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Fall December 30, 2016

Understanding Differences in Pedagogical Practice Between Advantaged and Disadvantaged Schools

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NATIONAL-LOUIS UNIVERSITY

Understanding Differences in Pedagogical Practice Between Advantaged and Disadvantaged Schools

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN FULFILLMENT

OF THE REQUIREMENTS

FOR THE DEGREE

DOCTORATE IN COMMUNITY PSYCHOLOGY

By

Ericka Mingo
A look at the failures of education in the United States, more specifically in poor and African-American neighborhoods, might lead to the assumption that districts, schools, and teachers are simply unable to figure out the proper ways to educate young people in disadvantaged communities. That, despite research, and wildly expensive programing, a difference simply cannot be made. When such an assumption is made, one must point to upper-class institutions, and speculate why they have not been used as a model for schools in need of an educational boost. Why have their pedagogical practices have not been enacted in disadvantaged schools, in an effort to right the ship, and bring about balance and equity in school systems?

In an attempt to understand why obvious solutions have been ignored, a look at classism may be useful. Classism is a greater construct than mere socio-economic condition. If low income alone were to blame, the dollars spent in the way of correcting the issue through various programs, might have compensated for the educational disparities experienced by disadvantaged youth populations. Barkan (2011) found that, through philanthropy, private companies are spending over 4 billion dollars annually in order to support and transform education, mostly in low income schools (e.g., the public funds spent on programs such as After School Matters in Chicago). However, the investment has meant little in terms of closing performance gaps in between lower and upper class schools. Economics alone is not the cause of the disparities in learning among the nation’s affluent and poor children. First order solutions focus on single issues such as economics. More comprehensive second order understandings are needed to reduce disparities in our education system. Considering factors such as racism,
resulting in tracking, low expectations, and unfair and even unspoken policy is needed for the
closer analysis which might bring about greater equity.

This paper suggests that class, in its multifaceted manifestations, could be a potential source of
disparity within our school system. Differential approaches to pedagogy, based on class, may be
present in education. The lessons that may be learned from pedagogical disparities are
enormous, and may help understand how educational practice can move beyond inequality,
toward a more empowered design of tomorrow’s educational practices.

Classism and Education

In making the claim that class plays a key role in understanding why disparities exist, it is
necessary to take a closer look at classism itself. The origins of education help glean knowledge
of the places in which pedagogical practice and class initially collide, and deconstruct where
such practices were established.

Although education has traditionally been seen as a great equalizing force of the U.S.,
There have been many shifts in pedagogical practice which have shaped how students in the
United States learn. Horace Mann introduced the graded system in the mid-19th century in an
attempt to bring efficacy to American schools. Mann helped open the Quincy Grammar School
in 1848, which initiated a shift from monitorial style learning to the graded systems which are
presently the norm (Hunt, Carper, Lasley, & Raisch, 2010). Students were grouped by age,
assigned one teacher per year, and given a curriculum, containing a set body of knowledge,
which they were to have acquired by the end of the set year. At this juncture in American
pedagogical development, education shifted from an institution existing primarily for the privileged to a service for the general populace. During these initial phases of reconstruction era education there was little in the way of student separation by class or even race, beyond the geography of one’s residence.

As the Reconstruction Era progressed, education for the poor African-American population began to take a more purposeful form. It is at this juncture that initial governmental and institutional pedagogical practice was developed, uniquely for a particular race and class of people. Goldhaber (1992) wrote that Oliver Otis Wilder was the first commissioner of the Freedman’s Bureau, which operated from 1865 through 1872, initially under President Lincoln, and was instrumental in the creation of schools for former enslaved African-Americans. The Reconstruction Era bureau encouraged former plantation owners to rebuild their plantations, and attempted to foster an employer-employee relationship, as opposed to a relationship between owner and slave. The Bureau created schools for African-Americans recently freed from physical bondage. By 1865, over 90,000 African-Americans were enrolled in public schools. The Bureau published books, for the new African-American schools, that focused heavily on pulling oneself up by their bootstraps. Lessons from the life of Abraham Lincoln and excerpts from the Bible were primary tools for learning. Lessons focused on forgiveness and emphasized humility, work ethic, loving your enemies, and the avoidance of bitterness. It can be argued that the lessons taught were intended to manipulate the African-American population, and were focused more on the safety of White persons and their wealth, than the education of the African-American population. In this way the beginnings of a unique
education, specifically for the African-American population is seen. Unlike the education for the general population, the education for the African-American population was one of control. The goal of the curricula advanced by the Freedman’s Bureau was to create a humble and forgiving ex-slave, more easily controlled, and less of a threat. This foundation marks the post-slavery continuation of disparity in education based on class, and has arguably reverberated throughout pedagogical progression in the United States as it pertains to the education of African-American students.

In many ways education for the ex-slave centered around the creation of individuals best suited to the needs of the dominant population, and less the cultivation of talent, and exploration of possibility with the youth at hand. The intrinsic needs of a budding population, still reeling from brutalization and exploitation, were ignored in the education provided to them. Race, at this juncture, seemed tethered to class position in that skin color was the dominant basis for class position and limited mobility, as opposed to poor Whites, whose class position was based on wealth and familial standing, and for whom mobility was quite possible. In the 1840’s African-Americans seeking entry into industrial labor were met with ferocious White resistance. European immigrants were selected for positions time and again essentially reserving key jobs for Whites while locking African-Americans out one of many opportunities for class mobility. (Saxton, 2003)

By 1900 most US states required by law that children attend some form of schooling through a minimum age of 14 (Lingwall, 2010). John Dewey, in the early 20th century, sought to reform education yet again. He proposed that education should serve to prepare students for
their future lives, and that it should offer a means by which pupils may hold command of self, and maintain the full and ready use of all their capacities. Dewey met with quite a bit of restriction from the bureaucracies of his day, which opposed educational reform. There was an advocacy present, in the societal shift embedded in his writing, which demanded a new look at education and its real purpose. Dewey understood the necessity for intrinsically driven education. Progressive thought on the impact that education could have on the democratic practices of a nation moving forward was the basis for the development of an experimental school.

Founded by Dewey, and for the purpose of enacting his ideas, the University of Chicago opened the Laboratory School. The Laboratory School served a predominantly wealthy population. Dewy began to promote the notion that progressive education could not be reserved for affluent students of a dominant ethnicity. Poor White students gained access to the Lab school, although opportunity was slim. The African-American population however was locked out entirely. Stach (2009) explained that Dewey understood the dangers of this practice all too well, and even petitioned for funding for separate African-American schools in Chicago.

Educational practices continued to move forward in the United States with a clear and calculated effort to control access to learning for African-American Students. At each pedagogical paradigm shift there was care taken to ensure that African-American students would receive an education separate from White students. It is believed that this was due to xenophobia of sorts, and that a fear of the other drove these practices; however African-Americans were present in many spaces in American society, serving in subordinate positions,
and even dwelling in White homes. African-American women suckled White infants, and prepared meals for White families in the most intimate of settings.

Less than xenophobia, maintenance of a subordinate class seems to be the cause of structural disadvantage for lower class African-American populations. A myriad of such divisional systems began to take form in American society. During the Reconstruction era, when most African-American people were clamoring for survival resources, education served more to train individuals to serve the needs of the greater White society, than to attend to their own personal growth and understanding. The education of the “Negro” was a romantic, but unfulfilled notion, which actually served to lock African-American people out of a great number of opportunities. Opportunity may have been possible, if they were not mandated into a school system which imparted a harmful message of subservient class position and inferiority. The pseudo upward mobility of the U.S., which our education system supposedly afforded, was never quite reached for low class African-American Students.

In 1957, in Little Rock Arkansas, by force of federal troops, Central accepted its first African-American students in enforcement of Brown vs the Board of Education, the US court ruling of 1954. The ruling ended the separate but equal doctrine which openly allowed for segregated schools, and forced integration. The civil rights movement in the 1960’s and 1970’s focused a great deal on integration of schools. Integration was a lengthy and expensive process that disrupted education for low class African-Americans and which even today has not become a reality.
Through educational integration, African-American neighborhoods were fragmented, as students from closely knit neighborhoods and schools were bussed to far away schools in which they were unwelcome. As African-American students began to fill these schools, White students began to vacate. What remained were African-American students, no longer educated by African-American teachers in their own neighborhoods, but in fragmented communities and under segregation yet again. This outcome was no accident. Wilson (1998) found that despite economic inequality, African-American schools, from the Reconstruction Era to the present, produced some of the nation’s greatest scholars. An African-American elite was forming nationwide. African-American cities such as Tulsa, Oklahoma, known as Black Wall Street, were evidence of growth. A swelling educated and self-sustained African-American population was emerging, which did not serve the larger White population. The result was the burning of Black Wall Street, and other measures which served to ensure that the African-American population would be reoriented to the best interest of the dominant group. The desegregation of schools and greater society, served this purpose, under the pretense of equality. Desegregation, the burning of Black Wall Street, and other similar historical measures, toward maintenance of a low class African-American population in a subservient position, can aid in the understanding of the ways in which class, in conjunction with race and pedagogy, have historically intersected.

The Intersection of Class, Race and Education

A brief gleaning of the way in which modern education has developed, suggests a design of ineffectual socialization and social control. Most specifically, it has been class focused, which, in this country, has been inextricably linked to race. It can be argued that education of African-
Americans in this country has been purposefully ineffective, from laws prohibiting literacy throughout slavery, to the bungled initiatives in the predominantly African-American schools of today.

In 2004, Fine, Roberts, and Torree found that in urban cities like New York, only 47% of African-American males in public education graduate from, while 78% of White males do. They also found that 56% of Whites are tracked into rigorous courses, compared to 33% of African-American students, and only 27% of Latino students. Kozol (2005) found that in a district where only 4% of students were low income, and 91% were White, the spending per student was $17,261 annually, compared to a school district where 79% of students were African-American or Latino that spent only $9,299 per student. The inequity is clear. It can be argued that race plays a role in the inequity through societal norms, cyclical class restrictions, a combination of the two, or other factors not yet noted.

Schools in the U.S. are, in many places, segregated. This would not be problematic, at least in terms of the education of a child, if it were not for the inequality extant in the distribution of resources. Often, when a dialogue begins about race, there is a rush to focus on the many ways that we are separated. However, a more primary concern is the lack of resources which accompanies class consideration, exacerbated by race. Division and segregation can, in many instances, be a tool for the maintenance of unequal resource, but is often mistakenly viewed as the problem itself. Needed is a more focused look at what might abate the inequity and provide students with the resources and educational experiences for lower class students to receive the best possible education.
Race, income levels, social capital, and other factors are working together in ways that shape learning in different American class structures. Massey (2008) found that students in lower class schools are more likely to experience violence and crime, and have access to fewer resources. Exposure to violence increases personal stress levels, and has a negative impact on academic performance. This negative impact can be seen in data for secondary schools. Ferguson (2007) discovered, in a secondary data analysis of a comprehensive survey of 7,120 students in 95 schools from 15 districts in middle and high income areas, in which 44% of African-American students reported they often receive C and D grades while only 14% of White students reported receiving C and D grades. Fifty-five percent of African-American students reported comprehension levels of less than half of the course content, while only 29% of White children reported the same lack of comprehension. Additionally, Caldas and Bankston (1998) examined achievement on graduation exit exams from segregated schools, controlling for family education level, parent occupation status, and income. They found that African-American children performed substantially worse than their White counterparts.

Classism

Social class is often understood solely as an economic factor. However, this limits a fuller understanding of how class differences are experienced. When looking at class as merely an economic construct, it becomes difficult to see how class differences and classism manifest. Therefore, to capture this complexity, this study defines class as a multifaceted construct.
A more complex sociological conceptualization of social class has been suggested by Bourdieu (1986) including a combination of economic, social, and cultural capital. Bourdieu discusses economic capital as the money that a person has available; he defines social capital as the networks available to a person, which can provide access to various types of economic and cultural capital. Cultural capital is understood as the knowledge and familiarity with the cultural practices of the dominant culture. It is also important to consider institutionalized classism when thinking about class. Institutionalized classism consists of organizational structures, policies, and procedures that differentially affect individuals based on their social and class background (Lott, 2002).

**Pedagogy as a Creator of School Climate**

How students experience an educational setting may have many implications for much of their adult orientation to being a lifelong learner in our everyday world. These experiences can effect what they learn, how well they learn, how they feel about themselves as a learner, and how they may continue to approach learning and dealing with life challenges in the future. Pedagogy is the method or practice of teaching employed to reach educational outcomes and may have serious implications for student experiences of school and their learning. Therefore, the pedagogical practices teachers employ in relation to their students are a key component of creating a potentially empowering school climate.

Pedagogical practice encompasses more that the individual teacher’s or body of instructor’s philosophy of education, but involves the social climate itself. (Murphy & Gipps,
2003) describe pedagogy is an interactive art, ebbing and flowing popular thought about the purpose of education should be, the practice of which is determined by many factors. Teachers may take on the task of “normalizing” a child, or supporting students until the obtain standalone competence. Often times the role of the teacher and education overall depends on the needs of the greater society at any given time. (Freire, 1970) introduced the idea of dialogical and ant-dialogical pedagogy, wherein students are either active participants in their education, participating in an exchange or dialogue with their instructors, or passive in their education, in that teachers fill them up with a set of facts “banking” information, which they are required to possess, with little to no input from the student. There is a need to understand the environment in which any pedagogy is being practiced, in order to understand the pedagogy itself. (Bernhardt and Geise, 2013) discuss the need to assess the climate of a school in order to understand the ways in which learning is taking place, suggesting that through analysis of demographics, perceptions, student learning, and school processes, a pedagogical understanding can be obtained. School climate here is the primary conceptual tool being used to understand the moving parts of pedagogical practice. An analysis of the (Bernhardt, Bradley, and Geise, 2009) School Climate Survey reveal six domains in which the majority of the questions in the survey fit into. The domains are: 1) rigor, 2) autonomy 3) opportunities for leadership, 4) faculty expectations of excellence, 5) the presence or lack of an atmosphere of respect, and 6) an encouraged positive self-concept. This conceptual definition is how we will proceed to examine the overall pedagogical practice of an institution.
A common connotation for the aspect of social climate represented by *rigor* surrounds the ideas of advancement and pacing, placing heavy importance in achieving outcomes, fairly quickly, and then advancing to the next achievement. If education is conducted in this way, it is considered, popularly, to be rigorous. Shor and Freire (1986) discuss the concept of rigor as a desire to know. It is viewed as a critical search for an answer. When viewed from this light the discussion of rigor inside and outside of the classroom changes, allowing for a look at how learning is attained, or if it is the end goal at all. Rigor as a pedagogical construct in this study is understood as the creation of opportunities for the critical search of answers.

*Autonomy* concerns the level of control that a student has over learning. Farcas (2012) noted that the purpose of an education, which focuses on autonomy, involves the self-regulation behaviors. That is students learn through opportunities for autonomy, to construct their own behaviors based on choices that they have made, which have been successful in the classroom, and school environment. Students engaged in this process of impacting their own learning landscape, and constructing and correcting their own behaviors, have the ability to impact school climate in a great many ways. Coterral (2000) found that educational student autonomy exists when students possess a measure of control over the determination of content, the selection of resources and techniques, and the assessment process.

Instructional practices and pedagogy encourage leadership opportunities to vary between schools. Tsung, Chien, Yao-Ming, and Yao-Yu (2012) pulled from the research of multiple sources, in order to construct a view of leadership. One definition, highlighted by the study, suggests that it is a process which includes the influence and motivation of others.
Another proposes that leadership is a social influence; wherein individuals seek the aid and support of others, in the accomplishment of a task. These two concepts in concert define leadership, for the purpose of this study, and aid in the understanding of a schools cultivation of students through pedagogical practice.

The atmosphere of respect within the environment in which learning is to take place is a large component of pedagogy which is often overlooked. Dills and Mulholland (2010) suggest that learning environments influence educational outcomes. The spaces in which students work, and the ways in which they are treated in those spaces, directly impact learning. If a student feels respected in an environment, they may feel as though they are a part of a whole. In this way, students are more likely to focus on learning, and less on mistreatment and other distractions associated with a hostile or disrespectful environment. This paper understands an atmosphere of respect as one in which students are treated fairly, as valued members of a school community.

Braun, (1976) found that teacher expectations are self-fulfilling prophecies, which can have a significant impact on learning outcomes. What an instructor expects of a student is linked to the unspoken respect which emerges between them. There are differences in the ways in which respect is translated, as well as the ways in which students are encouraged to view themselves. These differences are key factors in understanding pedagogy and learning. Expectations for students do not rest solely with instructors. The expectation of the administration and other school staff can impact student learning as well. The expectation of school personnel for any student or group of students is understood as faculty expectation.
Given the importance of pedagogical practice and social climate between institutions serving primarily upper-class families, and institutions serving primarily lower class families, this study aims to examine the student narratives of their school experiences.

**Methods**

A concurrent mixed method approach was utilized in order to understand the differences in pedagogical practice between the affluent group, attending The advantaged school, and the disadvantaged group, attending The disadvantaged school. Two Studies were conducted. Study 1 consisted of quantitative data collected via survey, and analyzed with a non-experimental, comparative approach, for the purpose of collecting informative data about the pedagogical practices of the institution. In Study 2, qualitative data was collected, via interview, and analyzed through a social constructivist perspective. This approach was best suited for this study because the value placement is on the views, values, beliefs, feelings, and assumptions of the students enrolled in the respective schools, as opposed to a predetermined method. Creswell (2007) found that in this way, a theory can take shape, grounded in the narratives of those interviewed. Five students from each school participated in a 10 min open ended in person interview, at the school sight, with the researcher. Study 3 consisted of narrative analysis, through the lens of Freireian theory. Smith (1995) suggests that narrative analysis is useful for the purpose of a holistic approach to preserving data in context, while keeping nuance intact. This approach has been used in prior research. A study of third and fourth graders used the narrative approach to understand the construction of knowledge, and was able to draw distinction between African-American boys and a larger group, based on
written student recounting of a class trip. Daiute (1995) argues that narrative language is the medium through which reality and socially constructed reality can best be studied. In an attempt to understand social constructs around pedagogical practice in advantaged and disadvantaged schools, it is important to preserve context and nuance, in order to protect the integrity of the participant’s story and experience.

**Participants and School Context**

Before further describing the participants and measures, it is helpful to get a more contextual description of how the two schools were chosen for comparison. Some of the nation’s suburbs, particularly in the Chicagoland area, are home to an ever swelling population of individuals living in poverty, in many cases by as much as 50% or more over the course of only a few years. Howell and Timberlake (2013) found that although a nationwide phenomenon, the Chicagoland area has been impacted by this increasing statistic in an interesting way. The northern suburbs remain steadfast populations of economic health, housing middle class, and upper middle class populations. South-Suburban populations however, are on a steady economic decline. An increasing number of impoverished people are relocating to these townships from the City of Chicago.

The growing population of economically challenged families in the South-Suburban landscape, which is impacting relationships between townships and villages. The state of Illinois has a unique system for funding schools; local districts fund approximately 61 percent of school cost through local property taxes, while only 28 percent of costs are covered with state funds.
The remaining 11% of costs are covered primarily through federal funding and or grants. This formula has impacted the funding available to schools, serving increasing numbers of lower class families. Lower class families tend to bring down the property value in the neighborhoods in which they reside. As a result, the property taxes in their neighborhoods decrease, significantly decreasing the funds available to the schools that serve them.

Predominantly African-American townships in the southern suburbs are home to the majority of new residents beneath the poverty line. The majority of predominantly White townships are not beneath the poverty line. In fact, many White residents have relocated to townships that have maintained a more economically healthy resident base. This has created a class divide across suburbs. The divide is visible in the economic position of schools serving families on opposite sides of a newly drawn class lines. Growing differences in population and economic class has created a dynamic useful to understanding the ways in which education has been divided along class lines. Therefore, two South-Suburban Illinois schools have been selected. The schools were selected as representative of s serving upper and lower class populations.

The schools examined in this study were chosen based on who they serve; both upper and lower class populations. As mentioned previously, the selection criteria for class differences centered on determinants of economic, social, and cultural capital. Social capital was determined by the networks available to a person, as well as the ways in which individuals have been socialized, offering either advantage or disadvantage based on proximity to dominant social norms. Cultural capital was understood as knowledge and familiarity with cultural
practices of the dominant culture. Economic capitol was determined by the mean prices of all housing units (2009) for the townships in which the majority of students for the respective schools reside. The combination of these factors equate to class position. Social and cultural capital was determined by data reported by the respective institutions and public demographic information. Determinants including school achievement, location, and other factors were used in the school selection process to ensure an accurate picture of both the upper and lower class groups, while controlling for factors unrelated to the topic of interest.

The advantaged school was selected as the sample institution representative of the upper class or affluent group. The advantaged school is located in a south-west suburb of Chicago, Frankfort. The school serves a total of 2182 students, primarily from the village of Frankfort. Over 60% of students meet the math, science and reading standards on state achievement test. School reports show that 8% of the student population is low income, which is they receive some form of public assistance. Eighty-five percent of the students are White. The estimated median house or condo value in Frankfort in 2009 was $340,531. The median household income in 2012 in Frankfort was $108,690.

The disadvantaged school was selected as the sample institution representative of the lower class, or disadvantaged group. The disadvantaged school is located in the southern Chicago suburb, Chicago Heights. The school serves a population of 1576 students, the majority of which reside in the village of Ford Heights. For this school, 37% of students meet reading standards and 26% of students have met science and math standards on the states achievement test. Illinois State Board of Education data reported that over 80% of the students
served are low income. The majority of the students, 60.5% are African-American. The estimated median house or condo value in Ford Heights in 2012 was $68,627. Median household income in 2012 in Ford Heights was $20,998.

A convenience sample of 47 disadvantaged school students, and 69 students from the advantaged school were selected as survey participants. Students were identified at The disadvantaged school by an instructor. Students were identified at The advantaged school by the assistant principal. Five students from each school were selected as interview participants. Some of the students participating in the interviews were a part of the survey process. Most students were 18 years old. Fewer than 5 students from either school were under the age of 18. Parental consent was obtained for all participants. All students were required to sign a participation consent form. Five students from each school participated in an open ended interview process

**Study 1: Quantitative Results**

The School Climate Survey (Appendix B) is a close-ended questionnaire with ordered choices, and was selected to understand the pedagogical practices of the two institutions. Previously, Lowery (2008) made use of this survey in order to gain greater understandings of the student’s perception of their high school experience. Bernhardt, Bradley, and Geise (2009) utilized the survey as a response to interventions toward school improvement. The School Climate Survey was adapted in order to better assess the pedagogical practices of the schools being examined. Several questions, non-essential to pedagogical understandings, were omitted.
The survey consisted of 40 Likert scale questions, measuring pedagogical practice across 6 domains: rigor, autonomy, opportunities for leadership, faculty expectations of excellence, the presence or lack of an atmosphere of respect, and an encouraged positive self-concept.

The 116 survey participants were administered the School Climate Survey (Appendix B), at their respective schools. The advantaged school students were administered the survey in 3 separate groups, divided by homeroom. The disadvantaged school students were administered the survey as a large group, in the school library. Students were given an unlimited amount of time to complete the survey. The advantaged school participants returned the survey to the researcher before exiting the classroom. The disadvantaged school students returned the survey to the instructor facilitating the administration of the survey. Surveys were given to the researcher by the administrating instructor at The disadvantaged school the same day that the survey was taken.

A non-experimental approach was taken to collect data for the School Climate Survey. Descriptive statistics were run in order to measure pedagogical practice. The variables were operationalized in order to statistically test the research hypothesis. A Cronbach’s alpha was run in order to determine reliability of the Likert scales, as well as to validate the measured construct, pedagogical practice. Crosstabs were used to compare data between the two cases.

**Descriptive Statistics**
Descriptive statistics were run on the overall population in order to determine the
degree to which students felt a sense of responsibility for their education. Overall the
population primarily agreed that they felt responsible for their education. (M=3.87, SD=.96).

Reliability

A Cronbach’s alpha was run on five subdomains of pedagogical practice in order to test
for internal reliability. The rigor subscale consisted of 4 items (a = .604), the autonomy subscale
consisted of 4 items (a = .633), the faculty expectation of excellence subscale consisted of 4
items (a = .757) the atmosphere of respect subdomain consisted of 5 items (a = .829) and the
encouraged positive self-concept subdomain consisted of 4 items (a = .783)

Linear regression analysis was used to test the predictors for sense of responsibility.
Predictors in the equation included student voice, encouragement, and expectation. The only
significant, prediction was student voice (β = .177, p < .049). Therefore, students that felt that
they had a voice in their school were more likely to feel a sense of responsibility for their
education.

In order to determine how the students at the two schools differed in their attitudes
toward education and the school climate, independent samples t-test were run on a variety of
the primary variables. Table 1 reveals that across a large portion of these items, the
disadvantaged school students had higher means. The higher means reflect that they were
more likely to agree on survey items such as, their teachers listened to them, that they were
respected and cared for, and that they were challenged by their teachers, than the advantaged school students.

There are a number of possible reasons for these consistent differences. The disadvantaged school does not necessarily have a better academic climate, but that the students put forth for the research at The disadvantaged school were of a more select type. The disadvantaged school students, selected for the survey, were a part of a special higher performing population. This might have confounded results, making generalizations to the larger school community difficult. One other reason for these differences may be found is that the advantaged school students, because of their greater privilege and expectations, believed that those around them were responsible for good academics, as opposed to accepting internal responsibility. Conversely, disadvantaged school students may have had lower expectations for what the climate around them owed them as students, thus creating skewed positive responses. A third possibility is that the disadvantaged school climate is actually a superior one; however, this defies all observations made by the researcher and any objective indices of resources. Therefore, these quantitative findings are questionable, and it is all the more important to use qualitative and ethnographic methods to gain understanding into what is really happening differently at these two schools.

Table 1: Significant Mean Differences in Attitudes of The disadvantaged school and The advantaged school Students

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<tr>
<th>school</th>
<th>The disadvantaged school</th>
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Teachers Listen to Me 4.0 .81 3.31 1.14
I’m Responsible for Learning 4.23 .83 3.63 .96
Teachers Respect Me 4.46 .71 3.91 1.17
Teachers Care about Me 4.09 .97 3.60 1.05
Admins Respect Me 4.36 .74 3.75 1.06
Teachers Challenge Me 4.32 .81 4.0 .82
Teachers Care about Me 3.62 1.00 3.15 1.15
Teachers Help Me Gain Confidence 4.17 .84 3.71 .99

* p < .05
**p < .01

Study 2: Qualitative Interviews

Study 2 involved a one-on-one semi-structured interview was administered in order to gain greater understanding of the views, values, beliefs, feelings, assumptions, and ideologies of those interviewed, regarding the pedagogical practice of their institution. The interview consisted of 5 demographic questions and 4 pedagogical questions. Questions 1, 3, 5, and 7 each measure a specific pedagogical domain. (Appendix C). The remaining questions were included in order to obtain a greater understanding of the space in which learning takes place.

Interview participants, 5 from each school, were asked to engage in a 10-15 min interview about their school (See Appendix C). Parental consent was obtained for each participant. Interview participation consent was a part of the survey student consent form. Students gave verbal consent via audio recording for both the interview, and the audio
recording. Prior to participating in the interview, students were reminded that the interview was voluntary and private, and that they were not required to participate in any way. The researcher conducted one-on-one interviews with participants from each school. Interviews were later transcribed.

A Grounded Theory approach was taken for the analysis of the interview data, utilizing Axial coding to understand what was central to the pedagogical process, what influenced or caused the process, the strategies that were employed to impact the process, as well as the effect or consequence which resulted from the process. Creswell’s (1998) approach to open coding was used to form categories. The open coding phase consisted of the identification of a central phenomenon, causal condition, specific strategies, that is the actions that result from the central phenomenon, context influences on strategy, and consequences, the outcomes of the strategy.

Narratives from each institution revealed characters, teachers and students which were exemplars of their respective institutions. These characters and their narrative as well as data from outlying examples, will offer a collective story useful to understanding the ways in which advantaged and disadvantaged schools practice pedagogy.

Figure 1 show the model derived from Study 2 analysis. The following section describes the model, and then evidence is presented from the interviews to support the model the result of which a number of phenomena have led to less than perfect outcomes.
Two types of cultural climate conditions emerged from the data for each of the case schools, which are possible sources for the phenomenological experiences of the student population. The cultural climate conditions for The disadvantaged school were economic disadvantage and racial disparity. Historically the population of the neighborhoods feeding into The disadvantaged school has suffered economically. In the late 80s New York’s Village Voice newspaper classified Ford Heights the poorest suburb in the nation. At the time the article was written, according to census data, the average adult over the age of 25 in Ford Heights had less
than a 9th grade education and the per capita income was just under $5000. Today over 75% of the population over the age of 25 has graduated from high school, and the per capita income is just over $10,000. Economic disadvantage has been woven into the framework of this town since the great migration.

The economic disadvantage of this community has changed little in the past several decades. Self-reported school data reveals that over 80% of The disadvantaged school households are low income; little opportunity presents itself for this population, whose economic lack has influenced the phenomena surrounding the communities’ education system.

The second cultural climate condition is racial disparity. The major neighborhoods that feed into The disadvantaged school are 95% African-American. The disadvantaged school is majority African-American. Race has consistently factored into understanding differences in educational outcomes. The disadvantaged school is over 60% African-American, but only 16% of the African-American population tested proficient in Reading, whereas over 50% of the White population did. In Mathematics only 9% of the African-American population tested as proficient, compared to over 47% of the White population.

The disparities extend beyond the school and into the communities as well. Temkin (2005) wrote that in 2005, the South Inter-Conference Association or SICA, the collection of schools that competed against each other in sports and other activities for over 33 years, was split. New conference lines were drawn, dividing predominantly White schools and predominantly African-American schools. The split was due, at least partially, to fewer sports and activity offerings by the excluded African-American schools. Across Illinois, predominantly
African-American schools offer a fraction of the resources that which is available in predominantly White schools. Today the predominantly African-American school seeks to educate children born to economic disadvantage, the

The phenomena resulting from the cultural climate of economic disadvantage and racial disparity afflicting the disadvantaged school population are, low teacher expectation, and low student expectation. 3 out of the five students interviewed at this school consistently stated that they “just wanted to graduate” and that their teachers “really want me to graduate.” It is possible that as a result of economic hardship, and historic educational disparity, teachers have created their own goals for the majority of the population of students. One of the primary thrusts for the African-American population at The disadvantaged school is graduation. A goal of graduation, and meeting basic requirements, might be viewed as a step in the right direction for this population. However, it is possible that as a result of this expectation students have developed low expectations.

When asked to describe the school, a student replied “It’s not bad, but then it’s not the best.” Students at The disadvantaged school are under no illusions about the standing of their school. The educational expectations of students and their families appear low. The disadvantaged school staff has developed a pedagogical reframing developed to suit the perceived lower needs of the student population. Students have developed a kind of survival in the school, pushing toward daily maintenance and completion, with little to no planning beyond that point.
The disadvantaged school students were eager to express a form of pride in their school, but the conversations demonstrated an overall connotation of educational survival. Graduation alone seemed to be the ultimate goal. 60% of students interviewed at The disadvantaged school expressed the desire to “just make it”, and there was little discussion of post-secondary plans. The theme of surviving school seemed to emerge frequently.

*Currently I’m a student, 12 year. You know I’m just trying to make it out of school.*

*That’s all, just trying to graduate, just trying to live my life as a better man, and as a better student.*

*Our school is really involved with the students, and like, I really appreciate that because they helped me a lot throughout my life because I been through a whole lot, and without them I feel like I wouldn’t be able to sit here and do this interview with you because being a senior now I feel like during my freshman year I felt like I wasn’t going to make it, and they gave me the strength and I am so happy to be here.*

Students maintained an overall fondness for teachers. In contrast to students from the advantaged school, tending to focus explanations of teacher relations on learning, The disadvantaged school students expressed kindness, from their teachers, more than their learning experiences with instructors.

*I’m close with a lot of my teachers even from freshman year so yeah they’re, they’re really like they you really you really can make a good relationship with them, yeah they’re good relationships*
One student however did speak about a teacher who helped her to raise her grades, encouraging her to push for her best work. 

*I have a really good relationship with them, like, they sometimes will pull me to the side and talk to me about my grades and see if we can make arrangements to make them even better or keep them as strong or sometimes they ask me to help other students and yeah it’s good*

Another participant spoke about how teachers helped him with personal matters, but not as much about what he had learned. The idea of getting what they need in terms of personal needs came up more than once with this student. 

*Teachers here are awesome like they keep me focused, they really do keep me focused, like ones that I had like my freshman year are still involved with me today I can still email them like if I have a problem, I can still email them right now, and they’ll give me great advice, they make sure that you have everything that you need to fulfill what you need to do by the time it’s time for you to graduate, and I like that a lot they make sure that you have everything that you need to fulfill what you need to do by the time it’s time for you to graduate*

In this way, it would appear that student survival, and graduation, has been the goal for this population. The goals and expectations shift from knowledge and understanding, toward the fulfillment of a prescribed formula, for a measure of success, dictated by those outside of the communities served by the institution. Low expectations on the part of the faculty and student populations seemed normalized into conversations with the students which also reflected low
expectations. For instance, when students and teachers dialogue about “getting to graduation” without any reference on the part of the student to post-secondary goals, we can see that a high school diploma in many cases is the end of expectation for student and teacher regarding education.

Student narratives seemed to reflect surviving and not thriving. The state of mere student surviving and reframed pedagogy, the practice of shifting pedagogical practice in order to serve a population for which expectations have been lowered, seemed to be connected to the lack of parental advocacy and community involvement. Interview participants did not reveal a population of parents seeking out the best possible education for their children. In many cases students attended The disadvantaged school by default. Students expressed that they attend The disadvantaged school because it is where there parents attended high school, not necessarily because it was a place they desired.

*Probably because it was closer and how my mom went here, and she said she really liked it, and so I am here.*

*Well, my mom, she went here when she was younger so, we stayed in the same community, so we just we like, went from there.*

This exemplifies how disenfranchised communities surrounding The disadvantaged school lack involvement from parents in the educational process.

The cultural capital in the form of parental involvement is low with this population because parents visiting The disadvantaged school and feeling connected there is difficult when the majority of adults in the surrounding community did not graduate from high school. Such
historical phenomena may lead the parents themselves to share in the same lowered expectations as the instructors. The result may be a collective arrangement of focus on graduation as an end goal.

If parents are not advocating for a rigorous course load, opportunities for autonomy, leadership, and respect as emerging adults, then the context is created clearly for the kind pedagogical reframing that leaves students with a high school diploma but little else. Further, the perceived economic opportunity which the student’s daily environment presents does not require higher learning. The disadvantaged school students, hailing from communities of extreme disadvantage, are unable to see and touch the kinds of future prospects that a richer learning experience can afford. The social capital in their community affords students limited opportunities. A high school diploma is entry in to the kind of work that is common to their environment. The kinds of jobs that mark the height of opportunity in the community are easily obtained with a high school diploma, and thus anything beyond that may be seen as a waste of time.

The consequence for this population is post-secondary academic stagnation, a disempowered student population, and continued economic disadvantage. Harper and Jussim (2005) discussed teacher expectations can be a self-fulfilling prophecy. Students with an end goal of high school graduation, seldom plan for post-secondary academia. Further pedagogical practices, sufficient for helping students acquire what the need in order to graduate, would be grossly insufficient for a student educated under such pedagogy. Students who attend courses in survival mode, in order to “just make it” are often left disempowered in the wake of the
pomp and circumstance which crescendos into the epitome of their academic experience, high school graduation.

At this juncture, with an education narrowly focused toward a singular end, opportunities are limited. Cronsnoe, Mistry, and Elder (2002) found that in many cases disadvantaged students will default to familiar options, within the context of their social and cultural capital. They see little else as a feasible reality for their future. As result of decreased opportunities, and lack of preparation for a wider array of post-secondary opportunity, students may face the same economic hardships as their parents. It is possible that this economic hardship may be slightly less than that suffered by the previous generation, and thus seen as advancement, or a positive outcome, although, the incomes will remain low, and the holistic cultivation of an entire population will have been all but ignored.

The primary cultural climate condition which emerged from The advantaged school interviews is economic advantage. The advantaged school serves a population of relatively economically advantaged families. Frankfort is the primary neighborhood feeding The advantaged school. According to census data, Frankfort has an estimated per capita income over $40,000, and is one of the wealthier neighborhoods in IL. According to self-reported school data, only 8.5% of the advantaged school’s population is considered low income. Interviews demonstrated that students considered themselves and their families to be “well off” or “wealthy”. Students interviewed were keenly aware of the economic advantages of the school, as well as the community.
Pedagogical Differences

The town of Frankfort has been home to a well-to-do, predominantly White population; from its inception in 1857 (The History of Will County) The wealth of the school population and community at large is a significant factor for The advantaged school.

**Figure 2** Theoretical Model for Pedagogical Practice in Secondary Education: The advantaged school

The condition of economic advantage has led to three phenomena of interest, superior student expectations, superior parent expectations, and a kind of monoculture school community. Interviews with The advantaged school students revealed a strong expectation that their school, courses, teachers, clubs, and overall experience, is or should be, the best.

*(The advantaged school)* Very very good school, from what I have been hearing it is one of the top ones in the state

*I mean we hear a lot about The advantaged school and how it’s one of the best schools in Illinois, sports wise, academic wise, people usually describe it and give it like really high*
standards. Like every other teenager I’m like I hate school but otherwise I would probably have to say like it’s one of the bests that you could send your kid to.

Our school is really good, there are a lot of really good academic programs, there’s always like staff ready to help you if you are having a problem, there is a good range of classes like there is low level stuff and there is really high level stuff. So it’s good for like everyone really.

Students expressed that their school is the best, and they expect the best from their school. Their critique of their school centered on the ways in which the school should meet the high expectations held by students and parents alike. The term “Best” implies superiority. The superlative best implies sub-groupings. In order for a school, and its component parts to be the best, other schools must be less than. The students did not express that their school was good, or make use of a host of other adjectives, which could have described the desire for positive attributes without necessitating superior standing. Time and again the term “best” was used by the population.

The superior expectation of The advantaged school parents emerged when students were asked about the reasons their family chose the school. Students expressed that their family relocated to Frankfort for the atmosphere and the school. Almost all of the students interviewed made Frankfort their home for the expressed purpose of the school district and.

I know for us it was a big thing moving out here, especially in like elementary school it was a better environment I mean The advantaged school is one of the top schools, so it’s obviously like somewhere you want to go. To get better opportunities, you know to move into college, and job opportunities and things like that. Umm I used to live in like kind of
the downtown Chicago area, so very urban environment, umm the schools weren’t that
great, you know that was something that we definitely saw out here that there were
better schools and better opportunities

The student previously lived in downtown Chicago. Jones College Preparatory High School
would have been her neighborhood school. Jones ranks higher on the IL and US scale than The
advantaged school does by all measures, however the perception was that The advantaged
school presented a better environment. This particular student’s parents were seeking a very
specific atmosphere for their child. They were seeking a cultural and social capital that was
unavailable to them at the city school, despite its stellar achievement. The relocation of entire
families for the purpose of attending this particular school seems to be rooted in ambitions
unique to the class status of the institution.

My mom actually chose to move to Frankfort because of the education system. We did live
in Tinley (Tinley Park) until kindergarten, and then we moved out here because it ranked
very high, and the social setting and we do live in a very brought up community. You now
there’s no violence of any sort, you know you don’t hear about anything really happening
around here, and that the teachers really take the time to get to know the students and
get to know the parents and they put a lot of value on the education and the reputation
going into college for my is really good so my mom wants to give... like she gave me the
best, you know, set me up the best way she could to succeed so.
I think we moved here when I was like 4 and they just liked the neighborhood and it was a good place to grow up and stuff, and this school has got just like a great academic history, and a lot of good sports teams in the past so.

The expectation is that students will be groomed alongside a specific kind of population, for ongoing post-secondary success. Parents looked to the Frankfort neighborhood itself when deciding where to school their children, the expectation being an investment in the best school, and the best social and cultural environment possible for their children.

The superior expectations held by the parents, is possibly maintained by another observed phenomena, a kind of mono culture evident in the school population, which emerged during the interview process.

*It is a really great environment. I don’t know you know. I like my school. You know for people who tell you that The advantaged school isn’t a good school, the obviously haven’t gotten involved in anything, because I know like my cousin went here, he didn’t like East but he also didn’t do anything, so definitely get involved whether it is east or anywhere and you know your experience will be great*

This student was an African-American female. The assisting school representative articulated that he was “very pleased” with her and the she was “one of our favorite” students. The student was a part of many clubs, and seemed to fit well in the environment. Her African-American Male cousin did not do well at the school. Which raises questions regarding the kinds of students that might assimilate well into this population, and what kinds of differences, if any, are tolerated.
You know how there is like a lot of hatred against Muslims, yeah so we (The Muslim Club) try to like counter that really and we’ll do like fundraisers to raise money for the local mosque. It’s like...well...with one...like they don’t, well, one of these teachers that I have, they, when I try to talk to him slash her, they’ll just always, and they won’t take my ideas. They just shut me down. You know, they just don’t care to hear what I think, and it hurts...that hurts.

This particular student raised his hand high in the classroom as students were selected for the interview process. He was eager to be heard, and clearly fearful of the consequences. He was visibly nervous, and fearful of passersby hearing his interview. Upon the completion of his interview, the assisting school representative went out of his way to assure me that the student was a “bit of a screwball” and “not someone he would let babysit his kids” There seems to be an atmosphere of singularity cultivated in the school. The environment is geared towards specific standards of success, and seems to shun individuals outside of the seemingly singular paradigm.

Empowering pedagogical practices in the institution emerged in conversations with students

I’m on exec board and I’m a student leader and think we have a lot of good leadership programs here to get students involved. For PE we have like PE leaders, and they’re like assistant to the teacher to help him out and like lead warm ups and get the class ready and stuff so I think like that could help, like that really helps students become like leaders
and like learn the qualities of a leader for the future and it can really help in like taking
initiative in the future with business and stuff

In the school I feel like the kids have a say in what we want um I mean a lot of times we
don’t it’s more of like a would you prefer this or something like that I feel like it depends
on what it is, when it comes to the classroom setting I feel like yes the students have a lot
of say in how they want things to go but when it comes to school like you said like the
lunch menu our schedules stuff like that we don’t have a say. I mean for example right
now I’m trying to get an early release so I leave after 5th hour so that I will be able to go
to physical therapy and work umm so I want to change my English class to first hour and
I don’t have a say in that necessarily so I can ask them to do that, but right now it doesn’t
look like it’s going to happen because the board of education doesn’t want to move me.
So I feel like I don’t have a say I mean like the fact that it does affect my life outside of
school, but otherwise like classroom setting yeah I get you know if I don’t, not that if I
don’t want to do something then I don’t have to do it but how we do things you know, like
if we don’t want to take notes, they can do it a different way stuff like that too

It would seem that teachers and staff are presenting students with clear opportunities
for leadership and autonomy. The faculty and staff appear to have fostered an environment in
which students can advocate for their needs. Students have an empowered view of themselves
as citizens of the school that can negotiate the circumstances of their education.

Well for clubs like if a new club wants to be like invented, there has to be like a students
that wants to make it and then they have to get a teacher sponsor, then they have to go
in front of like student council and present their idea and then student council will vote on
like if they like it or not and if there is more votes to liking it then it will become a club

My friend actually started a petition, like for football games they took away our body paint
so we couldn’t paint ourselves and my friend stated a petition to get that back and he got
like, he got a lot of signatures for it but it just it was just we, we like a couple like a small
group of students just did a couple of bad things and ruined it for the rest of us so. We
ended up getting it back

The parent population and surrounding community offer a context for the strategies
in place, in order to advance the phenomena of interest. The consequence, or better stated
outcomes, of the strategies in place, appear to be post-secondary achievement, an
empowered student population, and continued economic advantage. Conversations with
both sets of students were informative and revealing in many ways.

I guess I can say that this school is very very like, I just wish I knew the words for it, I just
don’t, like very high class, like they motivate, like they keep you going, like they don’t leave
anyone behind, they just always keep you moving forward.

Study 3: Narrative through a Theoretical Lens
Study 3 involved extending qualitative interview data from Study 2. The extended data collection consisted of one on one, in person, semi-structured interviews, with 5 students and 8 teachers from each campus.

The interviews were conducted in order to gain further understanding into 5 constructs discovered in Stage 2. The constructs were pedagogical reframing and power pedagogy, survival, stagnation, and maintenance, monoculture and diversity, external community impact and advocacy, and the use of the superlative. These constructs were the primary focus of the interview questions. The Data Collection Matrix (Appendix C) details the questions as they apply to the constructs.

Interview participants consisted of a convenience sample of teachers and students selected based on availability. Participants were interviewed for periods of time ranging from 15min, to 30 min for group interviews. Two students from each campus were interviewed individually, and 3 students from each campus were interviewed in a group. 4 teachers or faculty members from each campus were interviewed individually, and 4 teachers or faculty members participated in a group interviews on each campus.

Interview participation consent was obtained via a student consent form (Appendix D) or a Faculty Consent Form (Appendix E). All participants were over the age of 18, and signed consent forms at the time of the interview. Students also gave verbal consent, via audio recording, for both the interview, and the audio recording. Prior to participating in the
interview, students and faculty were reminded that the interview was voluntary and private, and that they were not required to participate in any way.

This study makes use of narrative analysis, through the lens of Freire’s theory. Smith (1995) shows that narrative analysis is useful for the purpose of a holistic approach to preserving data in context, while keeping nuance intact. This approach has been used in prior research. A study of third and fourth graders used the narrative approach to understand the construction of knowledge. They were able to draw distinctions between African-American boys and a larger group, based on written student recounting of a class trip. Reis and Judd (2000) suggest that narrative language is the medium through which reality and socially constructed reality can best be studied. As we attempt to understand the social constructs around pedagogical practice in advantaged and disadvantaged schools, it is important to preserve context and nuance, in order to protect the integrity of the participant’s story and experience.

Study 3 school narratives were analyzed through a theoretical lens consisting of theories put forth in Paulo Freire’s Pedagogy of the Oppressed. Two major levels exist within the theory. In the first, Friere discusses the evolution of the oppressor, “The very structure of their thought has been conditioned by the contradictions of the concrete, existential, situation by which they were shaped. Their idea is to be men; but for them, to be men is to be oppressors. This is their model of humanity.” Freire (1970)
In the second, Friere explains that “the oppressed, at a certain moment of their existential experience, adopt an attitude of ‘adhesion’ to the oppressor. Under these circumstances they cannot ‘consider’ him sufficiently clearly to objectivize him – to discover him ‘outside’ themselves. This does not necessarily mean that the oppressed are unaware that they are downtrodden. But, their perception of themselves as oppressed is impaired by their submersion in the reality of oppression.” Friere (1970)

The theoretical lens, comprised of the two levels of Frierian theory, was useful in understanding the narrative of each of the two schools. The goal of using such a lens was to make use of existing theory, in an effort to further understand a new or continued phenomenon. Kock (2002) employed this method while seeking to understand the evolution of electronic communication. Analysis of data was executed through the lens of Darwinian Theory, in order to apply evolutionary laws to the physiological component of the evolution of electronic communication. Similarly, Freire’s theories of the evolution of the oppressor and environmental habitus of the oppressed can be useful in order to further understand the phenomena which arose in study 2 and which were further unveiled in data collected for Study 3.

**Thematic School Narratives**

In order to begin the process of understanding Study 2 themes, audio recorded interviews were transcribed using the (International Training and Education Center for Health [ITECH], 2008) Rapid Evaluation method.
The transcript was then coded. First, categories were created and numbered based on themes which emerged from study 2. Next, the transcribed interviews were reviewed for the purpose of numbering useful quotes. Quotes were then organized into Study 2 categories, based on their support of a category or insight added to a category.

Quotes which helped to explain a Study 2 theme were added to the narrative of each school. When there was an overlap in quote groupings, the quote was added to the category where it helped to best explain a phenomenon, and eliminated from the duplicate category. Each school’s narrative was then interpreted through the theoretical lens, in order to gain further understanding of the pedagogy of the respective schools.

From the transcript analysis (Appendix I and K) a narrative for each school was composed. Each school’s narrative unfolded from interview responses which supported or shed light on Study 2 Constructs.

Through the layers of pedagogical reframing and power pedagogy, survival stagnation and maintenance, monoculture and diversity, external community impact and advocacy, and inclusion and the superlative each school’s narrative was allowed to unfold.

Each layer of the narrative represents a theme uncovered during the first visit with the school. The narrative represents clarification of initial data collected, and deeper understandings of the themes and the schools.

**The Disadvantaged School Narrative**

**Marginalization**
Disadvantaged communities and an external atmosphere of hopelessness.

Pedagogical Reframing and Power Pedagogy

The disadvantaged school is host to an economically disadvantaged population of students, primarily African-American. In study 2 a theme of pedagogical reframing emerged, that is, the crafting of pedagogical practice in order to accommodate the instructor or institutions perception of students. In the case of the disadvantaged school, the reframing was to accommodate negative perceptions about a disadvantaged population of color. The initial interaction resulted in questions of nefarious intent. Questions of racism, prejudice, and even malice came to fore, as a stark difference was revealed between pedagogy of hopelessness in the disadvantaged school juxtaposed against power pedagogy in the advantaged school. Extended interviews in Study 3 hoped to look more closely at the pedagogical reframing suggested by Study 2, and gain more specific knowledge about the perception of this particular practice among educators in this school. Interviews in Study 3 were helpful toward this end.

During interviews at the disadvantaged school, the more disadvantaged institution, a teacher shared his views about some of the challenges which face students in the general population of his school.

*I think a lot of time, with what they see outside of school, what's going on in English class doesn't mean a lot to them. So it is like what is English class going to do for me? We can think about what English class will be 10 years from now. They think about their baby, or that, “I have to go home and make dinner. I know my mom's not going
to, my mom is working overnight.” So the last thing on their mind is doing their

*English homework. I think they realize that they need to get it done, and they want
to get it over with, but they have to do the more important life stuff, as opposed to
reading To Kill a Mocking Bird*

This teacher seemed to truly understand his student’s issues. He sympathized with them
and felt stuck in their reality. Teachers witness economic and social disadvantage, year after
year, and have in many ways succumbed to it. Often, thinking is repositioned to
accommodate it. Another teacher, when asked why students come to school replied,

*Some of them are here because they don't want their momma to be in jail, and they
will tell you that is the only reason they are coming. Others really believe that they
need to learn because if they don't have a high school diploma they have nothing.
Some of our kids are 5th year seniors, and they take night classes. Some of them are
so behind; they would do better to get a GED. Some of them don't believe they have
a future. “I'll be dead by the time I'm 20”, I heard that come out of more mouths
than I care to listen to.*

Teachers in this setting can begin to view tragedy in the lives of particular students
as a given. The collective narrative of some students, perhaps not even the majority,
becomes the narrative for all students, within the demographic of the population
expressing and experiencing the initial challenges. Students, within the racial and economic
group for whom the narrative fits, are saddled to the narrative, even when it does not fit.
Ostrove and Cole (2003) suggest that in these instances a psychology of social class is
needed in order to understand what class means, which it is crucial that we move from categorization to investigation of the consequences of identification and the way that people perceive themselves in relationship to members of other social class groups. This is important because the tone of the school, for disadvantaged students, begins to echo the tone of the lives of a select group, for whom the narrative should not dictate pedagogy in the first place, as a result of the category in which they have been placed because there was no exploration done, on the part of the educator, into his or her own identity and perception of themselves related to the population that they serve. As a result of teacher identity, student perception, and their reframed pedagogical acts students take on the role that has been assigned to them. Steele (1997) found that membership in an economically disadvantaged group can have a negative effect on student performance through both material deprivation and substandard schooling. This is likely the result of a reframed pedagogy based on assumptions about the group.

During the interview the body language, facial expressions, and tone of the teachers changed slightly when discussing the plight of the extremely disadvantaged. Sharing student story was in some way the sharing of their story. It was as if the circumstance, for which they exact a kind of badge of honor for having endured, excused pedagogical lack. They were saviors here, and for some of the teachers, their presence in many ways seemed viewed by them as sacrifice enough. Brown (2013) offers an interesting explanation for this phenomenon she suggest that movies like Dangerous Minds and Freedom Writers which feature a young, straight, attractive, White female protagonist who step into inner-city
schools to “save” Black and Brown students from their communities and themselves. She shows how teacher training, professional development programs and public discourse along with media images created a new context for young White teachers. The context was consistently informed by deficit discourse in schools and a culture of poverty discourse in teacher training. Teachers who then, in this case, entered New York City’s classrooms, operated under their media informed, and academically reinforced context, when structuring classroom practices and relationships with students and their families. Teachers at The disadvantaged school demonstrated attitudes which fit in many ways into the context of the New York City teachers of the Brown (2013) study. They seemed put upon by the experiences of their students, and the environments in which they dwell, which are not their personal realities outside of the school, but for which they claim to be victims of as challenged well-meaning professionals. Even though they are the responsible parties, at least for the plight of their school lives, they offer the plight of the student at home as justification for their pedagogical reframing. All while offering themselves up as saviors, and congratulating themselves on the achievement of mediocre goals for students.

_We don’t give a lot of homework because we’re setting ourselves up for failure._

_You cannot give assignments for them to take home, when you know there's not an atmosphere for learning._

Teachers interviewed in a group were unanimous in their thoughts about homework. They spoke about the ways that the home lives of this population were so
hectic, that homework seemed unrealistic. Landsman (2004) discusses this kind of predetermination of students in her work.

I am disturbed by how teachers, even in their own minds, classify students at young ages on meaningless grounds. Students in my education classes, most of them white, told me that they could tell by 2nd grade which students in their schools were headed for college and which were not. The kids they branded as heading to college were almost all white, and all were wealthy or middle class.

The expectation of a basic staple of education was not present. For those truly suffering at home their disadvantage was compounded by a reframed education. Teachers counting students out freshman year or sooner, determining that they will be unable to complete the most basic sets of goals, and as such do not even try. In addition to the denial of adequate provisions in their home life, due to a host of societal disadvantages, students also face inadequate provisions in their education, at the hands of the population which makes the claim of benevolence and frustration with their initial lack.

Teachers then become assistants in the student’s overall disadvantage, resulting, in many ways, in the very plight which they claim crushed their ability to truly teach in the first place. Reframing is concerning, students can begin to embody the narrative that is most pervasive about them. At that juncture the narrative, along with pedagogical reframing, which often results in classroom disorganization and malaise, creates an environment suitable for the creation of the condition which has been blamed for the condition.
In school there are a lot of distractions. A lot of people are young and dumb. They're focused on the wrong thing. They focus on short-term things, that seem good right now, but in the future it ain’t going to amount to nothing.

So, you know, I’m just trying to graduate. A lot of people where I’m from, they don’t even graduate. They don’t even live to be 18. They don’t even live this long. They be into gang banging and drug dealing.

The student expresses that his goal is graduation. When asked about his environment he spoke in more adult terms, quite similar to the language used by the faculty. Teachers and students seemed to be on the same page with regard to the end goal of secondary education for this population. Mayer (1997) found that students from families which are economically disadvantaged do not graduate from high school at nearly the rate of affluent children. This is not surprising. The faculty was not uniformed about varying pedagogical practices; in fact they were eager to share the degree to which they had pondered educational theory. But their knowledge, and perhaps skill, had little to know impact on their own expectations for students in their post-secondary lives. Further, their pedagogical acts ensured that the students had quite low expectations for their own lives after high school as well. It would seem that expanded knowledge of varying pedagogical theory, might tend those with knowledge of such theory away from reframing and towards more socially just pedagogy, but it did not.
We’re kind of looking at the Dewian model of Education or the Paulo Freire model of Education. We are not stuffing things inside student’s heads; we want to be the guide.

Following the mention of Paulo Freire the group of teachers was asked specifically if they were aware of the concept of dialogical and anti-dialogical pedagogical practice. They replied with some keen perceptions as well as examples of their reframed pedagogical ideology.

I read a book, where it talks about how students in lower economic areas were taught to take orders, as opposed to the more affluent areas where they were taught to be leaders and to lead, and they have more free-thinking. So, is that what dialogical and anti-dialogical is?

I can understand wanting student input, but the language that is used in the curriculum, guys, it's just not language that students would understand. For us to ask their input into that, I just don't think that it would be necessarily relevant.

In middle school they are taught to sit and be quiet, to sit in rows and do their work. They come to us and they don't like to think. They want that “okay I'm going to do a worksheet. I'm going to find the answer here exactly how it's said”. Then I'm supposed to fill it in easy for them so they don't have to think; when you actually get them thinking, making them think, some of them do not.
The teachers participating in this group interview had various degrees of understanding of Freire’s theory. Some were aware of the dynamics of oppressive pedagogy, and the ways that they might be at play within their student population, but they failed to make adjustments to their instructional practice in order to compensate for the dynamic that they were aware left their student population, or at least a part of it, at a disadvantage.

A teacher suggested that a more participatory approach might leave everyone frustrated because the students did not possess the language needed to comprehend curriculum. The possibility of a new curriculum in common language was not suggested.

_We have to ask ourselves, with the dialogical model, how long does it take the average student to become a thinker? It is certainly not a week; and it is not a month; and it is not a semester. We’re going against two different things here. The one that says sit down and learn, as opposed to more of a free thinker. So we are frustrated with the results. I think we have to be realistic._

There seemed to be a consistent transfer of responsibility for their pedagogical practice on to other entities. It was the students who were incapable of understanding, which prohibited a more dialogical and collaborative effort. Another teacher suggested that students were trained by their middle school instructors not to think, and went as far as to suggest that students do not like to think. In these ways, the instructors were able to absolve themselves of responsibility for their own practice and transfer it to the students and others in the field.
Reframing impacts not only classroom environment and echoed student narrative, but it expands further, impacting the end result of the disadvantaged African-American population in this school. Teachers begin to see a goal of graduation as a victory. It is a convenient victory because they are the beginning and end of that goal. The microcosm of the school environment built on reframed oppressive pedagogy is self-contained. Teachers give the grades which determine graduation. They have set a standard for themselves, for which they are the only measure. To expand the goals to an external outcome, would require measure outside of their control, thus potentially calling into question the pedagogical decisions of the faculty, and educational lack of their population. Teachers were not unaware of the end game for their pedagogical reframing. When asked about their realistic hopes for the general population, post-graduation, teachers gave the following responses.

Some of them, even if College isn't an option, I hope they go to a trade school. I believe that some of them will go to school; they will start their community college degrees.

I think a lot of times they will find a decent-paying job which they will feel is a pretty good paying job, and therefore maybe the pursuance of the degree becomes obsolete. If they find that what they're doing is paying enough, and paying the bills at that time.

Well if you start from nothing you're only going up.
If an instructor believes that the community which damned the student to these eventualities, then there is solace in the resolution that it was an inescapable outcome, which justifies the damaging, capitulatory pedagogy practiced among some of the faculty serving these students. They must believe, and remind their students, that they are disadvantaged, and as such, meager goals, goals which might not be viewed as good for other populations, are good for them. Delpit (1998) suggest that, if schooling prepares people for jobs, and the kind of job a person has determines her or his economic status and therefore power, then schooling is intimately related to that power. At the moment which pedagogy is reframed for a population, there is both a denial and preservation of power. Disadvantaged students will remain in the context in which the instructor is most familiar, and the instructor’s position, often in a more advantage group, will be preserved in the long term.

One of the more interesting phenomena revealed interviews, was the differences in pedagogical practice between African-American and White students. The disadvantaged school is fed by 4 different middle schools serving 4 different towns. During the group teacher interview at The disadvantaged school, teachers began a dialogue about vertical alignment in education. Vertical alignment is the educational planning the takes place, between grade levels, in order to create a logical progression of skill between grade levels. Ideally districts would be vertically aligned from kindergarten through senior year. The teachers discussed the lack of vertical alignment with their feeder middle schools. They complained about the skill level of the students which they received from all middle
schools, save one. One middle school had worked with The disadvantaged school towards vertical alignment, Columbia Central.

**TEACHER:** *Columbia Central, typically those are the students who are the most middle-class. Those are the students who make up probably 90% of our honors and AP classes. We get the most parental support from them.*

**INTERVIEWER:** They make up what percentage of the honors and AP classes?

**ALL:** *The Lion's Share of our Advanced Placement and honors come from Columbia Central, that's where most of them come from.*

**INTERVIEWER:** Columbia is in which township

**ALL:** Steger

**INTERVIEWER:** And that is the town which you said is primarily, more Caucasian

**ALL:** mm hmm

White students from Steger made up 90% of the honors and AP courses in a school which is 79% non-White. There appeared to be a different narrative for White students in The disadvantaged school. When speaking of White students from Steger the language quickly changed. The justifications were built in prior to the question of race Landsman, (2004) expressed the same kind of experience. “Many educators struggle to find any rationale they can other than the truth: The system that sets up the hierarchy of intelligence and excellence is racist.” Teachers at The disadvantaged school struggled in this way. They stated that Steger students are more middle class, and that they receive a greater level of parental support from the Columbia Central families, before revealing the ethnicity of the
honors and AP group. When the question of the ethnicity of the Columbia group was raised, very vocal teachers, fell relatively silent. Each admitted with a nod of the head and apologetic facial expressions that White students, almost exclusively, dominated the honors and AP courses.

I spoke with a group of honors students in the group interview. They were clear about their place in the school and the differences between the educations which they were receiving, as opposed to the education more common to the broader The disadvantaged school population. When asked to explain a bit about their experiences in honors classes, as opposed to regular classes, the honors students gave the following replies.

_We interact with the teachers differently, because we are on a different scale. Like how we treat the teachers and the teachers treat us is a lot different than being in a normal class, or like an elective, because they see us differently._

_Like in a regular class you don't have as much freedom as you do in an honors or AP, you can just talk to the teacher without having to raise your hand and stuff like that._

_They kind of like have more respect for us, because they kind of expect more from us anyway, so we have a better relationship with our teachers._

_It just depends on how the class is acting. I believe if a class is just kind of talking, they (teachers) don't want to hear their suggestions, which is understandable, but they have higher expectations for us. We are expected to learn a certain way._
The honor students interviewed fed into The disadvantaged school through Colombia Central. The students were not hesitant in any way to share that they have had a unique experience at The disadvantaged school. The pedagogical reframing which has impacted learning and the school environment for the larger African-American population, had not impacted this group negatively, in fact, it is possible that this group was educated under a kind of power pedagogy.

Each of the students understood that they were special. They were respected, and the commonplace instructional practices did not apply to them. Students had the privilege of taking Advanced Placement courses, which presupposes a post-secondary educational path. A path was established for the success of White students.

Neighborhoods dictated the schools which dictated the path for students. Elementary schools, which feed Columbia Central, begin the process of power pedagogy for White students, which afforded junior and high school success. This success, and the pedagogical practice surrounding it, is reserved for this group alone within The disadvantaged school.

**INTERVIEWER:** what will you do after graduation?

**ALL:** College

**INTERVIEWER:** Where are you going?

**STUDENT 1:** Illinois State for Graphic Design

**STUDENT 2:** University of IL in Urbana Champaign for Advertising

**STUDENT 3:** University of Notre Dame and I am not sure yet
**INTERVIEWER:** Outstanding and you have all received your acceptance letters and everything?

**ALL:** Yes

The pedagogical reframing which surrounds the remaining students with a narrative of violence and lack all but assures them a divergent path. The success of White students at The disadvantaged school did not begin with The disadvantaged school and it will not end with The disadvantaged school. Each of the students interviewed were college bound, each working towards scholarships and college credit for courses prior to graduation. A teacher admitted that the divergent path of the honors students and general population students is problematic. He shared that he had seen it before in other places, but was aware that this kind of practice would not be tolerated among advantaged populations.

*In my experience a lot of schools have been kind of like that. In the lower income areas, it is more like let’s just pass the ones that are failing because it’s the honors kids that are going to move on. I would not think that it would be the same in higher income areas.*

**Survival Stagnation and Maintenance**

The result of pedagogical reframing is survival, stagnation, and ultimately maintenance. Students educated under the kind of pedagogical reframing which appears to be taking place at the disadvantaged school, are reminded often of the dangers of their world. The actual dangers of their day to day existence may be worrisome, but they are constructed as gruesome by the staff and faculty responsible for their learning and whom
exists outside of their communities. The caricature of their lives drawn by faculty potentially as a result of their own fears, media manipulation, and biases, are pushed back onto their students transforming a difficult situation into a seemingly impossible one.

The external faculty perception of African-American reality creates a fear for the students; the fear is not of what the students actually experience, but of what they perceive their lives to be, through their own assumptions and misconceptions. As a result, they believe that it is their duty, as educators who are responsible in some way for this population to first ensure their survival. In a Maslow’s hierarchy of needs kind of framework they push for the most pressing need first, survival. If the students live past 18, that is a victory for them, in their world.

Smith and Smith (2004) found that, the media often via the evening news, and stories told by colleagues are how myths about violence circulated. Stories told of violent happenings were indirect, and told by other teachers and students, and yet these were the stories they remembered and continued to tell. Meier (1995) found that “life threatening violence is not part of the daily routine in the vast majority of schools and fear of violence has always been a part of the urban education scene” (p. 72). One teacher in the Smith and Smith (2004) study revealed important phenomena. She recalled an incident when a car pulled up to her school and two men open fired directly onto school grounds. She said that she was terrified and that she went home and shared the experience with all of her family and friends, and then she shared something interesting with the researcher. The researcher stated that,
Mrs. Waters admitted getting a surge out of events like these; she noted that it was a guilty pleasure because she realized that she could go home to her safe neighborhood while her students were forced to live in different circumstances.

The environment of students, juxtaposed against the more affluent reality of faculty, and their own environments, seem insurmountable and fatal, when in actuality they are significantly more easily overcome without the compounded pedagogical reframing of school faculty.

We've had kids that move around 8, 10, 11 times in their life, and there's no family structure. They have to overcome so much, and they bring so much baggage to school. They have so much stuff. I think about the violence. Some of them don't have the ability to deal with and still do well in school. I don't know what the parents say. Some of them have no interest in school. They don't think it's going to get them anywhere. They have all these issues making money at home, dealing drugs or whatever, and they think in the moment, they don't think about 10 years from now, and what they can be doing if they can't escape the life they're in now. There are students that don't even leave the immediate area. They have not ever been or even out of the immediate area and for the record there's not much in terms of jobs. They don't understand what they should even be studying or working towards. I think that they've been probably told that they should probably consider College, but they don't really know why other than somebody told them to do it.
This again is the constructed reality for students, the vast majority of whom do not face that kind of danger in the slightest. As a result of the narrative, which some faculty have created, pedagogical practice is reframed, specifically for this population.

Instead of education coming first, survival comes first in many instances. For students who are not facing any immediate threat this causes a significant stagnation. After accomplishing the immediate and short term victory of mere survival, the completion of this population is the next level of expectation for this population.

Stagnation of entire populations, as a result of pedagogical reframing, which takes place within the self-fulfilling prophecy of faculty misconception, paralyzes students in ways that compound their already difficult lives. This compounded disadvantage leads, eventually, to the maintenance of this group in their initial position. Some faculties have reduced expectation to miniscule elevation beyond their current condition, and in many cases they count mere life after 18 as a victory on their part.

*I expect them all too at least graduate, and to be respectful, and to be respectful of themselves. And I know that teachers after 20 years of teaching can be a little jaded and expect less from them.*

For African-Americans to complete four years is considered a major accomplishment, and if they are to go on to a local retail position, then teachers feel that they have done good work, for this group.

*For the population of students that I deal with, I want them to just get out on time and go and work at a restaurant, or go work at Best Buy. That’s great because it*
shows that they got through the 4 years. As long as they get out, and they do something, and are not hanging around the block, small goals. They do not all have to be doctors and go to Harvard. As long as they are doing something that can possibly help themselves or their families that is great.

For some students instructors expressed hope. However hope often quickly fades back into the common narrative. One teacher expressed a hope for a student who showed promise; a girl whom she believed might escape the disadvantage from which she had come. She quickly followed, however, with an expanded narrative of about life outside of the care of instructors within the disadvantaged institution, and the ways in which students fall victim to their surroundings, without the aid and guidance of the faculty and school. Holbrook (2012) in a study of poverty in urban schools illustrates the ways that low expectation can be the highest form of racism, and the ways that the expectation can become a self-fulfilling prophecy.

The belief that a student cannot do a thing can result in their inability to do that thing. Here instructors have inflated their importance in the student’s life, so much so that they perform for students, task which the student can easily perform for themselves, because the faculty did not believe them capable. As a result of this interruption of natural maturation, students become accustomed to having basic needs attended to by faculty, which in essence cripples them in the long term.

An interview revealed an understanding of this issue. A teacher’s direct behavior was the genesis of a compounding set of circumstances which created “bigger and bigger”
problems for the student. She initially blamed “life” for the problems faced by her favored student, but then ultimately admitted that the staff, and low expectation, rested at the core of the issue.

Some of the students, in past experiences, that I thought would be really successful, they end up getting pregnant. Life happens, and they don’t have enough money to pay for school, so they drop out of school. It’s shocking, but they don’t have the support. There’s a group of people here (The disadvantaged school) taking care of them, and reminding them what they have to do. When they’re out on their own, they don’t have all of those resources. I think we hold a lot of our student’s hands too much, and they don’t know how to cope when they get into the real world. They struggle with independence, and they have these problems, and they don’t know who to share with, and they turn into bigger problems and bigger problems.

There is understanding of the ways in which reframed pedagogical acts, over assisting, result in inability, yet there is little evidence of an effort to adjust pedagogy on the part of the instructor. The result is pedagogy of survival, stagnation, and maintenance. Students become fearful of the world for which they have been ill equipped to encounter. The majority of African-American students at The disadvantaged school, as a group, are not prepared for a future after graduation. The goal for much of the faculty is their survival, and after that, graduation. This reframing negatively impacts students, creating anxiety about life after high school. They have been fed a steady story of faculty conceptualized dangers of their world. There exists an almost synchronized narrative between faculty and students,
of a grim reality. They are reminded that death lurks for them, and that graduation is the climax of their lives.

_Sometimes they self-sabotage, because they do not know what to do when they are done with high school. It is because they have nothing really to look forward to. We try to tell them, look, you can do something after high school; get a job at Chipotle, get a job at Best Buy. Whatever it is, do something else besides hanging out in your neighborhood._

Faculty, in many instances credit themselves for student survival, in a reality which posed no immediate threat. They credit themselves for the child’s graduation, even though they taught the child little, and created themselves the extraordinarily low standards for graduation. They appear to believe that they are what strengthen this population, as opposed to what is weakening it. They articulated a belief that, without their influence, students might likely revert back to destitution, which in many instances was an assured destitution due to the maintenance of disadvantage, orchestrated over the past, 4, 5 and in some cases 6 years in the institution. In some cases there is hope for more, a military program or a trade, but by and large it is expected that the greater population of the school will maintain their current societal position.

_Some will go into the trades or some military program and be successful. Some, realistically will just vanish into the streets, and will be just kind of swallowed up by life._

**Monoculture and Diversity**
Population specific cultural reframing cannot take place within diverse groups. Monoculture groups make a culturally specific pedagogical reframing for one group and power pedagogy for another group, possible. An interview with an instructor revealed that students have formed social groups based on their home town.

*I know that Sauk Village kids don’t really hang out with Ford Heights kids. It is separate. Steger kids do not hang out with Sauk village kids.*

Social groups formed by students are reinforced by the grouping of a core group of Columbia Central students, whom are primarily White, and perceived as middle class by the faculty, into honors and Advanced Placement courses. This monoculture environment enables a different education for this particular group. Throughout their schooling, the students who seem to be educated within power pedagogy, as opposed to the reframed pedagogical practices of the general population, have traveled together in a closed group. They exist as a kind of monoculture cohort within the school. They benefit from taking the same classes together, and growing close to a group of peers who support one another, and whom are elevated together towards a higher goal.

*We have all pretty much grown up together, and being in honors classes, we pretty much stay together. All of us have known each other since freshman year, if not Junior High, so we all know how to kind of react with each other.*

Students in the general population seem to be aware of the inequality of access to honors and advanced placement courses. They seemed aware of what was happening in those classes, and the injustice of the selection process. The students were in some
instances made aware by faculty, perhaps in an effort on the part of faculty to encourage the student to advocate for himself. The student seemed to accept the reality, and his unfortunate position. He seemed proud to share the idea that he was good enough, but accepted that it did not matter.

GENERAL POPULATION STUDENT: Some kids are real smart. Some kids are supposed to be in AP but they're not. Like me, I could have been in AP for English or History, because I'm pretty good at that, but I wasn't.

INTERVIEWER: Why? Why not?

GENERAL POPULATION STUDENT - I don’t know. One of my teachers actually told me that I have some kids in AP and Honors that aren't supposed to be here, and some kids that could be in here, like you, but you're not. So I don't know.

External Community Impact and Advocacy

The neighborhoods which populate The disadvantaged school are different in a number of ways. Some of the communities are more advantaged than others, which leads to a differing narrative between groups converging freshman year at The disadvantaged school. Teachers shared a bit about what they know of the neighborhoods which feed The disadvantaged school.

It’s hard because we have 4 different middle schools from four very different communities

One of the communities doesn’t even have a library, and in Sauk Village, it's dangerous to walk to the library.
The reality of student home life for much of the population is stagnating. Teachers interviewed seemed to have a grasp on the barriers between students and success. As a result of their limited resources, there is some necessary pedagogical restructuring, in order to accommodate challenges within the external communities and home lives of students.

Interview responses seem to reveal that instead of a restructuring, which might take into accommodation the challenges of students within their personal environments and communities, providing them with unique and creative pathways to learning and growth, teachers have opted for pedagogical reframing, which simply lowers the bar and changes the goal, thus magnifying real problems and creating additional barriers to success.

Parents in disadvantaged communities are often on the outside of their child’s education and are unable to push back against reframing in the school. They are often at a loss as to how to engage with their child’s teachers and school. They are often bitter about their own education, understanding that they themselves were not presented with much opportunity in their youth. Teachers often categorize these parents as “having no interest in education” because they do not engage or cannot engage in the ways that are considered valuable and acceptable to them. Auerbach, (2007) states that,

Educators may be unaware or unappreciative of the invisible strategies that parents of color/low income use to support their children’s education, such as making sacrifices so children can attend better schools or limiting children’s chores to allow for study time.
She went on to say that parents are often housing a great deal of shame and anger about
the opportunities which they missed, and draw stark comparison between what they did
and why they want for their children. Auerbach (2007) shared a quote from a parent of
color who used her own experience in cautionary stories to guide her children from her own
experience toward something better. “I always use me as an example. Like, ‘Look at me. Do
you want to work like me? You know, work hard and live like this?’” (p. 263). This is
common. Communities of color are filled with families who are working hard to support
their children, as the very school, which they believe represents hope and promise for their
students, relegate them to the life parents are hoping they will transcend. A teacher at The
disadvantaged school described her views of student life, and her thoughts about the
families of those in the general population.

There challenges are poverty, lack of family support, and all the social ills that come
with it. There are years of deficient skills, piling on top of each other. They have
attendance issues, there’s no family structure. They have to overcome so much, and
they bring so much baggage to school. They have so much stuff. I think about the
violence. Some of them don’t have the ability to deal with it all and still do well in
school. I don’t know what the parents say. Some of them have no interest in school.

They don’t think it’s going to get them anywhere. They have all these issues, making
money at home, dealing drugs or whatever, and they think in the moment, but they
don’t think about 10 years from now, and what they can be doing.
Crosnoe, Mistry &Glen, (2002) found that some economically disadvantaged parents are more pessimistic about the prospect of their children attending college in the future and economically advantaged children. They go on to suggest that economic hardship can be demoralizing which can cause them to have less hope, which can create a self-fulfilling prophecy. When coupled with pedagogical reframing and a faculty with low expectations, the pessimism of parents creates an all but impossible hurdle for students to overcome. The narrative is presented at home and school, and eventually becomes a part of the student himself.

**Inclusion and the Superlative**

There was only one clear example of the use of the superlative at The disadvantaged school. When interviewing a group of honors students, a young woman shared something that a teacher told her class.

*One of our teachers said, for honors classes, our expectations are here, (makes a motion with a horizontal face down palm held high) and for our other students it is down here (same motion significantly lower). So he was basically saying that we have to do better than them, even though we’re just as good as them, and they’re just as good as us, you can’t slip up when you’re in AP and honors classes*

Honors students were told that they were expected to do “better” than the general population. The teacher seemed to attempt to give the appearance of equity by saying that they were “just as good as them” but clear that the expectation is that they would perform
better. This expectation was expressed directly to honors students, and indirectly to the general population. The disadvantaged school has demonstrated pedagogical reframing for the general population, a pervasive survival narrative, leading to stagnation and maintenance within the more disadvantaged population, the creation of monoculture groups tracked for divergent instructional paths, and ultimately a superlative viewpoint embedded in the honors and AP group. The disadvantaged school’s narrative is a tale of two educations, a place of opportunity and growth for some, and of stagnation or retrogression for others, simultaneously the spring of hope and the winter of despair.

The advantaged school Narrative

Pedagogical Reframing and Power Pedagogy

The advantaged school is host to an economically advantaged population. Study 2 interviews suggested that students attending this school were taught with the expectation of success. It was understood that the district and school itself was one which enjoyed a great deal of achievement with regard to its educational reputation, and student post-secondary accomplishments. In interviews with students it seemed that student success was built into teaching practices. There appeared to be power pedagogy at play, which might have created a population of students prepared for success after high school and throughout their lives. Delpit (1998) found that,

Children from middle-class homes tend to do better in school than those from non-middle-class homes because the culture of the school is based on the culture of the
upper and middle classes—of those in power. The upper and middle classes send their children to school with all of the accoutrements of the culture of power; children from other kinds of families operate within perfectly wonderful and viable cultures but not cultures that carry the codes or rules of power.

Study 3 interviews sought to learn more about the kids of codes of power, exercised as pedagogical acts, which may have been at play, in the advantaged school, through conversations with teachers and expanded interviews with students.

Conversations with teachers at The advantaged school revealed a group of educators who worked hard to insure a nuanced and complete education for students. Teachers dialogued a bit in a group interview about some of the challenges facing their students.

*The constant struggle is reinforcing reading comprehension, so that we can get to deeper understanding and deeper experiences*

*I see students that are not the greatest in my class, and then I walk the halls and see something that they have drawn, that is phenomenal, and I realize, “Oh, there is more to this kid!” There are different ways for students to be successful.*

Teachers had an overall positive attitude about the general student body. Concerns most central to them, were those of subtle shifts which could be made in order to enhance instruction. One teacher expressed a desire for deeper literary understandings and how they may translate to genuine student experiences, still another rediscovered teaching
strategies by seeking out talents, not typical to his specific subject matter, but that might create bridges for students with other more meaningful interest in that student’s life.

The goal of the instructional staff was to find ways to best educate their students. They sought complex learning levels and meaningful connections to the work. In this way, students learn to connect on a larger level to complex ideas, preparing them for a myriad of challenges which might accompany leadership roles and higher learning in their post-secondary environments. The idea of a Power Pedagogy is the instructional practices and the environment in which they are practiced to prepare students for power, and a position of influence and authority as they move into maturity.

As the school narrative unfolded through interviews, a bit of student circumstance was revealed. The advantaged school students, when asked, struggled to think of challenges in their education. One student, after a lengthy moment of consideration, decided on social media and other technological tools as a bit of a challenge.

*Social media is a huge challenge because it is a distraction. Or because it is easy not to learn something, you just go straight to Google.*

There seemed to be little standing in the way of learning in this institution. Students seemed rather focused on school work, and building toward future goals.

Within the power pedagogy, students are expected to attend an institution of higher learning. Teachers at The advantaged school expressed a desire for a wider range of options for their students as they advanced beyond high school. Teachers shared that they spent a great deal of time getting to know their students. They expressed a level of
frustration that the school environment heavily pushed higher learning. They wanted a more versatile set of options for students whom they understood were multifaceted. They knew the benefits of higher learning, but wanted breadth of options for their students.

*I think the lowest students can become so frustrated because we're so geared towards you going to college, and that's it. There is no other plan. So if you fall into that category, where you don't think you're going to go to college, there's nothing wrong with that, but I think they feel like maybe there is, because everybody is trying to push them in that direction.*

The school environment at The advantaged school prepares students for independence and self-reliance as they embark on life after high school. A group of students discussed differences in teacher engagement between juniors and seniors and freshman and sophomores.

*STUDENT: Now that we are seniors, teachers don't really care about our problems. They are more like it's not my problem. In years prior to this year they were more like we want you to do well.*

*INTERVIEWER: What do you make of that change?*

*STUDENT: It is a bigger responsibility. I feel like it prepares us for after upper class teachers they are the first ones to tell you that you will be on your own in college.*

The advantaged school students are groomed for self-sufficiency. They are prepared to handle the rigors of higher learning, and equipped with the tools needed to succeed when they are released from the institution. Students educated within power pedagogy
conceptualize a future of leadership. They understand that they come from a successful
group, and that the expectation is for them to remain successful.

I would like to finish up school and open up my own gym.

It is expected, especially at this school, from teachers and family members, they all
expect us to take those successful steps.

I feel like it would be surprising if you don't come out successful, because that is
abnormal.

Within pedagogy of power, students understand that students in their school are
being groomed for success. There is very little room for error. Teachers are watching
carefully to make certain that each child receives a personal education, which will ensure
their success. Their environment consists of other students and families with the same goal,
and thus there is little departure from the standard.

Survival Stagnation and Maintenance

At The advantaged school there was no evidence of the Survival Stagnation and
Maintenance construct emerged from interviews with faculty and students.

Monoculture and Diversity

The advantaged school has strict boundaries. Students attend the school based on
where they live. They do not have many transfer students. The majority of students come
from feeder middle schools. One teacher discussed how the student population is groomed for advancement in high school. She mentioned the “good” background of her students, and the great feeder school which prepare them for their time in the advantaged school early on.

I have a lot of student-athletes and they are much focused and very driven. I see a lot of family support. I see some students with less family support. They want to go to college, and many of our students have a great opportunity to do that. We have support from our middle schools. We have vertical alignment with our feeder schools. We know where they’re coming from and where we want to take them. I think they have a good background, and we have great feeder schools, and our students are prepared and ready to learn.

The students at The advantaged school have been together as a group since at least 6th grade. 85 percent of the student population is Caucasian. Most families in the district share similar economic advantage. None of the teachers spoke to the reason for the lack of transfer students, but the school community seemed in many ways closed to outsiders. One teacher even commented that people are proud to say that they go to The advantaged school, and that many of the staff are former students.

We don't have a lot of transfers. The majority of our students come from Hickory Creek Middle School and Mokena Jr.

This school is based on boundaries. If you live in a certain area you go to a certain school. I would say though that people are very proud to say they go to the
advantaged school; I think that whether they have a choice or not people are glad to
be here. They know that they are going to get a good education. I went here as a
student and I always felt like this is going to be great for me.

The advantaged school student population seemed to have social uniformity as well. Many teachers spoke about social media as one of the major issues for the teens. The ways in which they engaged each other and their social interactions seemed similar across the school, with more than a few teachers commenting on how technology guided much of the schools social interaction. Teachers and students alike shared a sense that most students struggled with choices in school and career paths, and a kind of competition for completion of many shared group goals.

One aspect of our school, which has recently become a challenge, is the prom proposal. How are they going to one-up the next person, and then they put it up on Pinterest, and one idea is better than the next, and there is so much competition with these kids, which I think that's a struggle for them. Or like, everyone else has decided which college they're going to and I haven't decided yet, or choosing which major to go with, some of that is difficult for them. They're not sure which path to take.

Overall, the student body and staff were similar. Quite a few responses were the same, across interviews.

My dad owns a business right now, so I just want to play hockey throughout college, and then I am majoring in business, so I want to eventually just take that over and then run that. That is like my main plan goal, just like being with the family business.
I help run my family business. My family isn’t really like the happiest. They would rather I take a real career, so that I do not have to make such a huge investment of my time.

Expectations were the same for each student interviewed, and socialization was similar for the most part. Students came from similar home lives, and had similar goals for their post-secondary lives. There was a definite felling of uniformity. The general thought seemed to be that The advantaged school, the surrounding area, and the families which resided there were of high quality, and shared most goals. One teacher explained this thought in the following way.

I think our reputation is strong. We have outstanding Athletics activities. Almost all of our kids are involved in something. Our academics are superior. The kids are great and I think the community, even with closing the school, our families know your kids are going to go to another Lincoln-Way school, and they’re going to be fine. I think that people who value education, and value higher education, they flock together here. I know that students move into this district for our athletic programs, and people from surrounding areas will come here because they know that it is a good school or because their family went here and they know the tradition.

**External Community Impact and Advocacy**

Study 3 interview responses from The advantaged school revealed strong student support from families. The school community consisted of primarily two parent families, with both parents participating in their student’s education.
Most of our kids have very supportive families, a lot of two-parent families, a lot of things that are just not in place and other districts.

Teachers shared that there was no shortage of communication and participation from families in the district. Email communication was not uncommon, and parents posed informed concerns at conferences. Teachers stated that conferences were packed, and often both parents would participate. Teachers attributed this level of involvement to their own openness, and the willingness of the school to allow for parental participation.

If you were to compare this district with other districts you would find that there is a lot of parental involvement, with concerns and comment. Parents, specifically here in this district, really do like to feel like they have a say. Our parent teacher conferences are booked the whole night. The communication is there via email, and because we are so open, and they feel like it is welcome, I think parents really do want to be involved in the school. If you were to look at other schools in the area, you would not find that as much as her. It is a big community feel.

One teacher shared the degree to which parents are advocating for their students to take AP classes. Honors classes seemed common among the general population; however, Advanced Placement courses seemed to be a bit tougher to gain access to. The teacher shared her experience with parents strongly advocating for their children to be placed in the AP courses.

Her concern was that there was potentially a push for students to participate in AP courses, who might not be prepared for the course, or who might not yet possess the skill
level that the course requires. She seemed a bit frustrated because her AP course, which she wanted to design at an advanced level, was forced into a more fundamental design, in order to accommodate the “pushing in” of students which traditionally should not be there. She shared that the overall curriculum suffers from this kind of advocacy. She stated that it happened quite often, and across all AP courses.

One of the things for me is pushing a lot of kids into AP classes. We are getting a lot of kids in, which is good for them to experience a higher level, but it makes it more difficult to do some of the things that you should be able to do, because you have your top, top of the line kids, and then you have some kids who traditionally would not be in AP classes. Some of them are more of your fundamentals kids, that are allowed to get into these classes. Then you have a much wider range. You try to stay true to the curriculum, but it suffers because you kind of have to accommodate for all different levels, when it should be just one higher level. It does not allow me to do some of the things that I would like to do as a teacher in an ideal world.

The strong advocacy from parents, pairs naturally with a common theme which came up in student interviews. 3 out of 5 students interviewed stated that they were a big “investment” for their parents. Parents advocating for AP classes in order to help ensure their child’s post-secondary success is useful in understanding the kind of expectations placed on students for their lives after high school. Students understand that their family and larger community have expectations of them. They understand that the strong
advocacy and other potential sacrifices on the part of the family come with great expectations.

*My parents expect me to keep my grades up. That is the big thing, because they have invested so much time and money into my future.*

*I feel like there is a family standard that I have to live up to. There is an unspoken pressure and expectation that they worked so hard to get me here. It is only right that you repay them with success.*

**The Comparison and the Superlative**

4 out of 5 The advantaged school students expressed in some way that their school, and or community, was the best or better than other schools or communities. 6 out of 8 The advantaged school teachers expressed that their school, community, or students, were the best or better than other schools or communities.

*I think students live here because of the schools. I think a lot of students and families here because of the school. When I was in high school I went to a district that was close by, and I always heard Lincoln Way was the best. We have resources that are great.*

The use of the superlative the highest quality or degree, or comparisons, appeared throughout many statements made by faculty and staff about the school. It appeared subtly.
By and large, we have a very good population. A lot of times we probably take them for granted. By and large the kids are respectful, they come in and they are ready to go, sometimes not as much as we’d like, but compare that to other places, and we are pretty fortunate in that way.

There was not a grand boasting about the school, teachers, and staff. There were no claims made in order to back up or justify the use of the superlative or favorable comparative claims, there was simply noting that the school was better or the “best”. This was stated as a fact, and embedded within much of the common dialogue about the school.

If you were to compare this district with other districts, you would find that there is a lot of parental involvement, with concerns and comment. Parents, specifically here in this district, really do like to feel like they have a say. Our parent teacher conferences are booked the whole night. The communication is there via email, and because we are so open, and they feel like it is welcome, I think parents really do want to be involved in the school. If you were to look at other schools in the area, you would not find that as much as her. It is a big community feel.

Most of our kids have very supportive families, a lot of two-parent families, a lot of things that are just not in place and other districts.

Dialogue about parental support included comparison with other districts, which did not add clarification to the information being provided about their school. Yet it was present, a comparison, with The advantaged school on top. The same was true of dialogue about students and the community.
Over all we have great kids, especially I think if you were to compare to some other districts, we overall have just very polite nice kids, this area is nice, I do not ever envision myself going very far from here.

In a dialogue about school and neighborhood choice, where comparison with other schools seemed logical, there was an interesting switch. As opposed using the superlative for comparison, the teacher interviewed used the comparative form of the adjective good. Here, were the superlative would make sense, “because their kids can have the best shot” the teacher chose the comparative “because their kids can have a better shot” The best shot would imply, that of all of the options for communities and towns, she chose the best of the options, which would be a benign statement. Instead the teacher chose the comparative “better shot” which implies better that something or someone specific.

and this used to be in this area very blue collar very working class in all of the towns there is an element of them now but everyone that is moving it is moving in because of the school and the college prep because their kids they can have a better shot

The use of the superlative and comparative can be useful in understanding attitudes about class position. Understanding why students and faculty would express the superiority of their school, often, without importance to the dialogue, is helpful in understanding the culture, climate, and pedagogy of the school. The positioning of their community, school, and students, above others helps to tell the story of The advantaged school. It is a significant part of this school’s narrative.
Theoretical Lens

Study 3 school narratives were analyzed through a theoretical lens consisting of theories put forth in Paulo Freire’s Pedagogy of the Oppressed. Two major levels exist within the portion of the theory utilized for the purpose if this study.

In the first, Freire discusses the evolution of the oppressor, “The very structure of their thought has been conditioned by the contradictions of the concrete, existential, situation by which they were shaped. Their idea is to be men; but for them, to be men is to be oppressors. This is their model of humanity.” Freire (1970) In this theory, Freire suggest that the structure, that is, the way that all of the thoughts of the student are formed, are conditioned and consistently reinforced by contradictions of the concrete. That is, reality is contradicted in their favor, time and again. What is in front of them, what they see about themselves and the world, is contradicted in a way that shifts not only their understanding of reality, but their ability to form thoughts outside of the conditioned acceptance of the contradiction as fact.

This does not take place only on a physical level. Through the pedagogy of their education, the advantaged population learns to be oppressors. Delpit (1998) found that if parents are members of a culture of power, and that if they live by the rules of the culture of power, that they will then transmit the codes of that culture to their children, and that this transmission is viewed as necessary for their survival. The codes are built into the language and the fabric of their lives. It is who their parents are and who they are reared to be.
Corresponding codes are embedded in the power pedagogy of the advantaged school, possibly acting as the structure for engrained oppressive behaviors in students.

**Level 2**

In the second level of Freire’s theory, he explains that “the oppressed, at a certain moment of their existential experience, adopt an attitude of ‘adhesion’ to the oppressor. Under these circumstances they cannot ‘consider’ him sufficiently clearly to objectivize him – to discover him ‘outside’ themselves. This does not necessarily mean that the oppressed are unaware that they are downtrodden. But, their perception of themselves as oppressed is impaired by their submersion in the reality of oppression.” Friere (1970)

Pedagogy, as a part of the evolution of the oppressed, makes use of an important term, “adhesion”. The medical definition of the term is *an abnormal union of membranous surfaces due to inflammation or injury*. Oppressed populations adopt an abnormal fusion with the oppressor as a result of the inflammation and injury of oppressive acts and circumstances. As a result of the attitude of adhesion with the oppressor, the oppressed cannot see the oppressor clearly. The oppressed are unlikely to recognize the oppressor as the cause of oppression because of the reality of oppression. The oppressor is such an ingrained part of the world known, that the oppressed cannot separate themselves or the oppressor from that reality. They lack, as a matter of perceived natural law. The environment in which they come of age, and more importantly, the pedagogy under which they are taught, reinforces the construction of this seemingly unshakable reality.
To discover the oppressor, which is in this context is to discover the people, tools, teachers, and pedagogical acts, which confine them to their disadvantaged positions, is not possible, because the student is submerged in the reality of the oppression. This is the condition which evidence suggest was present in the disadvantaged school.

**Level 1**

The first level of Freire’s theory, utilized for the purpose of the theoretical lens, has been used by this study primarily for further understanding of the advantaged school. The narrative of the advantaged school told the story of power pedagogy. The voices of the school and community painted a picture of privilege. Students and teachers expressed often that their school was the best. The school is made up primarily of members of the dominant culture, and thus, for the purpose of this study is viewed through the lens of the oppressor population. Freire argues that pedagogy is a key tool in the creation of the oppressor. It is possible that shaping and distribution of consciousness, identity, and desire, through conditioning, and contradictions of the concrete is both the process and result of power pedagogy.

The creation of an oppressor class or group seems to fit the narrative of the advantaged school. Power pedagogy, which shapes the advantaged learning environment, reinforces student understandings of the world around them. Pedagogical acts, by teachers, abound, which reinforce the belief on the part of the advantaged student, that they are better than disadvantaged populations in every way. The environment of their education suggests that they are better students, from the best neighborhood, with the best teachers, and the best school.
Freireian theory for the creation of the oppressor class addresses this phenomenon. They are not better than other students. That is not the reality. The theory suggests that advantaged students, educated within power pedagogy, are being conditioned according to contradiction of the concrete.

The concrete reality is that children are born equal. No group dominates another. There is nothing about the advantaged school, the students, or the neighborhood which makes it any better than other schools, students or neighborhoods, save their own submersion in an environment of the oppressors making, where student confrontation with reality are purposefully limited. Opportunities to discover reality, that other group are not less than, are few, as a result of student schooling in a monoculture environments. This was not the case in the advantaged school alone.

The disadvantaged school created an environment within an environment in order to protect members of the dominant oppressor group from the pedagogy for the oppressed. Students in the disadvantaged group, whom were members of the dominant group, traveled in a bubble, and were shielded from the ill effects of the oppressed population. In the disadvantaged school, students in the dominant group outperformed members of the oppressed group by significant margins. Illinois School Report Card data shows a gap of as much as 48% in reading, 42% in math, and as much as 37% in Science. Across every measure, without exception, power and privilege for white students was evident in test scores. Power and privilege, although not as significant as the advantaged school, constructs a different reality for the children in the dominant group, sharing a space with disadvantaged children.
Families in the advantaged community were of similarly high economic position. Within the disadvantaged school their existed a monoculture advantaged group. This group, as did the students in the advantage school, accepted a conditioned reality about themselves. Teachers told them that they expected more of them, which implied that they were somehow better equipped to handle a greater level of study or that they were perhaps better than the general population. They were limited in their interaction with members from the general population, traveling in closed cohorts which allowed the contradictions to go unscathed. They did not have to take classes with intelligent students from the general population, which might upset the conditioning of their class.

Instructors, through pedagogical acts, create advantaged monoculture groups. These groups are guided by pedagogical reframing for the general population and great expectations for the advantaged populations. Parents play a large role in the creation of these groups. Parental Advocacy and the external community play a large role in the evolution of the oppressive population. Freire states that their idea is to be men; but for them, to be men is to be oppressors. This is their model of humanity. This suggests that the community and family structure plays a key role in the making of a member of the oppressive population.

The advantaged school narrative demonstrated an active family and community, surrounding a student population with a multitude of contradictions to the concrete. They themselves must accept the contradictions in order to reinforce them among their children and students. Students educated under power pedagogy are learning to be men and women, in an environment where to be a man or a woman is to be an oppressor. There was a great deal of
dialogue in the advantaged group in both Study 1 and Study 2 about the choice parents made to move into the school’s district. Teachers expressed the desire for parents to give their child the best education. However, for many parents in the advantaged group, the quest for good schools and the hunt for a home was not toward the end of a great high school experience for their child alone, it was also to serve the function of securing resources for their children and excluding those resources from other children.

This was not seen in the advantaged group singularly. In the disadvantaged school, White students were placed into honors and AP classes almost exclusively. This insured that they would engage in power pedagogy. This required exclusion of the oppressed, in order to uphold conditioned contradictions to the concrete.

McGrath & Kuriloff (1999) came across similar behaviors in suburban schools in the American northeast. They found that Administrators worked actively to limit interactions between White and Black students in classrooms, not as much during common interactions, but specifically in classrooms. They found that administrators created ability tracks, and on grade-level teams, outside of the honors framework in order to justify the stratification of their population. They found that parents were motivated to take advantage of the special classroom groupings by “desires to separate their children from African-American students”

It is tempting to assume that the desire was to the end of minimal contact with African-American students, because they perceived to be unruly, wild, and perhaps even slower than the average White student. However, perhaps the opposite is true. Perhaps, in keeping with
Freire’s theory, the parents are protecting their children from the concrete knowledge that African-American students are smart, disciplined, and ready to work. Facing the concrete each day in classes might disturb not only the conditioning of the oppressor, but the evolution of the oppressed as well. Interactions, daily with the oppressive class, might allow the oppressed an opportunity to see the oppressor “sufficiently clearly to objectivize him – to discover him ‘outside’ themselves” Freire (1970)

**Level 2**

“Their perception of themselves as oppressed is impaired by their submersion in the reality of oppression.” Friere (1970) in this study, the narrative of the disadvantaged school fits well within Level 2 of the study’s theoretical lens. Freire states that the perception of themselves, in this instance the student, as oppressed, is impaired by their submersion in the reality of oppression, which for the student exist both in and outside of their schooling. The oppression of students in the general population of the disadvantaged school appeared in many components of the narrative. The general population was excluded from advanced courses, marginalized into lower-level classes, and stereotyped into skewed narratives which resulted in pedagogical reframing, leaving students ill equipped for advancement beyond their external condition. Research has demonstrated this kind if exclusion.

Landsman, (2004) wrote about her experiences as she visited school districts in her research, districts which claimed to have dealt successfully with a culturally diverse student body.
When I visited their advanced placement classes, or gifted services, or the International Baccalaureate program, I found mostly white students with a sprinkling of Black, Latino, or Asian American students.

Freire suggest adhesion prohibits disadvantaged students from advocating for themselves, that it prohibits families in this population from advocating for them, because they cannot see the oppressor, that is, the people in power constructing the oppression. Because of the trauma of their oppression, they are unable to view the oppressor clearly. Fine (1997) shows that racially-based inequality in schools helps to reproduce class structure, she goes on to suggest that the students are in many ways willing participants. The Freireian theory supports this; it states that oppression itself clouds focus. The trauma is slight and often cannot be discerned by the population experiencing it because of a clouded focus, which may lead to the perception of willing participation which Fine found in her work.

Teachers in the disadvantaged school may very well be, through pedagogical acts, the last in a long line of inflicted trauma which results in adhesion. For example, housing discrimination, job discrimination, police brutality, the war on drugs, and the broken homes, in the wake of the prison industrial complex, poverty level minimum wages, and welfare reform bring the student to the doorstep of the disadvantaged school, which offers a child, pedagogy for the oppressed. In the last place of hope for the child, the place which is believed to be an equalizing force, that child is reared as the oppressed.

A student in the disadvantaged school, existing and submerged in the reality and inflammation of the injury of his or her oppression, is stagnated and maintained in that
condition by the very teachers and school which claim the goal of pulling them from it. The pedagogy of the oppressed in a disadvantaged school is seen throughout the schools narrative clearly.

Pedagogical reframing, which reinforces the narrative of survival, stagnation and maintenance, which prohibits advancement and growth and relegates the general oppressed population into classrooms where expectations are low, often to simply make it past 18 years old, and then strive for a retail job. They are separated from the oppressor, as they both come of age in divergent paths.

Kozol, (2005) offers an example of a similar kind of population through an example of specific pedagogical reframing in his work within schools in the South Bronx. He explains the Skinnerian rote-and-drill approaches commonly employed in penal institutions as a way of altering attitudes and learning styles of Black and Hispanic children within schools.

Freire’s theory is a tool useful to understanding composed school narratives. Each of the two schools, selected for their representation of advantaged and disadvantaged communities, had a unique story. The Pedagogy of the Oppressed is as much a theory of the making and evolution of oppressed populations, as it is a theory of the making and evolution of oppressive populations. In Study 2 the advantaged and disadvantaged schools seemed to fit the framework of the oppressor and oppressed outlined in Freire’s 1970 work, however more data was needed, and additional contact was required, in order to understand the degree to which Freire’s theory might apply to the advantaged and disadvantaged populations. The thematic school narratives tell the story of each school,
each of which appear to rest well within the framework of Freire’s theory for the evolution of the oppressor, and that of the oppressed.

Bernstein & Solomon, (2010) link pedagogy with identity and culture. “Pedagogic modalities are crucial realizations of symbolic control, and thus of the process of cultural production and reproduction. Symbolic control, through its pedagogic modalities, attempts to shape and distribute forms of consciousness, identity and desire. This link between identity, culture, and pedagogy, is useful when looking through a Freireian lens. Understanding the ways that pedagogical practice shapes and molds consciousness, identity, and desire, are helpful to the process of understanding the application Freire’s theory to the advantaged and disadvantaged schools in this study.

**General Discussion**

Although much has been written on the topics of race, class, and education, this study helped to gain understandings about the ways in which youth differentially perceive their educational climate at different poles of the class structure. Through survey data and interviews of youth an understanding of pedagogical practice and school climate was gained which is useful in understanding the differences and similarities of the institutions, towards a better model for educational equality.

The quantitative data suggest that students across both institutions felt that they were responsible for their own education, and that a significant predictor for that sense of responsibility was student voice. In 1991, Deci, Vallerand, Pelleiter, and Ryan found that
several characteristics, in the context of the classroom, support a sense of self-determination or responsibility for one’s own education, including choice. The data collected in this study furthers that notion, with the understanding that choice or student voice, can lead to feelings of ownership of one’s own education.

If a student feels empowered in such a way, that they view themselves as primarily responsible for their own education, then that very student can become the gateway for new approaches to their education. The idea of going directly through the student for transformative educational measures, as opposed to reliance on the slow moving mechanics of school reform, is exciting to say the least. Students in turn can become their own advocate’s within schools, and the source of organic educational practices beyond the school environment toward a unique and whole method of education driven by student.

On the other hand, the field of community psychology has focused on the dangers of empowerment where empowerment is simply perceived and psychological but is not found as a reality. Riger (1993) looks at the landscape of empowerment, and the ways that it is perceived. She highlights that in many cases individuals may achieve a sense of empowerment, without in actual increases in power. It is possible to capitalize on the feelings of students at both institutions in creative ways.

Students at both The disadvantaged school and The advantaged school have been impacted by the pedagogical practices maintained by their institutions. Students at The disadvantaged school have experienced pedagogical reframing, based on the status quo of their community; Students at The advantaged school have experienced a kind of superiority
based on the narratives of their parents, teachers, and expanded communities. However, students from both institutions felt as though they were responsible for their own education. With this in mind it might be possible for students from each school to shift their learning environments towards expanded opportunity in the case of Bloom Trial, and more ecological perception of communities, in the case of The advantaged school.

This shift might not be possible when analyzing individual students, but may be quite possible when looking at the shared perspective of the student populations, and the ways that they might transform the sense of empowerment into actual power which no longer supports the status quo. In doing so students possess the beginnings, in their perception of empowerment, to transcend the larger sociopolitical context which Riger (1993) described as a microsystem which often supports the status quo, toward a new framing of themselves, and the world around them. In this way The disadvantaged school students may move beyond the perhaps prescribed futures designed by their sociopolitical context towards boundless options and opportunities, and The advantaged school students may find more similarities among their community and other communities, potentially eroding a sense of superiority.

Differences also appeared in person and place around educational practices within the two schools, and a social class-based analysis was useful in examining those differences.

Conversations with students revealed an atmosphere in which teachers were caring and engaged although there were hints of differences in the expectation of the teachers in the two different schools, particularly in the teachers serving struggling communities. Kozol,
(2005) highlighted the ways in which the subtle practices in a building can equate to immense differences almost invisible from the outside, and yet which have become to appear almost normal to those within. Students at the struggling students have come to accept a kind of educational cast, even within their own schools, and there is a distinct sense in which they play their part as if their path was laid out for them early in their education.

African-American and White student achievement within The disadvantaged school was distinct. According to the school's 2012 State of IL Title One application for state school assistance, 50.6% of White students achieved scores within the parameters of proficiency in reading while only 16.1% of African-American students achieved proficiency. Further, 42.7% of White students achieved proficiency in math, where only 9% of African-American students did. African-American students were divided even further based on good behavior. Students articulated in the interviews that the Prairie State Program (a relatively accelerated program in partnership with a local Jr. College) was unique for a certain group of students, all of whom were African-American, but were separated via cohort model from the rest of the African-American student population.

The study revealed a sense of satisfaction with graduation alone among the population of students surveyed and interviewed at The disadvantaged school. The data suggest that The disadvantaged school students were urged to complete high school, with little planning beyond that point. Students understood that their education was not the epitome, and had a seemingly background understanding of the subpar goals that had been
established for them. That students were, “just trying to graduate” is telling. The post-secondary seemed a non-issue. Langhout, Drake, and Rosselli (2009) point out that students graduating from schools like The disadvantaged school, predominantly African-American and lacking rigor, can find ways to move on to institutions of higher learning, but that such students often face a second set of challenges upon arrival, including limited mobility within the post-secondary institution. Climates of limited goal-setting promote a sense of powerlessness, which is too often reinforced by the community and other social sources. Students at the struggling school begin to settle into an almost prescribed position, and become comfortable but do not always thrive there. It is almost as if teachers, students, and parents have found a kind of homeostasis of mediocrity, on which students are resting, and repeating.

By contrast the more affluent The advantaged school students had a clearer understanding of their superiority to students in other surrounding schools, which would have included The disadvantaged school. Students in the more affluent climate touted their neighborhood and their education as the best, which paves a road for their dispositions and associations in the future. They come from the best, and will accept nothing less as they move forward. This population has been seemingly groomed (and currently being groomed) in power, and the preservation of a position of superiority. The superiority and assumption of power held by this population, appears to be maintained by pedagogical practices uncovered in the case study of this institution.
The notion of a school in an advantaged community having greater access to via social and cultural capital, as well as economic advantage is not a new idea. Kozol, (2005) established that such inequality of structure and resource existed. However, this study has revealed a potential ideology of inequality, something in the methodology and pedagogy of the affluent schools, which is seemingly woven into the fabric of the families, students, and school. This inequality is almost a fostered expectancy. There is a readiness for the inequality of the future-it is normalized for this population. In this way, separation and inequality could be dangerously poised to propel forward in perpetuity.

In 2002, Crosnoe, Mistry, & Elder, found that economically disadvantaged parents can be pessimistic about the likelihood of their child’s college attendance, and that their very economic hardships are demoralizing for families, and cause doubt and a lack of hope. This lack of hope creates the circular movement of economic disadvantage supported by the schools and the greater society, which feeds the poor education resting firmly in the middle of the cycle.

The affluent schools, experiencing the other side, are informed by the demanding expectations of more economically secure communities. This climate lends to the success of the student population and thus ushers the student population from such institutions into positions of economic advantage themselves, thus recreating the cycle.

There was evidence that the pedagogical practices of the two case schools differed, however, there is further research needed in order to gain a better understanding of teacher pedagogical motivations. Understanding their motivations may be best specifically
within institutions in which the two dynamics are present, and where pedagogical frameworks may shift back and forth from one population to another, in a form of institutionalized classism Lott (2002)

There was a dynamic of power and powerlessness which emerged in Study 2 with The disadvantaged school and the more affluent case school. Shor and Freire (1982) wrote of pedagogy for the oppressed that highlights the differences in the ways in which privileged and disadvantaged populations are educated. These theorists further examined the concept of dialogical and anti-dialogical pedagogical practice within privileged and oppressed populations.

Stories of the schools explored by this study have much more to share with us than tales of oppression and blight. Students at both schools believe that when they have a voice in their school, they are responsible for their own education. Paulo Friere suggests a critical pedagogy, which encourages students to use their own lens and experiences in order it evaluate their own education. He suggests that they may dialogue with the instructor in order to push against oppressive pedagogy towards a more socially just approach. Teachers are currently working towards surface goals. They want to educate children to the extent that they themselves understand education. Often the students are looking to break free of a defunct model, but, in true Freireian fashion, well-meaning teachers continue to advance their training and revisit the pedagogy of their past. The result being an amalgam of disjointed practices which are only portions of a number of differing philosophies external to the individual teachers, who have not quite developed their own practice and
philosophy, and which are wholly separate from the practices of the other teachers with whom their share a student body. Critical pedagogy might prove a useful method to address this kind of cycle. Friere suggest that students and teachers should divorce themselves from the anti-dialogic, teacher and administrator led, pedagogic practices, which are breeding grounds from reframing and power pedagogy; and instead work towards a more dialogic model, which would include a praxis of exchange and pedagogical theory development, which can create new practices. The challenge for this theory was that the praxis never ends. With each new student body teachers must dialogue and develop to meet their unique needs. It is a challenge but it is possible with the students in both schools. I did not meet a single student or teacher for that matter who was beyond movement. Friere argues that “Education is the practice of freedom, as opposed to education as the practice of domination.” Students in both schools believed that they were responsible for their own education, and they, both the advantaged and the disadvantaged, will be responsible for their own freedom.

**Conclusion**

To some extent, this study reveals the assertion of Glen (2002) class position is maintained through education, which is perceived as a great class equalizer in the United States. Teachers in well-meaning attempts to aid the students realistically, and meet them where they are, may have adopted some damaging practices. It seemed that The disadvantaged school teachers may have developed coping mechanisms for the poverty and
economic hardship of the population, by assisting students with basic needs, and pushing for a limited goal of graduation, as opposed to pushing rigorous coursework.

Our school is really involved with the students and like I really appreciate that because they helped me a lot throughout my life because I been through a whole lot, and without them I feel like I wouldn’t be able to sit here and do this interview with you because being a senior now I feel like during my freshman year I felt like I wasn’t going to make it, and they gave me the strength and I am so happy to be here.

Many of the pedagogical practices within the affluent school could be transposed onto the lower class school without cost. A subtle shift in instructor ideology may be all that is needed to turn the tide for a population of students in possession of an empowered ownership of their education. Critical pedagogy is Freire’s answer to the kind of pedagogical reframing and power pedagogy acts which are shaping oppressive and oppressed populations. Expensive programming and annual adjustments to curriculum might be time and expense wasted, on a teaching population that may be psychologically ill prepared for the shift. A change in climate, via the attitudes of the school personnel and greater community, may be the first significant step in the improvement of the traditionally disadvantage schools. With this knowledge, it may be possible to begin to smudge the line of privilege, and create a rich education for all. With students and teachers engaged in critical pedagogy and praxis, empowered students, those in both institutions, which maintain that they are in charge of their own education, hold the potential to shift their community narratives, and reimagine a story that reflects a new generation.
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McGrath, D.J., & Kuriloff, P. J. (1999). They’re going to tear the doors off this place: Upper middle class parent school involvement and the educational opportunities of other people’s children. Educational Policy, 13(5), 603-629.


Appendix A

Study 2 Interview Questions

D1.) What is your academic year in school?

D2.) Are you male or female?

D3.) What is your age?

D4.) For how many years have you attended your school?

D5.) Are you a part of a specific academic program at your school?

1.) Can you talk a bit about your most challenging classes?

2.) How would you describe your school outside of the classroom to a student from another school?

3.) Can you tell me about a time in which you or another student impacted school policy, teaching, or learning in your school?

4.) What practices would you like to see implemented or eliminated at your school?

5.) Talk a bit about the process of decision making in your school. This can apply to activities, sports, clubs, classwork, lunch menu etc.
6.) Why did your family choose this school?

7.) Talk a bit about the kinds of relationships you have with your teachers in this school.

8.) Is there anything that you would like to share about your school that I have not asked?

Appendix B

School Climate Survey (Adapted from Bernhardt, Bradley, and Geise, 2009)

Student School Climate Survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>I feel challenged at this school.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>I have opportunities to choose my own projects.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>I feel like I am in charge of what I learn.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Teachers encourage me to assess the quality of my own work.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>I assess my own work.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>I am treated with respect by teachers.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>I am treated with respect by school administrators.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>I am treated with respect by campus supervisors.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>I am treated with respect by the office staff.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>I am treated with respect by other students at this school.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>The people most responsible for what I learn are my teachers.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>The work at this school is challenging.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>I feel successful at school.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>I am most responsible for what I learn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 15. | Doing well in school makes me feel good about myself. |
| 16. | Students at this school have opportunities to learn from each other. |
| 17. | Students at this school have opportunities to learn about each other. |
| 18. | Students at this school respect other students who are different than they are. |

| My teachers: | |
| 19. | expect students to do their best. |
| 20. | expect me to do my best. |
| 21. | understand when students have personal problems. |
| 22. | set high standards for achievement in their classes. |
| 23. | help me gain confidence in my ability to learn. |
| 24. | have confidence in me. |
| 25. | know me well. |
| 26. | listen to my ideas. |
| 27. | care about me. |
| 28. | challenge me to do better. |

| In my classes, time is spent: | |
| 29. | listening to the teacher talk. |
| 30. | in whole-class discussions. |
| 31. | working in small groups. |
| 32. | reading. |
| 33. | answering questions from a book or worksheet. |
34. working on projects or research.
35. doing work that I find meaningful.
36. using computers.
37. working on projects or research.
38. with the teacher leading a discussion with the whole class.
39. working in a small group.
40. working by myself.

Appendix C

Construct Table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialogical Component of Pedagogy</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Survey Question</th>
<th>Interview Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Rigor                           | Demanding course work that challenges the student and pushes their thinking | 1. I feel challenged at this school.  
12. The work at this school is challenging.  
22. My teachers set high standards for achievement in their classes.  
28. My teachers challenge me to do better  
29. In classes, time is spent listening to the teacher talk.  
32. In classes, time is spent reading.  
33. In classes, time is spent answering questions from a book or worksheet. | 1. Can you talk a bit about your most challenging classes? |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Autonomy</th>
<th>The ability for students to make educational decisions for themselves</th>
<th>2. I have opportunities to choose my own projects.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. I feel like I am in charge of what I learn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5. I assess my own work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11. The people most responsible for what I learn are my teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14. I am most responsible for what I learn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>29. In classes, time is spent listening to the teacher talk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>35. In classes, time is spent doing work that I find meaningful.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>36. In classes, time is spent using computers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>40. In classes, time is spent working by myself.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opportunities for Leadership</th>
<th>Encouraging students to create and develop for themselves and others</th>
<th>16. Students at this school have opportunities to learn from each other.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17. My teachers listen to my ideas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30. In classes, time is spent in whole-class discussions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>31. In classes, time is spent working in small groups</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|          | 5.) Talk a bit about the process of decision making in your school. This can apply to activities, sports, clubs, coursework, lunch menu etc. |

|          | 3. Can you tell me about a time in which you or another student impacted school policy, teaching, or learning in your school? |
| Faculty Expectation of Excellence | Teaching staff that expects the student population to be successful | 19. My teachers expect me to do my best  
20. My teacher expects students to do their best  
22. My teachers set high standards for achievement in their classes.  
28. My teachers challenge me to do better | 7. Talk a bit about the kinds of relationships you have with your teachers in this school. |
| Atmosphere of Respect | Students feel that they and others are generally respected in the school | 6. I am treated with respect by teachers.  
7. I am treated with respect by school administrators.  
8. I am treated with respect by campus supervisors.  
9. I am treated with respect by the office staff.  
10. I am treated with respect by other students at this school.  
17. Students at this school have opportunities to learn about each other.  
18. Students at this school respect other students who are different than they are.  
21. My teachers understand when students have personal problems.  
25. My teachers know me well.  
27. My teachers care about me |
### Appendix D

#### Data Collection Matrix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Construct</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Sample Interview Questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Pedagogical Reframing and Power Pedagogy | -The adaptation of instructional methods, to suit the perceived needs of a student group.  
  -Instruction guided by notions of superiority and success | **T-6** Can you share a story about how students learn and the ways that learning may differ between students?  
**T-8** What are some of the factors that distinguish between when you are free to be the teacher who you are vs. when you are faced with more constraints? What are the aspects of the setting that lead to these differences?

| Survival Stagnation, and Maintenance    | -A school, home, and student focus on basic student survival, which often leads to post-secondary socio economic stagnation.  
  -Maintaining socio-economic position post-secondary | **S-10** What will you do the year after graduation?  
**S-11** In what ways have your teachers helped you plan for your post- experience?  
**T-14** Tell me an ideal vision of what every student who comes through this school would do in the year following graduation? What are your best wishes for your seniors in the year after does... |
### Study 3 Student Interview Questions

#### Interview Questions

**Student- Individual and Group**

1. How many years have you attended this school
2. Is this school the only that you have attended?
3. Do you take honors or AP classes? If so in what ways do your honors or AP classes differ from your other classes?
4. What factors determine entry into honors or AP classes?
5. In what ways, if any, do you collaborate with teachers for the design of your coursework?
6. Have there been times when collaboration was not possible.
7. What, if any, are some of the challenges which have impacted your school day?
8. Can you talk about how those challenges might impact the ways that you socialize and learn?
9. Do you have any control over what happens in your school and what level of control do you have over the success of your education?
10. What will you do the year after graduation?
11. In what ways have your teachers helped you plan for your post-experience?
12. What are your parent’s expectations for you post-graduation?
13. What are some of your long term goals?
14. Do you believe that accomplishing your goals will be expected, or come as a surprise to your teachers, family, and friends?
15. What would you like to communicate to your teachers and school staff as you move on to the next stage of your life?
16. What would you like to communicate to your parents and family as you move on to the next stage of your life?
17. Is there anything that you would like to add about your school experience which I have not asked?

Appendix F

Study 3 Faculty Interview Questions

Faculty Individual and Group

Introduction: This interview is about some of the ways that you approach your teaching style given some of the different types of students and challenges you encounter. I am going to ask more about the stories you have experienced.
1. How many years have you been teaching?
2. How long have you taught in this school?
3. Have you taught in any other schools?
4. What classes do you teach? Please specify any distinctions like honors etc.
5. What factors determine a student’s enrollment in Honors, and AP classes?
6. Can you share your thinking about how students learn and the ways that learning may differ between students?
7. Can you talk about a moment in your career, if any, when there was curricular collaboration with students, and whether or not there were times when that was not possible.
8. What are some of the factors that distinguish between when you are free to be the teacher who you are vs. when you are faced with more constraints? What are the aspects of the setting that lead to these differences?
9. Can you share a story about the assets that students bring to the classroom and the ways instruction was adjusted for those assets?
10. Can you share a similar story about the challenges that students bring to the classroom the ways that you might adjust your instruction based on those challenges?
11. In my past set of interviews with students, I found that students’ sense of voice led them to feel a greater sense of responsibility for their own work. Does this make sense to you? If so, could you give me a story of when you have seen this happen at this?
12. Can you tell me how most students come to attend this school, and about the connection between this school and their expectations for the future?
13. To what extent would your students and parents say they have a feeling of ownership over the education process?
14. Tell me an ideal vision of what every student who comes through this school would do in the year following graduation? Does your vision match the parent’s vision? Does this vision match what will likely happen?
15. What are your student’s visions for themselves after, and what are the most serious challenges you expect them to encounter after graduation?
16. What else would you like to share about your school instruction and students that I have not asked?

Appendix G

INFORMED FACULTY AND STAFF CONSENT
School Climate Survey and Interviews

You are being asked to participate in a research study conducted by Ericka Mingo, PhD Candidate at National Louis University, Chicago, Illinois. The study is entitled: Understanding Pedagogical Practice. *Selected faculty and staff will be asked to participate in a one on one on-campus interview with the researcher or in a small group interview with the researcher.*

With your consent, you will participate in a one on one or group interview lasting approximately 30 min. Upon request, you will receive a copy of your transcribed interview, at which time you may clarify information.

Your participation is voluntary and you may discontinue your participation at any time without penalty. Your identity will be kept confidential by the researcher and will not be attached to the data. Only the researcher will have access to all surveys, transcripts, taped recordings, and field notes. Your participation in this study does not involve any physical or emotional risk beyond that of everyday life. While you will likely not have any direct benefit from being in this research study, taking part in this study may contribute to our better understanding of pedagogical practice, and contribute to the body of knowledge aimed at educational elevation.

While the results of this study may be published or otherwise reported to scientific bodies, your identity will in no way be revealed. In the event that you have questions, or require additional information, you may contact the researcher: Ericka Mingo, via email at National-Louis University, emingo@my.nl.edu or via phone at 773-641-2120.

If you have any concerns or questions before or during participation, that you feel have not been addressed by the researcher, you may contact Dr. Bradley Olson, National Louis University, via email at bradley.olson@nl.edu, or the chair of NLU’s Institutional Research Review Board: Shaunti Knauth, National Louis University, 122 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60603; via phone & fax (312) 312-261-3526 or via email: shaunti.knauth@nl.edu

____________________________________
Participant Name (Print)
Appendix H

INFORMED STUDENT CONSENT
School Climate Survey and Interviews

You are being asked to participate in a research study conducted by Ericka Mingo, PhD Candidate at National Louis University, Chicago, Illinois. The study is entitled: Understanding Pedagogical Practice. Selected students will be asked to participate in a one on one on-campus interview with the researcher.

With your consent, you will participate in a one on one interview lasting approximately 20 min. Upon request, you will receive a copy of your transcribed interview, at which time you may clarify information.

Your participation is voluntary and you may discontinue your participation at any time without penalty. Your identity will be kept confidential by the researcher and will not be attached to the data. Only the researcher will have access to all surveys, transcripts, taped recordings, and field notes. Your participation in this study does not involve any physical or emotional risk beyond that of everyday life. While you will likely not have any direct benefit from being in this research study, taking part in this study may contribute to our better understanding of pedagogical practice, and contribute to the body of knowledge aimed at educational elevation.

While the results of this study may be published or otherwise reported to scientific bodies, your identity will in no way be revealed. In the event that you have questions, or require additional information, you may contact the researcher: Ericka Mingo, via email at National-Louis University, emingo@my.nl.edu or via phone at 773-641-2120.

If you have any concerns or questions before or during participation, that you feel have not been addressed by the researcher, you may contact Dr. Bradley Olson, National Louis University, via email at bradley.olson@nl.edu, or the chair of NLU’s Institutional Research Review Board: Shaunti Knauth, National Louis University, 122 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60603; via phone & fax (312) 312-261-3526 or via email: shaunti.knauth@nl.edu
## Appendix I

### The disadvantaged school Analysis Table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study 2 Construct</th>
<th>Study 3 Quote</th>
<th>Study 3 New Constructs (New Themes Not In Study 1)</th>
<th>Order of Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pedagogical Reframing and Power Pedagogy</td>
<td>BTQ1, BTQ2, BTQ3, BTQ4, BTQ5, BTQ6, BTQ9 (Block)</td>
<td>Vets &amp; New Teachers Random Changes in Policy and Establishing Tradition Subgroup Power Pedagogy in The disadvantaged school</td>
<td>Quote Placement in Study 2 Categories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BTQ10, BTQ12, BTQ14, BTQ15, BTQ18, BSQ1, BSQ2, BSQ3, BSQ5, BSQ8, BSQ17, BTQ20, BTQ21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survival Stagnation and Maintenance</td>
<td>BTQ7, BTQ10, BTQ12, BTQ16, BTQ17, BSQ13, BTQ, 21, BTQ22, BTQ23, BTQ25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voice Leading to greater sense of Responsibility</td>
<td>BSQ16, BTQ19</td>
<td></td>
<td>Composition of School Narratives from Quote Blocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monoculture 7 Diversity</td>
<td>BTQ9(Block), BTQ10, BSQ6, BSQ7, BSQ12, BSQ14, BSQ15, BTQ27</td>
<td></td>
<td>View School Narratives Through Theoretical Lens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>External Community impact &amp; Advocacy</td>
<td>BTQ8, BTQ9(Block), BTQ10, BTQ11, BTQ13, BTQ17, BSQ4, BSQ3, BSQ13, BSQ15, BTQ20, BTQ23, BTQ24</td>
<td></td>
<td>Composition from quotes of personal narrative of faculty and student from each school which best exemplifies the school narrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusion and The Superlative</td>
<td>BSQ9, BSQ10, BSQ11, BSQ13, BTQ26</td>
<td></td>
<td>View each personal Narrative Through Theoretical Lens</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Appendix J

### The disadvantaged school Quotes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quote Code</th>
<th>Quote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Student Quotes</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSQ1</td>
<td>Because we are on a different scale, like how we treat the teachers and the teachers treat us, is a lot different than being in a normal class or like an elective, because they see us differently.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSQ2</td>
<td>Like in a regular class, you don't have as much freedom as you do in an honors or AP class. You can just talk to the teacher without having to raise your hand and stuff like that.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSQ3</td>
<td>They kind of like have more respect for us, because they kind of expect more from us anyway, so we have a better relationship with our teachers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSQ4</td>
<td>The teachers from past years, they look just like all this person was really good you should include them and they do suggesting for AP class. So it is a lot of suggesting, and how you performed in the past years, they will think that you can perform better in the next coming years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSQ5</td>
<td>It just depends on how the class is acting. I believe if a class is just kind of talking, they don't want to hear their suggestions. Which is understandable, but they have higher expectations for us. We are expected to learn a certain way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSQ6</td>
<td>We have all pretty much grown up together and being in honors classes we pretty much stay together, all of us have known each other since freshman year, if not junior high, so we all know how to kind of react with each other.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| BSQ7 | I- Did you guys all come from the same junior high?  
S- We came from Columbia Central.  
I- I came from Rickover.  
S- Rickover where is that?  
S- In Sauk Village.  
I- but you guys have definitely been together since freshman year the three of you?  
S- "No" |
| BSQ8 | I- what will you do after graduation  
All- College  
I- Where are you going  
S- Illinois State for Graphic design  
S- University of IL in Urbana Champaign for advertising  
S- University of Notre Dame and I am not sure yet  
I- Outstanding and you have all received your acceptance letters and everything?  
All- yes |
| BSQ9 | I- Do you believe that accomplishing these goals as expected, or will come as a surprise to your parents family and peers?  
All- No surprise |
| BSQ10 | In elective classes, I will hear how they talk about their teachers or like things that they had do do in class, or I'll know some of those teachers, and we get a lot more |
pressure put on us. One of our teachers told us that for honors classes are expectations are here, and other ones are down here, so he's basically saying we have to do better than them, even though we're just as good as them, and they're just as good as us, you can't slip up when you're in AP honors classes. And you can't mess around because they expect you to be this quiet polite child. They see us differently, which can make it harder on us, even though it seems like it would be easier, it’s challenging because we looked at as those who are supposed to be perfect.

| BSQ11  | I feel like at my old school, you have to be just one way, and here I feel like there are so many different kinds of categories of people, you know different groups of people, that that you can be at the end of the day. There are so many different types of people that you can be friends with, and that's what's great about here. I just hope that as the years go on he continues to broaden more, and that people are even more accepting of diversity and everything, but I hope that for everywhere. |
| BSQ12  | S- Some kids are real smart. Some kids are supposed to be an AP but they're not. Like me, I could have been an AP for English or History, because I'm pretty good at that, but I wasn't. I- Why? Why not? S- I don't know. One of my teachers actually told me that I have some kids in AP and honors that aren't supposed to be here, and some kids that could be in here like you, but you're not so I don't know. |
| BSQ13  | You know I'm just trying to graduate; A lot of people where I'm from, they don't even graduate, and they don't even live to be 18. They don't even live this long |
| BSQ14  | They are into negative things, you know gang banging, drug dealing they don't be focused. They trying to sleep with all the girls, girls is trying to sleep with all the guys, A lot of them are going to be the type of people like 10-15 years from now where did I go wrong with my life? |
| BSQ15  | I see a lot of my family members; they are addicted to drugs all types of stuff. I've seen what they went through and I want to do something different. Most people are kind of dumb, like they have to bump their own head. I seen that, I don't want that, I want to achieve my dreams and become the best me I can be, physically, mentally everything. I don't want to be the same person I am right now 10/15 years from now. |
| BSQ16  | I- did you get a chance to work with teachers to see how things go like do you get a voice in your classroom? S- Nah I am not going to say that but we participate. |
| BSQ17  | A lot of distractions a lot of people are young and dumb they're focused on the wrong thing they focus on short-term things that seem good right now but in the future it aunt going to amount to nothing |

**Faculty Quotes**

| BTQ1  | We’re kind of looking at the Dewian model of education or the Paulo Freire model of education. We are not stuffing things inside student’s heads. We want to be the guide. We want to be co-inquirers with them. We want them to investigate. |
| BTQ2 | I read a book where it talks about how students in lower economic areas were taught to take orders, as opposed to the more affluent areas where they were taught to be leaders and to lead, and they have more free-thinking. So that's what it is? |
| BTQ3 | I also think in some ways we are anti-dialogical. If you have a dialogue, the end result of the dialogue is to be inquirers co-investigators with the students, and it's also to build that community. It can be difficult to build that pedagogy with your students in some ways. Building off the work of bell hooks, one of my favorite authors, she also loves Freire, I don't think we have that here when you think about that we just don't. I think about how much we've tested our students in the last 6 weeks ACT SAT PARCC how much time we've lost. Nothing is done productively with the data, because we don't have time. So that in a sense it is anti-dialogical assessing for assessing. So in that sense we seem to be kind of the opposite of what Freire talked about. |
| BTQ4 | I can understand wanting student input, but the language that is used in the curriculum guys it's just not language that students would understand. For us to ask their input into that, I just don't think that it would be necessarily relevant. |
| BTQ5 | In middle school they are taught to sit and be quiet. To sit in rows and do your work. They come to us and they don't like to think more. They want that okay I'm going to do a worksheet. I'm going to find the answer here exactly how it's said, and I'm going to fill it in. It is easy for them if they don't have to think, but if you actually got them thinking, making them think, some of them don't like that. |
| BTQ6 | Especially in the math class they are used to procedure, and when you actually ask them to interpret something they are wondering why in God's green earth I need to write a sentence in math class. I think a large part of the problem is teacher prep. You can be a middle school Math teacher without having really ever taken a serious math class. I realize that when I am teaching freshman at a regular level, that I could be there first Math teacher. Anything that requires an open-ended answer, it takes a lot of effort to break them out the procedure, which they think they've been playing in their previous math classes. It is a matter of compliance vs. engagement really. |
| BTQ7 | We have to ask ourselves with the dialogical model, how long does it take the average student to become a thinker In this mode? It is certainly not a week, and it is not a month, and it is not a semester. We’re going against two different things here, the one that says sit down and learn as opposed to more of a free thinker. And so we are frustrated with the results. I think we have to be realistic. This process is a newer process, as the curriculums continue to revolutionize. In time this will become our mode of thinking. |
| BTQ8 | It’s hard because we have 4 different middle schools from four very different communities. |
| BTQ9 | ET- We do but that proves my point it's just one school it's Columbia Central and typically those are the students who are the most middle-class those are the students who make up probably 90% of our honors and AP classes we get the most parental support from them. I- Columbia Central and that's one of the middle schools that feed in
| **HT** | Out of Stager?  
**I**—And they make up what percentage of the AP class?  
**ET**—I don't know I mean that was just a guest there.  
**I**—But they are the majority?  
**ALL**—They are the Lion's Share of our AP and Honors come from Columbia Central, that's where most of them come from.  
**I**—And Columbia is in which township?  
**ALL**—Steger.  
**I**—And that is where you said is primarily more Caucasian?  
**ALL**—mm hmm. |
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<tr>
<td><strong>BTQ10</strong></td>
<td>ALL— Poverty, lack of family support, and all the social ills that come with it. Years of deficient skills piling on top of each other, attendance issues, attendance throughout all socioeconomic levels, and Mobility. We've had kids that move around 8, 10, 11 times in their life, and there's no family structure. They have to overcome so much, and they bring so much baggage to school. They have so much stuff. I think about the violence. Some of them don't have the ability to deal with and still do well in school. I don't know what the parents say. Some of them have no interest in school. They don't think it's going to get them anywhere. They have all these issues making money at home, dealing drugs or whatever, and they think in the moment, they don't think about 10 years from now, and what they can be doing if they can't escape the life they're in now. There are students that don't even leave the immediate area. They have not ever been or even out of the immediate area and for the record there's not much in terms of jobs. They don't understand what they should even be studying or working towards. I think that they've been probably told that they should probably consider College, but they don't really know why other than somebody told them to do it.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>BTQ11</strong></td>
<td>You cannot give assignments for them to take home when you know there's not an atmosphere for learning.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>BTQ12</strong></td>
<td>We don't give a lot of homework because we're setting ourselves up for failure.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>BTQ13</strong></td>
<td>One of the communities doesn't even have a library and in Sauk Village it's dangerous to walk to the library and Ford Heights doesn't have a library.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>BTQ14</strong></td>
<td>Some of them, even if College isn't an option, I hope they go to a trade school.</td>
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<td><strong>BTQ15</strong></td>
<td>I believe that some of them will go to school, they will start their community college degrees, I think a lot of times they will find a decent-paying job, which they will feel is a pretty good paying job, and therefore maybe the pursuance of the degree becomes obsolete, if they find that what they're doing is paying enough and paying the bills at that time.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>BTQ16</strong></td>
<td>Some will go to college and finish successfully, some will go into the trades, or some military program and be successful, some, realistically, will just vanish into the streets and will be just kind of swallowed up by life.</td>
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<td><strong>BTQ17</strong></td>
<td>Some of the students, in past experiences, that I thought would be really successful, they end up getting pregnant, life happens, and they don't have enough money to pay for school, so they drop out of school, and it's shocking but they don't have the support of our staff. There is a group of people here taking care of them, and reminding them what they have to do. When they're out on</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>BTQ18</strong></td>
<td>Well if you start from nothing you're only going up.</td>
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<td><strong>BTQ19</strong></td>
<td>There was a student, who was popular because he was a great singer, and he was called on to do all of the assemblies and sing the pledge of allegiance and he auditioned for the voice, but he was failing all of his classes. Even though I raised his grade to a 50 percent and he earned 6% on top of that he was still failing. He had a voice, but he did not use it to take charge of his education he used it to manipulate it.</td>
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<td><strong>BTQ20</strong></td>
<td>Some of them are here because they don't want their momma to be in jail, and they will tell you that's the only reason I'm coming. Others really believe that they need to learn because if “I don't have diploma I have nothing.” Some of our kids our 5th year seniors and they are in night classes and are behind. Some of those kids would do better to get a GED. There are kids that just don't perform in the traditional day in and day out settings. Some of them don't believe they have a future. “I'll be dead by the time I'm 20.” I heard that come out of more mouths than I care to listen to. “Have you heard the news lately?” They say. I go? “You have control over your future; don't be out after midnight, nothing good happens out there after midnight.”</td>
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<td><strong>BTQ21</strong></td>
<td>I expect them all too at least graduate, and to be respectful, and to be respectful of themselves. And I know that teachers after 20 years of teaching can be a little jaded and expect less from them.</td>
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<td><strong>BTQ22</strong></td>
<td>Yes in my experience a lot of my schools have been kind of like that. In the lower income areas it is more like let’s just pass the ones that are failing because it’s the honors kids that are going to move on. I would not think that it would be the same in higher income areas.</td>
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<td><strong>BTQ23</strong></td>
<td>Sometimes they self- sabotage because they do not know what to do when they are done with . It is because they have nothing really to look forward to. We try to tell them, look, you can do something after ; get a job at Chipotle get a job at Best Buy whatever it is. Do something else besides hanging out in your neighborhood.</td>
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<td><strong>BTQ24</strong></td>
<td>I think a lot of times with what they see outside of school and what's going on in English class doesn’t mean a lot to them so it is like what is English class going to do for me? You can’t think about what English class will be in 10 years from now. They think about “my baby, I have to go home and make dinner, I know my mom's not going to my mom is working overnight.” So the last thing on their mind is doing their English homework. I think they realize that they need to get it done, and they want to get it over with, but they have to do the more important life stuff as opposed to reading To Kill a Mocking Bird</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>BTQ25</strong></td>
<td>For the population of students that I deal with, I want them to just get out on time, and if they didn't, go and work at a restaurant or work at Best Buy that's great because it shows that you got though these 4 years. As long as they get out and they do something and are not hanging around the block. Small goals they do not</td>
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all have to be doctors and go to Harvard. As long as they are doing something that can possibly help themselves or their families that is great.

**BTQ26**

It just goes back to what is going on outside of school. I think sometimes too, and I don't know this for a fact, but I think just from talking to some students because their family or whoever didn't go to college, I think sometimes they get like a guilt feeling like you’re doing better than their parents did or their older brother or whoever they kind of get a guilt feeling and I think the family sometimes throws it on them. They want to go and do well for themselves, but they don't want to ruin their reputation where they grew up, or look like they are better than anyone else.

**BTQ27**

I know that Sauk Village kids don't really hang out with Ford Heights kids like it is separate Stager kids do not hang out with Sauk village kids.

**Appendix K**

## The advantaged school Quotes

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<th>Quote Number</th>
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<th>Study 3 New Constructs (New Themes Not In Study 1)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Pedagogical Reframing and Power Pedagogy</td>
<td>LSQ2 (Block), LSQ3, LSQ5, LSQ6, LSQ7, LSQ8, LSQ9, LSQ10, LTQ1, LTQ6, LTQ9, LTQ12, LTQ13, LTQ19, LTQ16</td>
<td>BT-Vets &amp; New Teachers BT-Random Changes in Policy and Establishing Tradition BT-Subgroup Power Pedagogy in The disadvantaged school</td>
<td>Quote Placement in Study 2 Categories</td>
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<tr>
<td>Survival Stagnation and Maintenance</td>
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<td>Voice Leading to greater sense of Responsibility</td>
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<td>Monoculture &amp; Diversity</td>
<td>LSQ10, LSQ13, LTQ3, LTQ10, LTQ11, LTQ18</td>
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<td>View School Narratives Through Theoretical Lens</td>
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Note:  
BTQ represents The disadvantaged school Teacher Quotes  
BSQ represents The disadvantaged school Student Quotes
### The advantaged school Quotes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quote Code</th>
<th>Quote</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>LSQ1</strong></td>
<td>Being a senior, we are used to it now, so there are not many challenges. Like if you do bad on a test, it will bother you all day, or if you have to work, you might have trouble with time management.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| **LSQ2**  | S- Now that we are seniors, teachers don't really care about our problems. They are more like it's not my problem. In years prior to this year they were more like we want you to do well.  
I- What do you make of that change?  
S- It is a bigger responsibility. I feel like it prepares us for after  
S- Upper class teachers they are the first ones to tell you that you will be on your own in college. |
| **LSQ3**  | Social media is a huge challenge, because it is a distraction, or because it is easy not to learn something, you just go straight to Google. |
| **LSQ4**  | My parents expect me to keep my grades up that is the big thing because they have invested so much time and money into my future. |
| **LSQ5**  | My dad owns a business right now, so I just want to play hockey throughout college, and then I am majoring in business, so I want to eventually just take that over and then run that. That is like my main plan goal. Just like being with the family business. |
| **LSQ6**  | I help run my family business. My family isn't really like the happiest. They would rather I take a real carrier to that I do not have to make such a huge investment of my time. |
| **LSQ7**  | I would like to finish up school and open up my own gym, if not become a part of one and kind of go through that because I like sports and fitness. |
| **LSQ8**  | It is kind of expected for us to go to college and succeed. |
| **LSQ9**  | It is expected, especially at this school, from teachers and family members they'll expect us to take those successful steps. |
**LSQ10**  
I feel like it would be surprising if you don’t come out successful, because that is abnormal.

**LSQ11**  
S- I don't what to let you down. I feel like there is a family standard that I have to live up to  
S- There is an unspoken pressure and expectation that they worked so hard to get you there. It is only right that you repay them,

**LSQ12**  
I grew up actually in Glenwood, if I didn't move I would have gone to Homewood-Flossmoor but I come from a strict Nigerian background, so I’m always going to follow what my elders tells me, so personally I know when it's time to listen it's rarely time to object when it comes to adults.

**LSQ13**  
After doing this for like 4 years, people, normally people in this school are very obedient so if the teacher says something, students normally just follow without asking that many questions, mostly I'm in honors and AP classes, students know how to follow the rules, there's not many delinquents who want to do their own thing. Honestly, I feel that it is a pretty set guideline. Is there going to be activities that you don't want to do, but every activity is for your own benefit, so even if you don't want to do it you usually just swallow it, and you just go as it is. Can’t say there's anyone like overpowering me, because I personally don't usually ask to change things. I'm fine with whatever is given.

**LSQ14**  
I know other schools, not to say any names or anything like that, but I know that other students, they just always disobey the rules. I don't know, maybe it's from a young age, or just the way our social background is, most students just follow the rules, and do what they're told, they don't really ask questions or oppose. It’s not like it's a bad thing, it's a good thing, because it just makes things go smoother. Again everything we know is for our own education so we don't have any reason to live really object to what they're doing.

**Faculty Quotes**

**LTQ1**  
I think the lowest students can become so frustrated, because we're so geared towards you going to college and that's it, there are no other plans. So if you fall into that category, where you don't think you're going to go to college, there's nothing wrong with that, but I think they feel like maybe there is, because everybody is trying to push them in that direction.

**LTQ2**  
One of the things for me is pushing a lot of kids into AP classes. We are getting a lot of kids in, which is good form them to experience a higher level, but it makes it more difficult to do some of the things that you should be able to do because you have your top, top of the line kids, and then you have some kids who traditionally would not be in AP classes, and some of them are more your fundamentals kids that are allowed to get into these classes, and then you have a much wider range, but you are trying to stay true to the curriculum, but it suffers because you kind of have to accommodate for all different levels, when it should be just one higher level, and it does not allow me to do some of the things that I would like to do as a teacher in an ideal world.

**LTQ3**  
By and large, we have a very good population. A lot of times we probably take them for granted. By and large the kids are respectful, they come in and they are
ready to go. Sometimes not as much as we’d like but compare that to other places, we are pretty fortunate in that way.

**LTQ4**
Most of our kids have very supportive families, a lot of two-parent families, a lot of things that are just not in place and other districts.

**LTQ5**
I worked in another district, that was not the case, and you have parent teacher conference night and you have two or three parents, and they would show up and yell at their kid in front of you, rather than support them, so I mean yes we take a lot for granted here. We have great kids and great families, sometimes you’re talking helicopter parents or whatever, but I would rather have that than not having them involved.

**LTQ6**
I see students that are not the greatest in my class, and then I walk the halls and see something that they have drawn that is phenomenal, and I realize oh there is more to this kid and different ways for students to be successful.

**LTQ6b**
I think students live here because of the schools. I think a lot of students and families here because of the school. When I was in I went to a district that was close by, and I always heard Lincoln Way was the best. We have resources that are great.

**LTQ7**
I would agree with that. I went through this school, and the expectations are there, and I think people have moved here for the schools, and for that college preparatory mindset that this school has, and there are flaws with that, it’s not for everybody, but by and large we are preparing people for the future in the best way that we know how.

**LTQ8**
This used to be in this area very blue collar very working class. In all of the towns there is an element of them now. Everyone that is moving in is moving in because of the school, and the college prep, because they’re kids they can have a better shot.

**LTQ9**
I have a lot of student-athletes and they are much focused and very driven I see a lot of family support. I see some students with less family support. They want to go to college and many of our students have a great opportunity to do that. We have support from our middle schools. We have vertical alignment with our feeder schools. We know where they’re coming from, and where we want to take them. I think they have a good background, and we have great feeder schools, and our students are prepared and ready to learn.

**LTQ10**
We don’t have a lot of transfers. The majority of our students come from Hickory Creek Middle School and Mokena Jr., but that is going to change next year because we are closing The advantaged school North. That entire school will come to The advantaged school and half of our school will move to The advantaged school Central, and then the Manhattan students that are at The advantaged school central will attend The advantaged school West The advantaged school North just opened in 2008

**LTQ11**
Recently a challenge has been the prom proposal. How they are going to one-up the next person, and there is Pinterest, one idea is better than the next, there is so much competition with these kids, I think that’s a struggle for them. And like everyone else has decided which college they’re going to, and I haven’t decided
yet, or choosing which major to go with, some of that is difficult for them they're not sure which path to take.

**LTQ12**  
I think our reputation is strong. We have outstanding Athletics activities. Almost all of our kids are involved in something. Our academics are superior. The kids are great and I think the community, even with closing the school, our families know your kids are going to go to another Lincoln-Way school, and they're going to be fine. I think that people who value education, and value higher education, they flock together here. I know that students move into this district for our athletic programs, and people from surrounding areas will come here because they know that it is a good school or because their family went here and they know the tradition.

**LTQ13**  
This school is based on boundaries, if you live in a certain area you go to a certain The advantaged school, I would say though that people are very proud to say they go to The advantaged school, I think that whether they have a choice or not people are glad to be here and they know that they are going to get a good education. I went here as a student and I always felt like this is going to be great for me when I went to college. I thought everyone would be at his level, but I just remember feeling so grateful to go here even that young.

**LTQ14**  
If you were to compare this district with other districts, you would find that there is a lot of parental involvement, with concerns and comments, parents, specifically here in this district, really do like to feel like they have a say. Our parent teacher conferences are booked the whole night. The communication is there via email, and because we are so open, and they feel like it is welcome, I think parents really do want to be involved in the school. If you were to look at other schools in the area, you would not find that as much as here it is a big community feel.

**LTQ15**  
Just over all that we have great kids, especially I think if you were to compare to some other districts, we overall have just very polite nice kids, this area is nice, I do not ever envision myself going very far from here.

**LTQ16**  
The constant struggle is reinforcing reading comprehension so that we can get to deeper understanding and deeper experiences.

**LTQ17**  
Challenges that they bring are hormones, and home situations that you would not think are ideal, like not that they do not have food on the table, but like abuse and other really bad things.

**LTQ18**  
I had a girl who was hospitalized for an eating disorder.

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Note:  
LTQ represents The advantaged school Teacher Quotes  
LSQ represents The advantaged school Student Quotes