may be risks to being in research studies. If you choose not to be in the study or leave the study before it is done, it will not affect your relationship with the researcher, the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, or Guilford County Schools.

Details about this study are discussed in this consent form. It is important that you understand this information so that you can make an informed choice about being in this research study. You will be given a copy of this consent form. If you have any questions about this study at any time, you should ask the researchers named in this consent form. Their contact information is below.

What is the study about?

This project is a research study of students' thinking about educational opportunities, their school experiences, and plans for the future. The goal of this study is to learn new about the perceptions and opinions of children during the elementary and middle school years, and to inform the design of educational mentoring programs. The project involves a short questionnaire for parents, a questionnaire for students, and an interview for a subset of students who would like to participate.

Why are you asking me?

You are eligible to participate in this project because you have a child in 3rd, 5th, or 7th grade. Please note that Guilford County Schools is not conducting or sponsoring this research project.

What will you ask me to do if I agree to be in the study?

If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to complete the short 1-page questionnaire included in this information packet. We estimate that it will take 5 minutes or less to complete.

Is there any audio/video recording?

There will not be any audio/video recordings.

Are there any benefits to me or society as a result of me taking part in this research?

You and your child's participation in this study will help us to better understand how students think about their school experiences and future goals and opportunities.

Will I get paid for being in the study? Will it cost me anything?

No, you will not get paid for participation, but your child will receive payment (by gift card) for their participation in the survey and/or interview.

How will you keep my information confidential?

All information obtained in this study is strictly confidential, unless disclosure is required by law. All forms, surveys, and audio files will be labeled by number only and will not contain your names or other identifying information, and will be stored in a file cabinet in the lead researcher's office. A de-identified electronic data file (which will not contain your child's name or other identifying information) will be kept on a computer in the lead researcher's office in compliance with best practices for data security. A master list with participant names and identification numbers will be kept in a locked file cabinet separate from the physical and electronic data. Only research team members in the Department of Human Development and Family Studies at UNCG will have access to study forms and data. No references will be made in any oral or written reports that connect your child or family to this study.

A summary of results, but no individual student information or identifying information, will be shared with teachers and staff at participating schools. At the completion of data collection and entry (approximately 2 years), the master list linking participant names and identification numbers will be destroyed by shredding the document. Other physical study materials (consent forms, surveys, and interview transcripts) will be kept for 7 years and then destroyed by shredding.

What about new information/changes in the study?

If significant new information relating to the study becomes available that may influence your willingness to continue to participate, this information will be provided to you.

What are the dangers to me?

The risks encountered in this research study are minimal, meaning that they are not expected to be greater than what you would encounter in everyday life. If you feel uncomfortable answering questions you have the right to skip questions and/or not complete the questionnaire.

If you have questions about participation in this study, your rights, or how you and the information you provide will be treated, please contact the Office of Research Integrity at UNCG toll-free at (855)-251-2351. General questions about this project or any benefits or risks associated with the study can be answered by Dr. Danielle Crosby who may be contacted at dacrosby@uncg.edu or (336) 334-4671, or Kamilah Legette at k_legett@uncg.edu.

What if I to leave the study?

You have the right to withdraw from the study at any time, without penalty. If you withdraw from the study, it will not affect you or your child in any way and he/she will still receive the gift card(s) mentioned above. If you or your child chooses to withdraw, you may request that any data that has been collected be destroyed unless it is in a de-identifiable state.

Voluntary Consent by Participant:

By signing this consent form you are agreeing that you read it (or it has been read to you), you fully understand the contents of this document and are openly willing to take part in this study. All of your questions concerning this study have been answered. By signing this form, you are agreeing that you are 18 years of age or older and are agreeing to participate.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

APPENDIX C

SURVEY

Hello Students! Thank you for agreeing to complete this survey on Students' Views on School, Education, and Future Opportunities. This is not a test and there are <u>NO</u> right or wrong answers. We just want to learn how students your age think about school, how they feel about their school experiences, and their plans for the future. You do not need to put your name on your paper. Your answers are anonymous and confidential which means your teachers nor your parents will know how you respond. Please remember to answer all questions on the front and back of each sheet.

THANK YOU!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

1. For each statement below, please CIRCLE the number that matches how well it describes you.

	Not Like Me				A Lot Like Me
School is easy for me.	1	2	3	4	5
I achieve goals I set for myself.	1	2	3	4	5
It is difficult for me to make new friends.	1	2	3	4	5
I give up on things before completing them.	1	2	3	4	5
When things happen that I didn't plan, I don't handle them well.	1	2	3	4	5
I do not feel confident about things I do.	1	2	3	4	5
I give up easily.	1	2	3	4	5
I am a good student.	1	2	3	4	5
I do most things well.	1	2	3	4	5
I am worried about doing well in school.	1	2	3	4	5
I am just as smart as other students.	1	2	3	4	5
If something looks complicated I do not try it.	1	2	3	4	5
I am not a very good student.	1	2	3	4	5

2. How true do you feel the following statements are for you?

	Not at All True	A Little Bit True	Somewhat True	Quite a Bit True	A Lot True
Even if I do well in school, it will <u>not</u> help me have the kind of life I want when I grow up.	1	2	3	4	5
My chances of succeeding later in life depend on doing well in school.	1	2	3	4	5
Doing well in school improves my chances of having a good life when I grow up.	1	2	3	4	5
Getting good grades in school will guarantee that I will get a good job when I grow up.	1	2	3	4	5
Even if I am successful in school, it will <u>not</u> help me fulfill my dreams.	1	2	3	4	5
Doing well in school will help me have a satisfying career when I grow up.	1	2	3	4	5

3. If you could go as far as you wanted to in school, how far would you *like* to go?

☐ Go to high school, but not necessarily graduate

☐ Graduate from high school

☐ Train in a skilled trade after high school (e.g., mechanic, hair stylist, electrician, plumber)

☐ Military training after high school

☐ Some college classes after high school

☐ Finish 2-year college degree

☐ Finish 4-year college degree

☐ Go to graduate school to earn a professional degree (e.g., doctor, lawyer, business owner)

4. Sometimes what we would *like* to happen is not the same as what we think will *really* happen, but other times these are the same. How far do you think you *really will* go in school?

☐ Go to high school, but not necessarily graduate

☐ Graduate from high school

☐ Train in a skilled trade after high school (e.g., mechanic, hair stylist, electrician, plumber)

☐ Military training after high school

☐ Some college classes after high school

☐ Finish 2-year college degree

☐ Finish 4-year college degree

☐ Go to graduate school to earn a professional degree (e.g., doctor, lawyer, business owner)

```
The next few questions ask about the opportunities
          you think kids in this city have.
```

5. Do you think that all kids in this city have the same chance as other kids . . .

	Not at All True	A Little Bit True	Somewhat True	Quite a Bit True	A Lot True
… to go to a school that is safe?	1	2	3	4	5
… to go to a school that is fun?	1	2	3	4	5
… to go to a school that has enough materials (books, computers, supplies)?	1	2	3	4	5

	Not at All True	A Little Bit True	Somewhat True	Quite a Bit True	A Lot True
… to go to a school that has good teachers?	1	2	3	4	5
… to go to a school that is in good condition?	1	2	3	4	5
… to go to a school that will help them be successful?	1	2	3	4	5

6. IF some kids have a better chance than others to go to a good school, is it because of . . .

	No	Yes, Sometimes	Yes, Most Times
…their grades?	1	2	3
…their test scores?	1	2	3
…how smart they are?	1	2	3
…how they behave?	1	2	3
…their racial group (e.g. Black, White, Latino)?	1	2	3
…whether they are a boy or a girl?	1	2	3
…how hard they try in school?	1	2	3
…how much money their family has?	1	2	3
…where they live?	1	2	3
…how well the teachers/staff know their family?	1	2	3
…the language their family speaks	1	2	3
…whether their family came to America from a different country	1	2	3

The next few questions ask about the type of job you would like to have when you are an adult.

7. What type of job do you hope you will have as an adult?

ANSWER: _____

8. How important are the following reasons for why you would want this job?

	Not at All Important	A Little Bit Important	Somewhat Important	Quite a Bit Important	Very Important
I could make a lot of money with this job.	1	2	3	4	5
I think I would be good at this job.	1	2	3	4	5
This job could make me famous.	1	2	3	4	5
I think I would enjoy doing this job.	1	2	3	4	5
This job helps people.	1	2	3	4	5
My family wants me to have this job.	1	2	3	4	5
People with this job have power.	1	2	3	4	5
I think this job would be easy for me to get	1	2	3	4	5

9. Are there other reasons you would like to have this job?

If yes, please tell us what they are: _____

_____

_____

10. Have you talked to anyone about wanting to have this job when you're an adult?

If yes, who?

_____

11. Do you know someone who has the same job as the one you hope to have? (PLEASE CHECK <u>ALL</u> THE ANSWERS THAT ARE TRUE FOR YOU)

☐ No, I do not know anyone who has this job

☐ Yes, someone in my family has this job

☐ Yes, someone in my neighborhood has this job

☐ Yes, someone at my school has this job

☐ Yes, someone I have seen on TV, in a movie, or on the internet has this job

12. How far in school do you think you need to go to get this type of job? (PLEASE CHECK ONE)

☐ Go to high school, but not necessarily graduate

☐ Graduate from high school

☐ Train in a skilled trade after high school (e.g., mechanic, hair stylist, electrician, plumber)

☐ Military training after high school

☐ Some college classes after high school

☐ Finish 2-year college degree

☐ Finish 4-year college degree

☐ Go to graduate school to earn professional degree (e.g., doctor, lawyer, business owner)

13. How sure are you that you will have this job as an adult? (PLEASE CHECK ONE)

☐ I am sure I will NOT have this job.

☐ I probably will NOT have this job.

☐ I really don't know if I will have this job or not.

☐ I probably WILL have this job.

☐ I am sure I WILL have this job.

14. How much do you worry that the following things will make it difficult to get the job you would like to have?

	Not at All Worried	A Little Bit Worried	Somewhat Worried	Quite a Bit Worried	Very Worried
There are not enough jobs like this available.	1	2	3	4	5
I am not smart enough to get this job.	1	2	3	4	5
My parents do not want me to get a job like this.	1	2	3	4	5
I do not know what I need to do to get this job.	1	2	3	4	5
I may not try hard enough to get this job.	1	2	3	4	5
The racial group (e.g., Black, White, Latino) I am in may make it hard to get this job	1	2	3	4	5
My gender (male/female).	1	2	3	4	5
I will not have enough education to get this job.	1	2	3	4	5
I will not have attended the "right" schools for this job.	1	2	3	4	5

	Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Somewhat Unlikely	Likely	Very Likely
Have a job that pays well?	1	2	3	4	5

16. Sometimes adults worry about not having enough money. How much do you worry that when you grow up you will not have enough money to . . .

	Not at All Worried	A Little Bit Worried	Somewhat Worried	Quite a Bit Worried	Very Worried
Pay bills?	1	2	3	4	5
Buy food?	1	2	3	4	5
Afford a place to live?	1	2	3	4	5
Support your family?	1	2	3	4	5

```
The next few questions ask about you and your
                 racial group.
```

17. Which of the following terms describes your racial group? (PLEASE CHECK <u>ALL</u> THE ANSWERS THAT ARE TRUE FOR YOU)

☐ Black

☐ White

☐ Latino/Hispanic

☐ Asian

☐ American Indian/Native American

☐ Other _____

18. Which language(s) does your family speak at home? (PLEASE CHECK <u>ALL</u> THE ANSWERS THAT ARE TRUE FOR YOU)

☐ English

☐ Spanish

☐ Mandarin

☐ French

☐ Vietnamese

☐ Other _____

19. How much do you agree with the following statements about your racial group?

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree A little	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Agree a little	Strongly Agree
I feel good about people in my same racial group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I am happy to be a part of my racial group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I feel that people in my racial group have made major accomplishments and advancements.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I often regret that I am a member of this race.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I am proud to be a member of this race.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree A little	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Agree a little	Strongly Agree
I feel that the members of my racial group have made valuable contributions to society.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Overall, people of my racial group are considered good by others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
In general, others respect people in my racial group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Most people consider people in my racial group to be less effective than other racial groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
People in my racial group are not respected by society.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
In general, other groups view my racial group in a positive manner.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Society views people in my racial group as an asset.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Overall, my race has very little to do with how I feel about myself.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
In general, my race is an important part of my self-image	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree A little	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Agree a little	Strongly Agree
My destiny is tied to the destiny of other people in my same racial group	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My race is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I have a strong sense of belonging to others in my racial group	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I have a strong attachment to other people in my racial group	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My race is an important reflection of who I am	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My race is not a major factor in my social relationships	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

20. How much do you agree with the following statements about your racial group . . .

	No, this does not happen at my school	Yes, Sometimes this happens at my school	Yes, this happens a lot at my school
At my school, teachers treat students in my racial group unfairly	1	2	3
At my school, peers treat students in my racial group unfairly	1	2	3

	No, this does not happen at my school	Yes, Sometimes this happens at my school	Yes, this happens a lot at my school
At my school, students in my racial group are punished harsher than other students	1	2	3
At my school, teachers respect students in my racial group	1	2	3
At my school, other students respect students in my racial group	1	2	3
At my school, teachers do not like the way students in my racial group dress	1	2	3
At my school, teachers do not understand students in my racial group	1	2	3

The last set of questions ask about experiences at your school.

21. **At some schools, kids are divided into different classes based on different reasons. At your school are kids divided into different classes based on . . .**

	No, this does not happen at my school	Yes, Sometimes this happens at my school	Yes, this happens most of the time at my school
…their grades?	1	2	3
…their test scores?	1	2	3
…how smart they are?	1	2	3
…how they behave?	1	2	3
…their racial group (e.g., Black, White, Latino)?	1	2	3
…whether they are a boy or a girl?	1	2	3

	No, this does not happen at my school	Yes, Sometimes this happens at my school	Yes, this happens most of the time at my school
…how hard they try to learn in school?	1	2	3
…how much money their family has?	1	2	3
…where they live?	1	2	3
…how well the teachers/staff know their family?	1	2	3
…the language their family speaks	1	2	3
…whether their family came to America from a different country	1	2	3

22. Are there any other things that you think your school uses to decide which classes students are in or which teachers they will have? If so, please describe them here:

_____

_____

_____

23. In some schools students are treated differently by other students. At your school, do you think some students are treated differently by other students because of …

	No, this does not happen at my school	Yes, this happens sometimes	Yes, this happens most of the time at my school
Their grades	1	2	3
The class(es) they are in	1	2	3
Their behavior at school	1	2	3
Their racial group (e.g., Black, Latino)	1	2	3

	No, this does not happen at my school	Yes, this happens sometimes	Yes, this happens most of the time at my school
Whether they are a boy or a girl	1	2	3
Their attitude about school	1	2	3
How much money their family has	1	2	3
The neighborhood they live in	1	2	3
How well teachers/staff know their family	1	2	3
The language their family speaks	1	2	3
Whether their family came to America from a different country	1	2	3

24. In some schools students are treated differently by teachers than other students. At your school, do you think some students are treated differently by teachers because of . . .

	No, this does not happen at my school	Yes, this happens most of the time at my school	Yes, this happens sometimes
Their grades	1	2	3
The class(es) they are in	1	2	3
Their behavior at school	1	2	3
Their racial group (e.g., Black, Latino)	1	2	3
Whether they are a boy or a girl	1	2	3

	No, this does not happen at my school	Yes, this happens most of the time at my school	Yes, this happens sometimes
Their attitude about school	1	2	3
How much money their family has	1	2	3
The neighborhood they live in	1	2	3
How well teachers/staff know their family	1	2	3
The language their family speaks	1	2	3
Whether their family came to America from a different country	1	2	3

25. **In some schools there are some things that matter for the type of activities or clubs kids join. At your school, do any of the following things matter for _which activities or clubs kids do_?**

	No, this does not matter at my school	Yes, this matters most of the time at my school	Yes, this sometimes matters at my school
Their grades	1	2	3
The class(es) they are in	1	2	3
Their behavior at school	1	2	3
Their racial group (e.g., Black, Latino)	1	2	3
Whether they are a boy or a girl	1	2	3

	No, this does not matter at my school	Yes, this matters most of the time at my school	Yes, this sometimes matters at my school
Their attitude about school	1	2	3
How much money their family has	1	2	3
The neighborhood they live in	1	2	3
How well teachers/staff know their family	1	2	3
The language their family speaks	1	2	3
Whether their family came to America from a different country	1	2	3

26. In some schools the way kids become friends are based on many different reasons. At your school, do you any of the following things matter for _which kids are friends with one another_?

	No, this does not matter at my school	Yes, this matters most of the time at my school	Yes, this sometimes matters at my school
Their grades	1	2	3
The class(es) they are in	1	2	3
Their behavior at school	1	2	3
Their racial group (e.g., Black, Latino)	1	2	3
Whether they are a boy or a girl	1	2	3

	No, this does not matter at my school	Yes, this matters most of the time at my school	Yes, this sometimes matters at my school
Their attitude about school	1	2	3
How much money their family has	1	2	3
The neighborhood they live in	1	2	3
How well teachers/staff know their family	1	2	3
The language their family speaks	1	2	3
Whether their family came to America from a different country	1	2	3

27. How much do you the following things matter for *how* **YOU** *are treated at school by other kids***?**

	No, this does not matter	Yes, this matters most of the time	Yes, this matters sometimes
Your grades	1	2	3
Your racial group (e.g., Black, Latino)	1	2	3
Your behavior at school	1	2	3
Because you are a girl or boy	1	2	3
Your attitude about school	1	2	3
How much money your family has	1	2	3

	No, this does not matter	Yes, this matters most of the time	Yes, this matters sometimes
The neighborhood you live in	1	2	3
How well teachers/staff know your family	1	2	3
The classes you are in	1	2	3
The language your family speaks	1	2	3
Whether your family came to America from a different country	1	2	3

28. How much do the following things matter for *how <u>YOU</u> are treated at school by teachers*?

	No, this does not matter	Yes, this matters most of the time	Yes, this matters sometimes
Your grades	1	2	3
Your racial group (e.g., Black, White, Latino)	1	2	3
Your behavior at school	1	2	3
Because you are a girl or boy	1	2	3
Your attitude about school	1	2	3
How much money your family has	1	2	3
The neighborhood you live in	1	2	3
How well teachers know your family	1	2	3

	No, this does not matter	Yes, this matters most of the time	Yes, this matters sometimes
The classes you are in	1	2	3
The language your family speaks	1	2	3
Whether your family came to America from a different country	1	2	3

29. **At your school, which types of classes have different levels such as honors, advanced, or basic? (PLEASE CHECK <u>ALL</u> THE ANSWERS THAT ARE TRUE)**

    ☐ Math

    ☐ Language Arts/English

    ☐ Science

    ☐ Social Studies/History

    ☐ Art

    ☐ Music

    ☐ Languages (e.g., Spanish, French)

30. **Once students at your school are put into a certain level class for Language Arts/English (for example, honors, advanced, basic, remedial), how likely is it that they will be in a *different* level class the next year?**

    ☐ Not at all likely

    ☐ A little bit likely

    ☐ Somewhat likely

    ☐ Very likely

    ☐ Not very likely

31. **Even if you do not think it is very likely for students to move from one level of Language Arts/English to another level the next year, is it EVER possible?**

☐ Yes

☐ No

32. **Once students at your school are put into a certain level Math class (honors, advanced, basic, remedial), how likely is it that they will be in a different level class the next year?**

☐ Not at all likely

☐ A little bit likely

☐ Somewhat likely

☐ Very likely

☐ Not very likely

33. Even if you do not think it is very likely for students to move from one level of Math to another level the next year, is it EVER possible?

☐ Yes

☐ No

34. What are some things you like best about your school?

_____

_____

_____

_____

35. What are some things you would change about your school if you could?

_____

_____

_____

_____

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Thank you for agreeing to help me out today by sharing your ideas and opinions about a few things. Basically, I want to learn about what adolescents your age think about school, your plans for the future, and how you feel about your racial group. There are no right or wrong answers to any of my questions, this is really just about your ideas and opinions. Because I don't think I will be able to write down everything we talk about, I am going to record us talking to one another and then I can type it out later.

<ins>Intro</ins>

To start off, can you please tell me a little bit about yourself? For example . . .
- What are your favorite classes?
- What types of things do you like to do for fun?
- How long have you been at this school?
- Where did you go for elementary school?

Ok, now I have some questions are about the future and any plans, hopes or dreams you might have for your adult life.

<ins>Future Orientation</ins>

1) When you think about your future, what are some things that come to mind?
- What do you see happening to you in the next 5 years? – do you have any specific plans?
- What do you think high school will be like?
- How do you see your life when you are 21 years old?
- What about 30 years old?
- What are some things you hope for when you an adult? Is there anything that you worry about?

2) What type of career do you think you will have? Why?
- What do you need to do to have this career?
- What do you think can help you have this career? What about stop you?
- Do your teachers talk about your future with you? Your parents?

School Experiences

Now I have some questions about your school and what it is like to be a student here.

1) How would you describe this school to someone who knows nothing about it?

2) Please describe to me what a typical day in school is like for you.
   - What parts of the day do you usually enjoy the most? Least?
   - Tell me about your experiences in your Language Arts classes with Mr./Ms..? peers?
   - What types of things/concepts are you learning in your Language Arts class?
   - How do you think Mr./Mrs. feel about students in your class? How does she/he talk to students?
   - Do you get homework? If so, can you give me an example of one of your homework assignments?
   - How do you think your experiences in your Language Arts class influence how you feel about Language Arts? About school this year? Has this changed from last year?

In some schools, students are put into different levels of classes (particularly for math and language arts)…

3) Please tell me about the levels of Math/Language Arts classes that exist at your school. What level of Math/Language Arts are you in?

4) What do you think are the differences between the students who are in your classes and not in your classes? Similarities? Give me examples of any differences you've noticed. Similarities? What did that experience make you think about school ? Similarities?
   - Do you think school will be like this in high school?

5) What are your thoughts about the way you (students) are divided into classes? Why do you think students are divided that way?
   - How do you think students' Race influence the class they are in? Gender? the amount of Money their family has? the way students talk? the way they dress? The education their parents have?
   - Tell me what you think are benefits (good reasons) for dividing students this way. Tell me what you think are negative reasons for dividing students this way?

6) Do you think your teacher has positive, negative, or mixed expectations of students in your Math/Language Arts class? Why do you think that? Can you give me an example of something your teacher has said or done to make you think this way? Is this how you think
   - What type of negative things do other students say about people who are in your Math/Language Arts class versus students' who are not in your class? Can you give me examples of what they say? What does that mean to you?   How do you handle what the kids say?

- What type of positive things do people say about people who are in your Math/Language Arts class versus students' who are not in your class? Can you give me examples of what they say? What does that mean to you?   How do you handle what the kids say?

7) How do you think parents' education matters for their kids' lives? For their school experiences? What about how much money their parents make? How does that matter for their kids life? School experiences?

Racial Identity

One of the things I am interested in learning about is how adolescents feel about their racial group. Adolescents your age have many different feelings and ideas about race. The way you feel about your race may be similar and/or different to how other adolescents feel about their race. Remember there are no right or wrong answers to these questions. I am just interested in knowing how you feel and how you think others at your school feel.

1) What does it mean for you to be Black? What have you been taught about being Black?
   - Is this something that is very important to you or not as important as other parts of yourself? Is being Black something you think about a lot, sometimes, or hardly at all? Is it something you talk about at home with your family a lot, sometimes, or hardly at all?

2) Does the race of students matter at your school? Why do you think this? Are there things you think Black students experience in this school that non-Black students do not experience? If you had to describe to a new student who was Black what to expect at your school, what would you tell him/her?
   - Can you give me an example of an experience that makes you think Black student experiences are different? similar? From that experience, how did that influence what you think it means to be Black? Being Black at school? How did that experience influence your feelings about being Black in the future? about school in the future?

3) How do you think Black students are viewed in school by peers compared to students who are not Black? What about from Teachers? Do you think kids at this school view or treat Black students differently than non-Black students? What are some reasons you think this? Would your answer to this question change if I asked you about students from specific racial groups? For example, do White students view or treat Black students differently than non-Black students? What are some reasons you think this? What about teachers?
   - How do you think you are perceived by others (teachers, peers) at your school compared to others students who are not Black?

- Are there differences in how you are viewed or treated by teachers than other Black students? Give me an example of when you experienced being treated differently by teachers than other Black students? What do you think caused this difference?
- What about from peers? Give me an example of when you experienced being treated differently by peers than other Black students. What do you think caused this difference? How did those experiences influence your feelings about being Black at school?

4) Are there differences in ways some Black students talk, from other Blacks at your school? What about how they act? Dress? Behave in classes? What do you think explains these differences?

- Do you think the education Black parents have matters for their kids' lives? What about for their school experiences? What about how much money Black parents make, does that matter for kids life? School experiences?

5) Have you ever heard of the term "acting white"? If so, please tell me what this term means to you. Have you heard kids or adults at this school or in your neighborhood use this term? Can you tell me about a time you were called that, you heard someone called that, or you called someone that in school? How did that make you feel?

- Have you ever heard of the term "ghetto"? If so, please tell me what this term means to you. Have you heard kids or adults at this school or in your neighborhood use this term? Who were they calling ghetto and why? Can you tell me about a time you were called that, you heard someone called that, or you called someone that in school?
- Have you ever heard of the term "acting Black"? If so, please tell me what this term means to you. Have you heard kids or adults at this school or in your neighborhood use this term? Who were they saying it to and why? Can you tell me about a time you were you heard someone called that or you called someone that in school?

Final Question
Is there anything else you want to share with me about your future, school experiences, or about being Black that I did not ask?

APPENDIX E

LIST OF TABLES

Table 7

Factor Analysis for Racial Schooling Treatment

	Loadings		
	Factor 1: Peers	Factor 2: Teachers	Factor 3: Racial disrespect
How much does your racial group matter for how you are treated at school by other kids	.675	.084	.132
At my school, peers treat students in my racial group unfairly	.545	.030	-.044
At your school, do you think some students are treated differently by other students because of their racial group	.865	.095	-.049
At your school, do you think racial group matters for which kids are friends with one another	.892	.083	.221
At my school, teachers treat students in my racial group unfairly	.253	.604	.404
At my school, teachers do not like the way students in my racial group dress	-.046	.624	.110
How much does your racial group matter for how you are treated at school by teachers	.316	.648	.034
At my school, students in my racial group are punished harsher than other students	.053	.870	.002
At your school, do you think some students are treated differently by teachers because of their racial group	.260	.824	.041
At my school, teachers do not understand students in my racial group	.105	.105	.604
At my school, other students respect students in my racial group (reversed)	.143	-.434	.590
At my school, teachers respect students in my racial group (reversed)	-.373	.077	.705
Eigenvalue	3.482	1.964	1.577
% of Total Variance	29.0	16.4	13.1
Total Variance			58.5%

Table 8

Mean of Racial Identity Variables

	Economic Position				Social Position			
	Low Income		Middle Class		Institutionalized Non-Advantage		Institutionalized Advantage	
Racial Identity Variables	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Public Regard	4.3	.68	4.3	.65	4.2	.59	4.4	.70
Private Regard	5.6	1.31	5.8	1.23	5.4	1.04	5.7	1.41

Table 9

Analysis of Co-Variance for Private Regard by Economic Position

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
Gender	.72	1	.72	.46	.49
Language Arts Position	1.34	1	1.34	.87	.36
Social Position	1.6	1	1.6	1.0	.32
Income Level	.52	1	.52	.36	.56
Error	52.57	34	.72		
Total	1256.22	39			

Table 10

Analysis of Co-Variance for Private Regard by Social Position

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
Gender	.47	1	.47	.23	.59
Language Arts Position	1.7	1	1.7	1.1	.31
Income Level	.18	1	.18	.11	.74
Social Position	.08	1	.08	.05	.82
Error	56.20	35	.46		
Total	1294.25	40			

Table 11

Analysis of Co-Variance for Public Regard by Economic Position

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
Gender	.23	1	.23	.49	.49
Language Arts Position	1.34	1	1.34	.00	.64
Social Position	.10	1	.10	.21	.98
Income Level	.00	1	.00	.13	.72
Error	15.79	35	.72		
Total	735.58	39			

Table 12

Analysis of Co-Variance for Public Regard by Social Position

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
Gender	.17	1	.17	.377	.54
Language Arts Position	.03	1	.03	.06	.79
Income Level	.11	1	.11	.26	.61
Social Position	.06	1	.06	.00	.94
Error	15.67	34	.46		
Total	755.83	40			

Table 13

Analysis of Co-Variance for Racial Centrality by Economic Position

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
Gender	.23	1	.23	.05	.83
Language Arts Position	.87	1	.87	.17	.79
Social Position	.03	1	.03	.07	.67
Income Level	.04	1	.04	.09	.75
Error	16.73	34	.72		
Total	675.31	39			

Table 14

Analysis of Co-Variance for Skepticism about School for Future Success by Economic
Position

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
Gender	.00	1	.00	.02	.89
Language Arts Position	.09	1	.09	.18	.68
Social Position	.63	1	.63	1.19	.28
Income Level	.13	1	.13	.24	.63
Error	18.02	34	.53		
Total	717.60	39			

Table 15

Analysis of Co-Variance for Skepticism about School for Future Success by Social
Position

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
Gender	.01	1	.01	.02	.88
Language Arts Position	.23	1	.23	.48	.49
Income Level	.24	1	.24	.44	.51
Social Position	.40	1	.40	.75	.34
Error	18.66	35	.53		
Total	742.60	40			

Table 16

Analysis of Co-Variance for Barriers to Dream Job by Economic Position

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
Gender	1.23	1	1.23	2.02	.16
Language Arts Position	.08	1	.08	.13	.72
Social Position	.93	1	.93	1.5	.22
Income Level	.00	1	.00	.00	.93
Error	20.77	34	.611		
Total	160.88	39			

Table 17

Analysis of Co-Variance for Barriers to Dream Job by Social Position

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
Gender	1.8	1	1.8	3.15	.08
Language Arts Position	.02	1	.02	.03	.09
Income Level	1.7	1	1.7	2.96	.85
Social Position	.05	1	.05	.08	.78
Error	20.55	35	.58		
Total	161.88	40			

Table 18

Analysis of Co-Variance for Future Schooling Expectations by Economic Position

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
Gender	.08	1	.08	.03	.85
Language Arts Position	6.03	1	6.03	2.59	.11
Social Position	.08	1	.08	.03	.86
Income Level	3.28	1	3.28	.39	.67
Error	77.00	34	2.33		
Total	1866.00	38			

Table 19

Analysis of Co-Variance for Future Schooling Expectations by Social Position

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
Gender	.43	1	.43	.18	.67
Language Arts Position	6.42	1	6.42	2.78	.11
Income Level	.64	1	.64	.28	.60
Social Position	1.01	1	1.01	.39	.48
Error	78.58	35	1.1		
Total	1915.00	39			

Table 20

Analysis of Co-Variance for Students Occupational Aspirations by Economic Position

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
Gender	.84	1	.84	.79	.38
Language Arts Position	.02	1	.02	.02	.89
Social Position	1.08	1	1.08	1.03	.32
Income Level	.20	1	.20	1.4	.24
Error	35.69	34	1.05		
Total	301.00	39			

Table 21

Analysis of Co-Variance for Students Occupational Aspirations by Social Position

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
Gender	.85	1	.85	.77	.34
Language Arts Position	.05	1	.05	.05	.83
Income Level	.00	1	.00	.00	.98
Social Position	1.6	1	1.6	.46	.51
Error	38.36	35	1.1		
Total	317.00	40			

Table 22

Analysis of Co-Variance for FEQ by Economic Position

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
Gender	.29	1	.29	.86	.37
Language Arts Position	.39	1	.39	1.15	.29
Social Position	.19	1	.19	.54	.48
Income Level	.38	1	.38	1.01	.30
Error	11.67	34	.34		
Total	692.87	39			

Table 23

Analysis of Co-Variance for FEQ by Social Position

Source	SS	Df	MS	F	P
Gender	.08	1	.08	.21	.65
Language Arts Position	.19	1	.19	.51	.48
Income Level	.13	1	.13	.36	.55
Social Position	.06	1	.06	.16	.67
Error	12.85	35	.37		
Total	716.63	40			