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College Dreams, Corporate Work Study, Brotherhood and Belonging: How urban Catholic high schools structure opportunity for low-income Latino and African American male youth

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Publication Date
2012

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

College Dreams, Corporate Work Study, Brotherhood and Belonging:

How urban Catholic high schools structure opportunity for low-income Latino and African

American male youth

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Education

by

Ursula S. Aldana

2012

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

College Dreams, Corporate Work Study, Brotherhood and Belonging:

How urban Catholic high schools structure opportunity for low income Latino and African

American male youth

by

Ursula S. Aldana

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Los Angles, 2012

Professor Patricia Gandara, Chair

The alarming rates of educational failure of minority youth, where middle class white and

Asian students repeatedly outperform their low-income Latino and African American peers,

require educational programs or policies that will improve the life outcomes of minority students

(Gándara & Contreras, 2009; J. Lee, 2006; Thernstrom & Therstrom, 2003). A college going

culture and the development of social capital in school settings has been found to improve

academic outcomes for underrepresented minority students (Allen, Kimura-Walsh, & Griffin,

2009a; Gibson, Gandara, & Koyama, 2004; Stanton-Salazar, 2010). Research has also

demonstrated how school-based employment programs for low-income minority students can

benefit students if and only it is complemented with a rigorous academic curriculum (Oakes &

Saunders, 2008). The research on Catholic schools shows their ability to produce successful outcomes for African American and Latino students (Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993) .

This study examines two urban Catholic high schools and how they construct opportunities for their low income Latino and African American male students. The project also determines if one school in particular, (which only accepts students from low income backgrounds) can develop critical forms of social and cultural capital through their unique corporate work study experience. Employing a mixed methods approach, the year-long study includes the following data: 1) ethnographic field notes; 2) interviews with students, school staff and alumni; 3) a student and alumni survey and 4) student data. The study uses ethnographic research methods to understand how each school facilitates a college going culture, and particularly a *college-going discourse*. Survey data and observations suggest that both schools develop social capital for students through a sense of family and/or multistranded relationships to mitigate the boundaries between student and institutional agents. Extracurricular activities and religious activities serve as important school structures that develop peer social capital through a sense of brotherhood. Interview data demonstrates students develop social capital and obtain access to dominant forms of cultural capital through their work study experience, but some students experience cultural dissonance with dominant cultural capital. Urban Catholic schools are encouraged to utilize the non-dominant culture to best serve low income underrepresented minority youth.

The dissertation of Ursula S. Aldana is approved.

Marjorie Faulstich-Orellana

Vilma Ortiz

Daniel G. Solorzano

Patricia Gándara, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Ángeles

2012

DEDICATION

Para mis Padres, quienes creyeron en el poder de la comunidad y las escuelas católicas, y me

ensenaron hacer lo mismo.

For my Parents, who believed in the power of community and Catholic schools, and taught me to

do the same.

And

To every teacher/mentor that looked out for me. Your efforts made all the difference.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost I want to acknowledge the Creator who had made this all possible with her/his divine intervention. I was blessed by a series of fortunate events that led me to the PhD and this dissertation.

Agradezco a mis padres, Juan y Aida Aldana. Aprecio sus esfuerzos para llegar a este país y ayudarme a realizar mis sueños. El mundo no ha sido nada fácil para ellos, y aun me enseñaron lo que vale en el cielo y en la tierra- Dios, familia, amor y el ayudar a otros. Mis papas siempre han demostrado que estamos en este mundo para ayudar a otros. Their decision to send me to Catholic school would instill in me a commitment to social justice and the way they live their life makes me proud to be their daughter. In every facet of my life, they have supported my pursuit of happiness and I could have never accomplished the PhD without them.

I am grateful for the leadership and guidance of my advisor Patricia Gándara, who helped me believe and defend this research project, when others were skeptical. Her unwavering commitment to bilingual education and what "works" in education inspires me. I believe my path was destined to cross Professor Solorzano, who as a fellow product of Catholic education, supported my work and helped me turn an idea into a field of study (as he has done for so many others). His commitment to underrepresented students and our experiences in schools serves as a reminded of the kind of scholar, professor and mentor I want to be. I want to thank Marjorie Faulstich-Orellana for sharing her love and gift for writing ethnography with me. I am proud to be one of her honorary advisees and thankful for her wisdom and she shared the beauty and struggles associated with being a mother; professor, researcher; wife, community member and former teacher. I also appreciate the critical eye of Professor Vilma Ortiz whose feedback throughout the study helped me construct a better research project. Her unapologetic stance on

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issues of racial inequality in this country resonated with me and reminded me that good scholars should be able to defend their ideas both orally and in writing. All members of my doctoral committee share an unrelenting dedication to improving the lives of underrepresented youth and are my markers of success and motivation to continue in the struggle to disrupt educational inequity.

To my husband, David Casas I am most indebted to. Many couldn't believe our plans to both return to school at the same time and have two babies- but we did it together. It really does take a village. He has taught me to ask for help when I need it, remain focused on my goals and strategize towards my dreams, which proved invaluable during my doctoral years. His insight as a man of color, editing skills, and commitment to ensure that my children were well taken care of while I wrote the dissertation were my backbone in this process. His K-14 educational experience left a lot to be desired and yet he remains hopeful in a system that left him scarred (like so many other children). I would be lying if I did not say that part of my motivation to improve the educational system stemmed from watching him persist towards his MBA and knowing that for students like him- education is our best bet towards social mobility. Mis hijos, Alejandra and Ilán Allcasas have not only rid me of my procrastination tendencies but were also a source of inspiration to finish the dissertation faster. I was blessed that they entered my life during my journey towards the PhD. They have improved my focus and they made every achievement that much sweeter. Their presence in my life reminds me to continue to work for an educational system that constructs student success *and happiness*.

I am indebted to UCLA's Graduate Division, which honored me with the Graduate Research Mentorship Fellowship and in effect gifted me the opportunity to spend a year collecting data at my research sites. I would also like to thank the UCLA GSEIS community who helped me

develop my identity as a scholar and grateful for people in these spaces that supported my thinking, methodology and commitment to social justice: Danny and Ernest's RACs, Marjorie's advisee group, Kris Gutierrez's 222B course, The Civil Right's Project's Project SOL and the Teacher Solidarity Collective with Thomas Phillip. In these spaces, professors imparted wisdom but also created spaces where the lines between doctoral students and professor were blurred. In this manner, my peers shined as they shared their ideas, questions, research interests and projects and collectively we learned how to become "scholars". There are too many of you to name, but if I had class or shared these academic spaces with you, your scholarship impacted me.

Lali M, Danny M., Mel B., Eduardo L., Elexia and Cueponca were colleagues that became friends over time, and who offered their expertise and support at critical moments throughout my program. Danny and Mel- I am in awe of how the two of you looked out for me. You not only were so giving of your time, but you helped me understand that I would not get through the PhD alone. My accomplishments are due in part to the support you both provided me. Nerd parties with Betty, Sera, Maneka, Cliff, and Maritza allowed me to develop a community of writers that helped me persist and enjoy the writing process. I look forward to continuing our community of writers virtually and in person during our writing retreats. My summer writing group: Anjelica, Amy, Lilli and Vanessa helped improve my writing skills and ensured that my writing made sense for "normal" people. Thank you girls for merging my worlds of fun with writing!

I have also been blessed by the support from faculty at Loyola Marymount University who offered guidance before and during my PhD journey. In particular, I must thank Dr. Yvette Lapayese and Dr. Marta Baltodano who were the first people in my life to tell me that I should pursue the Doctorate. Karie, Franca and Tony, my new colleagues at LMU, welcomed me with open arms and made the last semester of my time at UCLA go by so quickly! I look forward to

working with next year. Brandi, Gloria, and Jesse thank you for bringing smiles while thinking of my next research project whenever I ran into you at LMU.

There is a great deal of focus and discipline that is required of those who undertake the journey towards the PhD, which can often leave you feeling separate from the world. I would also like to thank the my friends and family that supported not only my decision to continue my education, but also allowed me to seamlessly walk in and out of scholar world and the "real" world. Para las familias Salamanca y Casas, gracias por las fiestas, el apoyo y el entender que a veces mi ausencia era necesaria a causa de mi trabajo. En particular, le doy gracias a las tres mujeres que cuidaron mis hijos cuando yo estaba trabajando. Mi mamá y Ofelia y Sandra Casas-thank you for being the "village" David and I needed as we both went to school and raised our family. Thank you for loving my family, taking care of them when I was not there and reminding me that family is ALWAYS there for you. None of this could have been done without you!

To my Georgetown Familia: Martha, Joe, Analucia, Jose B., Paola and Jennifer- you each are such powerful examples of trailblazers and I thank you for your steadfast friendship and support throughout the years. Even in your absence, you inspire me! To my Los Angeles G-town DAB Hoyas: Mayra, Gloria, Carmen, Corinne, Judee (honorary Hoya) and Veronica- thank you for coming into my life when you did. You remind me to laugh, rejuvenate and celebrate our beautiful lives in the midst of fighting for justice. I am ready to design and build our school. To my Pandas: Jenna, Rachel, Erin, Natalie, Caitlan, Colleen and Tricia- thank you for being the Real Women of Los Angeles, Atlanta and Texas, for letting me make special guest appearances whenever I wanted to and for reminding me that life is more fun with girls.

I would also like to thank all of my former students in Compton. You are the reason why I pursued the PhD and demand justice in our schools. It makes me proud to know that Jesse,

Richard, Liliana, Rafaela, Kojuan, Kathy, Javier, Courtney, Osvin, and Gabby will be teaching in and/or working with underserved school s and communities and will join in our collective struggle for educational equity and racial justice. Si se puede!

And I will forever be grateful to the staff and young men at "St. Peter" and "Divinity" for allowing me into their school communities and their willingness to share their experiences. The young men reminded me that no challenge is insurmountable with a little help from friends, and the staff embodied the commitment and vocation it takes to serve *all* children and families.

VITA OF URSULA S. ALDANA
2012

EDUCATION

Loyola Marymount University, Westchester, CA
M.A. Elementary Education   **2000 - 2002**

School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, Washington, DC
B.S. International Politics   **1996 - 2000**

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

*2011- Adjunct Faculty -*Rossier School of Education,
University of Southern California.

2008-2011- *Instructor –*TEACH Compton/TEACH LA Fieldwork Supervisor, UCLA
Extension

PUBLICATIONS

Morales, P. Z. & Aldana, U.S. (2010). Learning in two languages: Programs with political
promise. In P. Gándara & M. Hopkins (Eds.), <u>Forbidden language: English learners and
restrictive language policies</u>. New York: Teachers College Press.

PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYMENT

2008 Center X, University of California, Los Angeles, *University Field Supervisor*
Evaluated teacher instruction and lesson plans while providing feedback on both.
Interviewed candidates and assisted in the selection of applicants for the program.

2000 – 2007 , Compton Unified School District, *Middle and High School Teacher;
Resource Teacher*
English Language Development (ELD) Department Chair: organized monthly department
meetings on curriculum, student assessment, and best practices. Resource Teacher for the
Office of English Language Learners (ELL): streamlined the testing of ELL students
reducing erroneous testing by over 15% and redesigned the master schedule to meet the
needs of 6 target groups of the school. Assistant Debate Coach and Junior Statesman of
America Club Advisor: collaborated with a group of students to prepare and fundraise for
competitions.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Rationale

As a former urban high school teacher, I was acutely aware of the dearth of cross cultural opportunities that existed for my students who resided in a poor and ethnically segregated community. As a child of Mexican immigrants who attended a predominately white and Asian Catholic school in an affluent area, I know firsthand the opportunities afforded to me by being exposed to peers and adults who were part of the middle to upper social class. In fact, my first job was given to me by my best friend's father who hired me as a temporary receptionist for his consulting office which in turn gave me the office experience necessary to secure future employment and coveted internships as a college student.

I became interested in St. Peter High School[1], when I attended Jesse's high school graduation. As a former urban school teacher, I met Jesse during my first year teaching. He was in my sixth grade classroom, later served as my teacher's aide when he was in the 8th grade and to the present day we keep in close contact. As I sat in an oversized Cathedral, I watched young men of color and their families beam with pride as they received their diplomas, and noted the obvious presence of white and Asian adults sitting in the middle and back of the church. As I later would find out, these people were the staff that worked with these students through the corporate work study program. Beyond the academic gains that Jesse experienced at St. Peter, he later shared with me how much he appreciated the people he met at St. Peter, including the staff from his work study location. He told me they really took an interest in his life and looked

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[1] All names have been changed.

out for him, which was demonstrated by their presence at his graduation. In Jesse's opinion, St. Peter changed his life and the dramatic change I saw in him over his four years there confirmed this. In time, I became fascinated with St. Peter and its corporate work study program and its commitment to low income young men of color. I realized this could be the opportune project to study what kind of school environment and organization could lead to successful outcomes for African American and Latino students from socioeconomically segregated communities.

Statement of the Problem

During the civil rights movement, lawmakers tried to remedy issues of inequity with integration of races and ethnic groups in an effort to improve the educational outcomes of underrepresented minority students. More than forty years later, Latinos are experiencing the highest levels of segregation and segregation rates for African Americans have reverted back to late 1960's levels (Orfield and Frankenburg, 2008). But this segregation extends beyond ethnicity and race- students of color often attend schools segregated not only by race, but by poverty as well. Low-income students in the United States come disproportionately from the ranks of African American and Latino youth (Gándara & Contreras, 2009; Rothstein, 2004). While they only make up one-third of all children in the U.S., African American and Latino children account for more than three-fourths of youth living in severely poor neighborhoods (O'Hare & Mather, 2003). Unfortunately, the effects of poverty and segregation serve to negatively shape the educational experiences of underrepresented minority low income students, causing them to often lack access to excellent schools and equal opportunity.

Research in education suggests that parents of students largely determine and affect the educational experience of their children. James Coleman defines the relationship between schools and parents as "intergenerational closure" and argues that it is a vital component to ensuring positive academic outcomes if schools respond to the needs of parents (1988). Simply put, parents and school personnel that share common visions, goals and expectations for children are more likely to produce successful outcomes (Bryk, et al., 1993; Coleman, 1988; Noguera, 2008). For example, middle class, white parents are better informed about the educational process (having gone through it themselves) but are also better positioned to request teachers and school staff to meet their needs for their children (Lareau, 1989). In contrast, immigrant parents and parents with low educational backgrounds are usually unaware of the information needed to navigate an increasingly competitive school system and even when they do, they are less successful at extracting resources from school for their children (Horvat, Weininger, & Lareau, 2003; Lareau, 1989; Valenzuela, 1999). Studies of schools reveal how low income and minority parents have been largely marginalized from schools and in effect left impotent when they try to improve the educational experiences of their children. In effect, schools that serve low income students of color have low levels of "intergenerational closure" because the relationship between low income minority parents and schools is often marred with a lack of trust and respect (Bryk & Schneider, 2002; Noguera, 2008). As a result, minority parents in under-resourced schools are typically not able to hold the school accountable for the quality education they desire for their children (Lareau, 1989; Noguera, 2003, 2008). The segregation of underrepresented minority low income students in schools also serves to bar them from middle class peers who gain knowledge from their own parents, as well as the resources middle class parents bring to the school in an effort to improve the quality of education (Gándara & Contreras, 2009).

As a result, low-income Latino and African American students are more likely to attend hyper-segregated schools that are over-crowded, contain lower teacher quality, lack rigorous college preparatory classes such as honors and AP classes and have overall fewer resources (Oakes & Rogers, 2006; Orfield & Lee, 2005, 2006). It should be no surprise then, that low income, underrepresented minority students who attend racially and socioeconomically segregated schools are at a higher risk of dropping out of high school and have poorer achievement rates in high school and in college, which will inevitably negatively impact their adult lives (Gandara & Orfield, 2010).

As a result, underrepresented minority youth underperform in comparison to their white peers on every measure from standardized tests to college acceptance rates. Forty percent of African American students in the fourth grade score below basic in math, while only 10 percent of white students and Asian students on the National Assessment for Educational Progress (NAEP) (Howard, 2010). The trend continues in 8th grade, where 48 percent of African American students score below basic compared to 18 percent of white students on the NAEP (Howard, 2010). Similarly, Results from the National Assessment of Educational Progress show a little over 30 points between Mexican American students and their white counterparts for students ages 9, 13 and 17 tested in reading, math and science (Gándara & Contreras, 2009). And these low educational outcomes are not limited by generation for Latino students. An empirical study of a sample of Mexican in the Los Angeles and San Antonio area found that Mexicans in the first through fourth generations score at the lowest educational attainment levels compared to other groups in the United States (Telles & Ortiz, 2008). The continual underperformance of African American and Latino youth in comparison to their white peers qualifies an interrogation

of the power of social reproduction in a class based society that privileges white middle class norms.

If we consider the intersection of race/ethnicity and class, social reproduction theory predicts students of color from low income backgrounds will continue to underperform when compared to their middle class and white peers. Indicative of this, low income white students significantly outperform low income Latino students on the SAT as do white middle class youth when compared to Latino middle class youth (Gándara & Contreras, 2009). In the same manner, white youth from low income homes (less than $10,000) outperformed the mean of all African American SAT takers by 130 points and outscored the mean of middle class African American ($100,000 or more) by 17 points ("A Large Black-White Scoring Gap Persists on the SAT," 2006). Student achievement data reveal the systemic advantage white youth, whether low income or middle class, are able to leverage in schooling and at the same time reveals the disadvantage that afflicts low income African American and Latino youth.

Underrepresented minority youth in low income segregated communities also lack access to employment opportunities, which (in moderation) can have positive effects on educational outcomes (Ong & Terriquez, 2008). For example, white middle class students are more likely to work under the optimal conditions (less than 20 hours a week) and when they do, white males who work part time had an added benefit of improved class rankings versus their female and minority counterparts (Lilydahl, 1990; Poyrazli, 2008). In contrast, research indicates that youth who intensive work hours (more than 20 hours a week) are more likely to perform poorly in school and even drop out (D'Amico, 1984; L. Steinberg, Fegley, & Dornbusch, 1993). Unfortunately, Latino and African American youth tend to work too much which negatively affects their educational trajectories (Stern & Briggs, 2001; Warren, 2000).

Furthermore, if we include gender to the intersection of race and class, student achievement data points to dismal rates of underachievement for young men of color. Throughout the 1990's and early 2000's, African American and Latino males suffered lower graduation rates than all other ethnic/racial groups as well as their female counterparts (J. P. Greene & Winters, 2006). More recently, only 73 percent of Latino males complete high school while 77.9 percent of female counterparts complete high school (Chapman, Laird, & KewalRamani, 2010). Nationally, 18.3 percent of Latino students and 9.9 percent of African American students drop out of high school, and particularly of concern, Latino males experience the highest drop-out rates at almost 20 percent(Chapman, et al., 2010). Generally, our educational system fails poor, black and brown children, but Latino males are at a greater risk to suffer at the hands of under resourced and underperforming schools. Black and brown male youth are especially vulnerable to the school to prison pipeline, which affects one in three African American boys and one in six Latino boys, and predicts these male youth of color will be incarcerated at least once in their lives ("America's Cradle to Prison Pipeline Report," 2007). As a result, Latino and African American males are underrepresented at college within their own ethnic and racial group ("American Community Survey," 2005; Fry, 2002). Aside from low test scores and achievement gaps, our nation is creating a social problem rooted in communities of color because when our schools fail our young men of color, there life outcomes are severely impacted.

The alarming rates of educational failure amongst black and brown youth, where middle class white and Asian students repeatedly outperform their low income Latino and African American peers, require educational programs and social policies that will improve the life outcomes of underrepresented minority students (Gándara & Contreras, 2009; Jencks & Phillips,

1998; J. Lee, 2006; Thernstrom & Therstrom, 2003). There is a sense of urgency to improve minority-majority schools: these schools comprise more than half of all students in many of the states of the Southwest and are the majority of students in all the major urban centers of the nation. Moreover, federal education policy now mandates schools to close the achievement gaps between white and Asian students and their Latino and African American peers (J. Lee, 2006; Thernstrom & Therstrom, 2003). Evidently, schools face many challenges, but our educational system must make serious changes to the way they have served children of color, and in particular, black and brown male youth.

Significance

A litany of research has summarized the failures of segregated schools as well as their effects on student outcomes, but what mechanisms can schools leverage to interrupt the relationship between race/ethnicity/socioeconomic status and educational achievement?

A growing body of literature has begun to examine how Latino and African American students succeed in schools that would regularly fail them and concomitantly explores the programs and institutions that help facilitate this success. A college going culture accessible to all students has been found to facilitate improved academic outcomes for minority students (Allen, et al., 2009a). Studies as far back as the Coleman Report (1966) have documented the importance of peers on student outcomes and peers with higher academic aspirations are a critical resource in any school (Coleman, 2007; Karweit & Epstein, 1983; L. D. Steinberg, Steinberg, Brown, & Dornbusch, 1997). More recently, educational studies have focused on the development of social capital in school settings and its positive impact on typically under-served students (Gibson, Gándara, & Koyama, 2004; Stanton-Salazar, 2001). Emerging research has

also demonstrated how school-based employment programs for low income underrepresented minority students can benefit students with real life work experience if and only it is complemented with a rigorous academic curriculum (Oakes & Saunders, 2008). The research on Catholic schools shows that their ability to provide a college preparatory curriculum and social capital for all students results in successful outcomes for low income African American and Latino students (Bryk, et al., 1993).

Background of the Study

At St. Peter, the students participate in a work study program that pays for their tuition. When I learned about this work study program at St. Peter, I became very interested in studying the impact of this unique program. As a result, I chose St. Peter High School because of this innovation- the corporate work study program and its mission to prepare low income male youth (from some of the poorest urban centers in the southwest portion of the United States) for college. I then selected the second site- Divinity High School; an all male, urban Catholic high school because of its similar mission to provide a college preparatory program to students from immigrant and working class families (albeit not as economically disadvantaged as the St. Peter students). The choice to study two schools with a similar mission but one with a radically different element- the work study program, allowed me to clarify the impact of the work study program on St. Peter students while understanding how both Catholic schools serve their student populations. Accordingly, this study analyzes how each of these schools provides a college going culture, and if the presence of the work study program is able to compensate for the on-campus social capital that is more abundant at Divinity High School.

One major difference between these two schools is level of segregation. Divinity and St. Peter are two urban all-male Catholic high schools that serve a large proportion of low income Latino and African American students. However, St. Peter does not allow students who come from middle class families (or higher) to attend its school, given that its corporate work-study program only accepts low income students. The selection of St. Peter allowed me to determine the effects (if any) of clustering only low income students of color at a school and if the students at St. Peter are able to develop dominant forms of social and cultural capital through their school and work experience.

This project examines an urban Catholic high school and the way it differs from a similar but more traditional Catholic boys' school with regard to their provision of a college going culture and dominant social and cultural capital for historically underserved students. My study analyzes the structures set in place at each school, which work to develop and distribute resources to students, and specifically highlight if the segregated school can do this for its low income African American and Latino students. Both schools boast of a college preparatory curriculum and a religious education, but St. Peter only admits low income students and requires them to participate in a work study program to pay for their education, without which it probably would not be possible for them to attend a Catholic school. Succinctly, this study investigates if the work study program operating within a highly segregated urban Catholic high school is able to develop and impart dominant forms of social and cultural capital like a Catholic high school whose student demographics are more mixed with students from homes with a higher socioeconomic status.

This dissertation also focuses on how these two urban Catholic schools establish a communal organization and how social networks operate to assist these underserved students.

This research project looks at the high schools' classes, extracurricular activities and/or work programs in an effort to reveal how social capital, cultural capital and other non-dominant forms of capital are recognized by school and work structures. In particular, my research will serve to operationalize how dominant of capital are developed, maintained and used by various participants of each school's community.

Towards this end, I draw from a variety of bodies of literature to understand how the structures established in urban Catholic schools serve to impart a college going culture and dominant forms of capital. In particular, I sought a framework to help me describe educational institutions aimed at interrupting the social reproduction of low income underrepresented minority youth. In the following chapter, I highlight the role of school culture in educational institutions and underscore the importance of providing a college going culture for Latino and African American male youth. I then utilize a social capital framework to understand how Catholic schools position resources and distribute them to students. The social capital framework also allowed me to underscore how the corporate work study program and its potential to provide students with more resources. I borrow from Nan Lin's social capital framework to explain how this framework can illuminate patterns of resource distribution when applied to an institution.

> A theory of social capital should accomplish three tasks: First it should explain how resources take on values and how the valued resources are distributed in society- the structural embeddedness of resources. Second it should show how individual actors, through interaction and social networks become differentially accessible to such structurally embedded resources- the opportunity structure. Third it should explain how access to such social resources can be mobilized for gains- the process of activation."
> (2001, p. 29)

In an effort to explain how resources are distributed to students, a social capital framework encompasses cultural capital and non-dominant forms of culture, which is critical in my study of

underrepresented minority low income youth. Finally, I present a history of Catholic schools and their role in the education of immigrant and minority youth, and highlight their mission and structures. Overall, this work draws from and hopes to contribute to three fields of the education literature: urban schools, the sociology of education and Catholic schools.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

College-Going Culture

Research in education has explored the role of culture in schools, especially as a tool towards educational reform. Thomas Sergiovanni contends that organization and market strategies provide short term change but community strategies allow for deep change where "changes in relationships, teaching practice and student learning involve changes in school culture" (1998, p. 577). As such, the study of school culture is integral to those interested in creating lasting changes in our schools today. While critics have argued that school culture is often hard to identify and measure, seminal studies of education have repeatedly pointed to the importance of school culture as an important element of successful schools (Bryk & Driscoll, 1988; Lightfoot, 1983).

The purpose of this review is to describe the role of culture in successful high schools. I begin by defining school climate, which includes the concept of school culture and explain the way it has been used in educational literature. I then introduce the term college-going culture and provide a definitions and examples of schools that have successfully established a college-going culture. Given the importance of culture in education reform, I narrow down my focus to demonstrate how college going culture has been implemented at majority-minority schools. I illustrate how urban schools face the challenge of implementing a college-going culture and identify lessons learned from key educational studies. Then I include policy implications for today's urban secondary schools interested in promoting a college-going culture before I discuss the role of social and cultural capital in schools and particularly in Catholic schools.

Renato Tagiuri's (1968) conceptualization of school climate provides a helpful framework for understanding the role of ecology (physical space), milieu (history and demographics), social system (organizational structure) and culture on a school's effectiveness (Anderson, 1982; Higgins-D'Alessandro & Sadh, 1997). Since then a litany of educational studies have reworked and expanded the definition of school climate to include order; academic outcomes; social relationships; school facilities; and school connectedness (Zuligg, Koopman, Patton, & Ubbes, 2010). In essence, school climate "refers to the quality and character of school life… based on patterns of people's experience of school life and reflects norms, goals, values, interpersonal relationships, teaching and learning practices and organizational structures"(Cohen, McCabe, Michelli, & Pickeral, 2009, p. 10). Overall these studies highlight the importance of presenting a "whole picture" of the school and the various elements that influence its success or failures. For policymakers and educational leaders interested in providing successful schools in urban areas, studies of school climate have been useful to determine the factors which contribute to minority student satisfaction and success (Brookover, et al., 1978; Haynes, Emmons, & Ben-Avie, 1997; Slaughter-Defoe & Carlson, 1996) .

Within the school climate literature, the notion of a school culture has been used by researchers to define the norms, values and expectations of a school that promotes social and academic development. More specifically, Tagiuri defines school culture as the social dimension of a school concerned with belief systems, values, cognitive structures, and meaning shared by the members of the school (Higgins-D'Alessandro & Sadh, 1997). Therefore studies interested in measuring school culture will need to focus on more than abstract sets of values and norms, but also on the sets of issues and relationships among students, teachers, school staff, the rules, student autonomy and decision making in and out of the classroom. More importantly,

Tagiuri's school climate framework illuminates how school culture is a process- it is dynamic and continually negotiated. Thus the study of school culture will need to do more than just describe the norms and values of a group of people, but also the way in which the culture is established, challenged, negotiated and shifted.

A growing body of literature has examined the role of school culture on the effectiveness of schools. In her seminal work, The Good High School, Sara Lawrence Lightfoot examined six high schools ranging from elite boarding schools to urban high schools that have been deemed excellent (1983). She used portraiture as her method of analysis to portray the schools in a holistic manner, where she focused on descriptions of environments, people and interactions as well as conducted in depth interviews. Lightfoot concluded that while each of these schools looks and feels different to an outsider, they have similar qualities that deem them "good." All of the schools in the study had established a powerful school culture that included a clear sense of authority, effective leadership, teachers who were valued and regarded as educational authorities, and student-teacher rapport was marked by caring and respect. She argued that these "good" schools could not be measured by one specific quality, but rather " 'good' is a much more complicated notion that refers to what some social scientists describe as the school's 'ethos' " (Lightfoot, 1983, p. 23). She maintained that each of the schools' administrators, teachers and students created a community at their school site complete with a solid authority and ideology that the students respected and participated in. Her work demonstrates the importance of a school culture, manifested in the context of a community, and its impact on the effectiveness of a school.

Similarly, Anthony Bryk and his colleagues conducted an empirical study on the effectiveness of secondary Catholic schools and highlight how these schools foster a sense of

community (Bryk, et al., 1993). The authors used information from the *High School and Beyond* national survey and qualitative data from seven carefully selected Catholic high schools that represented the diversity of Catholic schools from across the country. The achievement scores and student satisfaction surveys gleaned the promise of Catholic schools, while the researchers' observations of the schools were used to determine what features of these schools attributed to their success. The seven Catholic high schools in this study shared organizational beliefs such as a promotion of a core academic curriculum and the development of personal character. The authors concluded that in addition to the academic organization and classroom instruction of these schools, the schools' culture – the "tradition and values; the nature of the social interactions among students, faculty, administrators, and, to a lesser degree, parents; and the ways in which such interactions draw individuals into a shared school life" contributed to their effectiveness (Bryk, et al., 1993, p. 127). For Bryk and his colleagues, the culture of Catholic schools they studied felt different than other secondary schools, and in many cases felt like a "home" (1993). In an attempt to capture the culture of these schools, they describe Catholic high schools as communal and conclude that these schools' communities; values, social activities and formal organizations contributed to the effectiveness of these institutions.

The study of school culture is an important topic in educational research because of the power it has to reveal specific practices, interactions, or organizational structures that can facilitate positive student development. Analyses of school climate and culture can also uncover negative practices that can lead to increased drop-out rates for students in high schools (V. Lee & Burkam, 2003). In contrast, Lightfoot's and Bryk's study of secondary schools, illustrated how school culture and community can promote student success and help students advance towards college. A focus on school culture also provides educational leaders and researchers a complete

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picture of the elements of the culture that work together to provide an effective academic and social environment that promotes success in high school and beyond.

While contexts and organizational structures of schools can vary, successful secondary schools have been shown to adopt and promote a college-going culture. A college-going culture facilitates student learning, college readiness and college matriculation for all of its students (Corwin & Tierney, 2007). In a college-going culture, adults and students hold the values, beliefs and expectations that college readiness requires effort and persistence (Oakes, Rogers, Lipton, & Morrell, 2000). Key studies in education have found the following five elements to be central to the establishment of a successful college-going culture: 1) academic momentum; 2) an understanding of how college plans develop; 3) a clear mission statement; 4) comprehensive college services; and 5) coordinated and systemic college support (Corwin & Tierney, 2007).

Clearly, in order for a college-going culture to flourish with the above mentioned characteristics, a school must be able to provide a number of resources to its students. Accordingly, Patricia McDonough (1998) found that well resourced schools were better able to focus on preparing their student body for college, which resulted in higher rates of college matriculation. In her analysis, Lightfoot vividly describes the presence of a college-going culture at two elite schools where the focus was not on if students are going to college, but rather what college they would go to (1983). She noted that the schools boasted of a strong college preparatory curriculum, complete with a plethora of AP courses and academically rigorous electives, and 99 percent of students went on to college. Lightfoot's work also highlights two suburban schools, where the academic program's goal is to prepare all students for college and as a result a majority (close to 80 percent) of students went on to 2 or 4 year colleges.

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It is not surprising that a college-going culture can be easily established and maintained at well resourced schools, but these schools need be careful that they do not consistently alienate historically underserved groups (i.e. ethnic and racial minorities, English language learners) in the college preparation process (Allen, Kimura-Walsh, & Griffin, 2009b). As "good" as the schools were in Lightfoot's study, she underscored the tension, alienation and often cultural mismatch many of the minority students experienced at these mostly white elite and suburban high schools (1983). In their study of Cove High School, the authors determined that this ethnically diverse school had established a college going culture, but these resources were focused on white and Asian students (Griffin & Kimura-Walsh, 2009). The school boasted of many AP courses and helpful resources, but focus groups and surveys with over 100 students revealed that "race greatly influenced the way students experienced the college-going culture at Cove High School" (2009, p. 99). Essentially, Cove High School created a racially stratified two tier system, where Asian and white students experienced a college-going culture, while African American and Latino students were often ignored in the process. The racialized two tier system at Cove High School is not a unique phenomenon and has been documented in other educational studies (Gonzalez, 2009; Oakes, 1985a; Oakes & Rogers, 2006; White-Smith, 2009). This serves as a reminder that a school's college-going culture must be equitable and accessible to all of its students and promoted by all of the members of a school community such that teachers, parents, students and administrators see college as an expected and obtainable goal for everyone. All schools, but urban schools in particular, must place close attention to creating a college culture that is inclusive of a multicultural identity, so that historically disadvantaged students do not feel alienated by the college going culture program (Oakes, 2003; Oakes, et al., 2000).

Perhaps more importantly, is the study of college-going culture in urban schools and majority-minority schools, given the increased segregation of Latino and African American students in schools (Orfield & Lee, 2005). Unfortunately, urban and majority-minority schools have been largely unsuccessful in establishing a college-going culture for all of their students (Allen, et al., 2009a; Corwin & Tierney, 2007). Salazar and Ornelas (2004) found that schools that African American and Latino students were underrepresented at high schools that offered a vast number of AP classes, which is vital to maintaining academic momentum. Corwin and Tierney (2007) identify two major obstacles to building and maintaining a college-going culture: lack of school-wide support for college, such as relationships with colleges or even a college-centered counselor; and 2) isolated college preparation services. Isolated college services usually results in an unstructured college preparatory program that leaves many students without access to a college going program and is very commonly cited in the literature.

Research on majority-minority and urban high schools demonstrates that these schools often focus their college-going culture (in the form of college preparatory programs and clubs, AP classes and college counseling) on a small number of students, while alienating others in the process (Brown, Brown, & Jayakumar, 2009; Gibson, Bejinez, Hidalgo, & Rolon, 2004; Oakes & Rogers, 2006; Stanton-Salazar, 2001; Valenzuela, 1999). Indicative of this, in a study of the college-going culture at Bennet High School, the researchers determined that despite a modest number of AP courses and college preparatory programs, the school produced very small numbers of college eligible students (Griffin & Buford, 2009). The student body, which was mostly comprised of Latino and African American students, had only 18 graduating seniors (out of 216) with the required courses to be eligible for admission to the University of California or California State University (Griffin & Buford, 2009). Teachers, counselors and students shared

that the college-going culture at the school was superficial at best, and really only geared towards a select group of students. Counselors contended that they lacked the resources to provide a college going culture, while also blaming students for not taking the initiative to pursue college. The case of Bennet High School reinforces two key obstacles in the quest for equity in providing college-going cultures in urban and majority-minority high schools: 1) under-resourced schools lack the resources to effectively support their oftentimes large populations and 2) as a result, a two tiered system re-emerges where only the most resilient students will benefit from the meager resources these schools can provide.

While repeated studies of education reveal the obstacles to establishing an egalitarian college going culture, research has begun to showcase how those secondary schools that have had success in establishing a college going culture for all of their students. In his study of six secondary schools, David Whitman (2008) found that these schools were able to establish and maintain a "culture of achievement" for their mostly poor, Latino and African American students. He showcases six very different schools: The American Indian Public Charter School; Amistad Academy; Cristo Rey Jesuit High School; Kipp Academy; The Seed School and University Park Campus School, and their paternalistic[2] approach to establishing a college-going culture. Whitman describes vividly how these schools, in addition to providing college going culture and very high academic expectations, also enforce a set of behavioral norms and middle class virtues such as diligence, politeness, and cleanliness and monitor students exhaustively "in an effort to change their behavior and create new habits, and maybe even new attitudes" (2008,

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[2] Whitman defines paternalism (as quoted form Webster's Dictionary) as "a principle or system of governing that echoes a father's relationships with his children" (2008, p. 34). He borrows from Lawrence Mead's "The New Paternalism" and explains that the new paternalism tries "to curb social problems by imposing behavioral requirements for assistance and then monitoring recipients to ensure compliance."

p. 35). He highlights that these schools built a "collective culture of achievement and college going" where the students often supported each other in their academic endeavors. Whitman notes that the schools also focused on teaching middle class cultural practices such as telling student how to behave in lecture, how to dress, how to give a firm handshake in an effort to help students adapt to the rigor of academic institutions and in some cases, places of employment. While the label paternalism is problematic because it imposes a sense of white, middle class authority, these schools acted very much like a community, almost like families in some cases, where student success came as a result of a communal effort on the part of everyone to uphold the norms and values of the school.

Many will argue that these schools are not relevant to the study of educational reform because they suffer from a selection bias given that they are not traditional neighborhood schools (except University Park Campus School). While it is not the purpose of this dissertation to argue for selection bias of charter and private schools, I want to emphasize that my work serves to understand school reform efforts aimed at low income students of color. The education misfortune and costs for young men of color is especially disheartening in the United States, and I am committed to conduct research that allows me to examine the effectiveness of interventions that aim to improve the educational and life trajectories of communities and students that have been historically marginalized.

The academic achievement of these students, who are all low income and come from historically underserved communities, is nonetheless laudable. Whitman reports that the schools boast of 56 to 97 percent proficiency on standardized tests and close to perfect graduation and college matriculation rates (including two year colleges). While schools like these have been suspected of removing unsuccessful students from the school or sample, this should not

discourage the research community from investigating them. If we are interested in closing the achievement gap and improving life outcomes, these schools offer an array of best practices and results: the middle school students at American Indian Public Charter School, Amistad Academy and KIPP Academy score well above white students in their state, and the high schools- Cristo Rey, The SEED School, and the University Park Campus School send more than 95 percent of their students to college (including 2 year colleges). Furthermore, these schools offer us models of success for schools that offer a college going culture for *all* of their students and are worthy of rigorous examination.

Educational researchers and leadership have long known the utility of establishing high academic expectations and a college-going culture for students. Still, traditional high schools struggle with establishing and sustaining a college-going culture for all of their students, especially those who come from historically underserved communities. It is important then to highlight how successful schools have promoted a college-going culture for low income and ethnic minority students. One of the key strategies that schools will need to adopt is to de-track not only classes and but also all college preparatory services. In other words, a college-going culture will be the culture of the entire school, where all of the administrators, teachers, counselors, students and parents believe that every child will go to college. While smaller schools have an easier time doing this, there is evidence that large schools can successfully prepare all of their students to attend college. The Preuss School, located on the University of California at San Diego is a prime example of a school (with 700 students enrolled) that was able to send eighty percent of its 2004 class to four year colleges while the other twenty percent enrolled in community colleges with the promise of transferring to a four year university (Alvarez & Mehan, 2006).

Schools attempting to adopt a college-going culture need be aware that this will require more than providing all students with college preparatory classes or telling students that they are going to college. A college-going culture will require that members of the school community build strong and caring relationships that support the students' desire to attend college. As noted in the literature, the school climate and social bonds between school community members were an important element of sustaining a college-going culture in elite, Catholic and urban schools. Angela Valenzuela and other educational theorists have argued for the importance of caring in schools and contend that Latino students may especially benefit from feelings of being cared for (Antrop-Gonzalez & De Jesus, 2006; Gibson, Gándara, et al., 2004; Mercado, 1993; 1999). A caring relationship with someone at school is especially important when we consider that the cultural practices of a rigorous academic program may be difficult for a student to become used to and the encouragement from a caring teacher or counselor can assuage the transition. Thus, students need to feel as if they are part of the school community in order to adhere to the cultural, ideological and behavioral expectations of the school. If we want historically underserved students to all participate in a college-going culture, schools will need to make the effort develop a school community in which every person is consistently working towards that goal and for themselves and for others.

Social, Cultural and Non-dominant forms of Capital

In the United States, the public educational system is touted to be a beacon of meritocracy, but in reality, has served as an institution of social reproduction. Our schools sustain the hope that our democratic nation is truly egalitarian. However, some critics of the public school system maintain that schools are institutions that simply reproduce the social class

hierarchy (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Giroux, 1992). In particular, many researchers contend that structural inequality plagues majority-minority schools (Anyon, 1997, 2005; Oakes, 1985b).

The concept of social reproduction can help us understand how class based inequalities are reproduced by the dominant class (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Collins, 2009; Lin, 1999). Social reproduction theory argues that the exchange of resources amongst group members reproduces the group. If we apply social reproduction theory to schools, we can assume that segregated schools made up of mostly low income students will have fewer forms of economic capital. At a macro level, these schools exist nationwide and suffer from overcrowding, less qualified teachers, poor facilities and inadequate funding (Oakes & Rogers, 2006). Whether an urban or a rural school, these underserved schools would most likely reproduce students who will largely fail to move up in social class. On a micro level, these segregated learning environments also serve to reproduce the unequal class distribution of social and cultural capital, resulting in a continued lack of critical resources and networks for these historically underserved students (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990).

It is my goal to examine the connection between social and cultural capital and schools in an effort to clarify how social and cultural capital- function as a tool of the dominant class. I begin by defining the term social capital and present studies that have commonly linked it to parents' social networks as a conduit towards success in education. This section is followed by review of studies that demonstrate how school officials and peers can provide social capital for low income Latino and African American students. I then explore the term cultural capital demonstrate how dominant groups sustain their status in society through their adoption of various cultural traits. Throughout each of these sections, I problematize the dominant forms of social and cultural capital, and demonstrate how low income Latino and African American

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students and families are continually marginalized in schools. I conclude with the inclusion of

the terms dominant and non-dominant forms of capital to expand the reader's notions of the

forms of capital that can exist given a person's social context. I argue that schools interested in

radically disrupting social hierarchies will need to acknowledge both dominant and non-

dominant of social and cultural capital.

Social Capital

The works of Pierre Bourdieu (1986; 1990) and James Coleman (1988) sparked

researchers' interest in social capital in relation to America's schools. Bourdieu defines social

capital as the "aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a

durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and

recognition" where each member benefits from the group's collective capital (1986, p. 248). In

short, people are socialized into groups that can provide them with a network of resources and

ways of being that members benefit from. The social capital framework reifies social

reproduction and structural inequality theories because it contends that those social groups with

the most resources will work to sustain the dominance of their social class members. For

Bourdieu, the poor lack the "right" sort of social and cultural resources in comparison to

members of the dominant class.

Somewhat differently, Coleman's (1988) work later served to identify the following

forms of social capital that which exist in all networks: obligations and expectations, information

channels and social norms. While Coleman does not explicitly argue that social capital is a tool

of the dominant class, his analysis of social capital denotes a similar social reproductionist

paradigm- social networks with more resources and norms that dominant society values will be

better off than those social networks with less capital and norms that may differ greatly from society and in turn are of little value.

In 1966 the Coleman report determined that social class background is the best predictor of academic achievement and middle class peers can serve as a critical resource for low income students (Coleman, 2007). While Coleman's work has been scrutinized greatly, research still indicates that children's socioeconomic status will influence their success or failure in school beyond whatever schools do to interrupt this (Rothstein, 2004). Since then, studies have correlated socioeconomic status and parents' education level with social capital. These studies usually use mother's education level as an indicator of social capital given this measure can presuppose a parent's social network and overall knowledge of the educational system. In other words, children from upper class backgrounds tend to have higher academic outcomes than children from high poverty homes, given that children from middle to upper class homes often come to school with networks, resources and skills that are valued by schools (Lareau, 1989, 2003). Indicative of this, various studies have linked social capital to positive effects on educational outcomes for students (Coleman, 1988; Coleman & Hoffer, 1987; Israel, Beauleu, & Duncan, 2001; McNeal, 1999; Morgan & Sorensen, 1999).

For many researchers the notion of social capital is troubling because it points to a white, middle class advantage. To exemplify, Annette Lareau's work on middle and working class parents described how middle class parents pass down their social and cultural capital (1989, 2003). She determined that middle class parents were able to draw information from their own network of friends made up of educators, the child's teacher, and private tutors to help their children, while low income parents were not able to do this. Similarly, in his analysis of parental involvement as social capital, McNeal (1999) used NELS 1988 data to show that parent

involvement was related to positive educational outcomes in the form of science achievement; truancy and reduced drop-out rates. Both researchers found that middle class parents developed strong relationships with teachers that resulted in positive effects on children's outcomes (Lareau, 1989; McNeal, 1999). McNeal's study in particular, found that social capital proved most beneficial for white, middle to upper class students from intact families but did not have significant positive effects for Latino and African American families. This conclusion concurs with Bourdieu's analysis of social capital and reinforces the social reproduction theory such that white, middle class parents are able to use their social networks to ensure that their children maintain status positions in school and society.

Given the plethora of barriers to parental involvement: limited resources, familial and work obligations, and an unfamiliarity with the language, immigrant and working class parents are sometimes not able to provide children with the information needed to navigate an increasingly competitive school system (Horvat, et al., 2003). As a result, working class, poor and immigrant parents are often mislabeled as lacking interest in their child's schooling. In response, studies on low income Latino and African American parents have illuminated the ways in which these parents demonstrate (albeit sometimes differently than white, middle class parents) their support of their children's education (Howard, 2010; Valenzuela & Dornsbuch, 1994). Tara Yosso argues for the inclusion of a broader framework for social capital to include familial capital in an effort to recognize the sometimes different but still valuable ways in which Latino and historically underserved families support their children's academic endeavors (2005). In her analysis of 50 low income Chicanos who were successful in achieving social mobility, Patricia Gándara identified how poor, Mexican immigrant parents supported the academic endeavors of their children outside of school (rather than inside the school like most middle

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class, white parents) (1995). She retells how these parents encouraged their children to succeed in school and fostered social capital with stories of family successes and how siblings often served as vital role models and sources of inspiration for younger siblings. Similarly, in a study of Latino families in central California, Margarita Azmitia and her colleagues determined that the Latino youth in the study viewed their parents and siblings as important sources of academic support (2009). Most significantly, the study found that parent support amongst Latino families correlated positively with math achievement and did not change depending on socioeconomic status. Overall, these studies demonstrate that African American and Latino youth can benefit from their parent and familial networks, and that schools need to respect all forms of parental involvement so that they do not reinforce hierarchies and exclude historically marginalized parents.

A growing body of literature has begun to focus on the capacity of schools to develop social capital and in turn improve the educational outcomes for students (Gore, 2005; Hebert & Reis, 1999; V. Lee & Burkam, 2003; Liou, Antrop-Gonzalez, & Cooper, 2009). Specifically, these studies document how schools that pay close attention to how school staff can aid in the development of social capital and as a result foster positive outcomes for students. These studies draw from Coleman's forms of social capital: obligations and expectations, information channels and social norms (1988). For Coleman, people's relationships with others can provide beneficial capital in the forms of social norms embedded in these groups. To exemplify, in their study of 190 urban and suburban schools, Valerie Lee and David Burkam demonstrate that students are less likely to drop out of high school if the relationships between school staff and students is strong and positive (2003). Similarly, in their three year study of an urban high school, Herbert

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and Reis (1999) determined that the role of social capital was vital to the success of their most high achieving students.

In particular, research demonstrates that teachers; counselors; and other school personnel can provide critical forms of social capital that are vital for a positive academic experience. In particular, low income and minority students can gain from their relationships with institutional agents (i.e. teachers, counselors) and like-minded peers who offer valuable social capital in the form of information, high expectations and social norms (Conchas, 2006; Farmer-Hinton & Adams, 2006; Gibson, Gándara, et al., 2004; Hemmings, 2007; Stanton-Salazar, 1997). Stanton Salazar's social capital framework (1997) outlines the importance of institutional agents in the education of minority youth given their ability to help students overcome the barriers that preclude them from other networks and social capital.

For example, in a mixed methods study of a Chicago charter school, researchers focused on the roles of counselors in a high school that serves first generation African American students (Farmer-Hinton & Adams, 2006). They found that in addition to filling the expected role of counselor for students, the counselors at this school also created "new norms of college access for a student population with limited experience and knowledge about college as a viable option (Farmer-Hinton & Adams, 2006, p. 113)." Consistent with Coleman's definition of social capital, the counselors at this school were able to provide African American students with social capital that led to 61 percent of students first graduating class being accepted to four and two year colleges (Farmer-Hinton & Adams, 2006).

Despite the power of institutional agents, this form of social capital is not without its drawbacks. Educational researchers have detailed the plethora of challenges low income minority youth experience in their efforts to create strong relationships with adults that could

benefit their education (Gay, 2000; Noguera, 2008; Stanton-Salazar, 2001; Stanton-Salazar &

Dornbusch, 1995; Valenzuela, 1999). Ethnographic studies of urban schools have demonstrated

how Latino and African American students and particularly males, have suffered at the hands of

teachers with low expectations, prejudices and outright animosity towards these youth of color

(Anyon, 1997; Lopez, 2003). Indicative of this, Ricardo Stanton-Salazar's study of two

California high schools recounted Mexican youths negative experiences with counselors,

coaches and teachers who often had negative perceptions of their academic ability (2001).

Researchers should note that even though institutional agents exist in schools to help

students, "the actual transmission of resources may never occur" (Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch,

1995, p. 132). In fact, institutional agents may have too much power over the lives of minority

youth, if we rely solely on them to provide support, given the

> social order also obligates teachers to act as purveyors of unequally distributed rewards
> and punishments, as gatekeepers and controllers of scarce resources, as self-interested
> and self-advocating members of unions and as representatives, and often unwilling
> "agents" of a classist, sexist, and racialized societal order (1997, p. 20).

While relationships between adults and minority youth can certainly increase the likelihood of

access to institutional resources, we must acknowledge that these relationships can be weakened

and curtailed by prejudices informed by dominant groups. Robert Ream's mixed methods study,

using NELS:88 data revealed that school staff often masked behind kind words, patronizing

Mexican-American students and held them to low expectations resulting in a form of *counterfeit*

social capital (2003). He relates how teachers can make social harmony and relationships a

priority, but this was at the expense of students' academic endeavors. Haberman describes this

trend as the *pedagogy of poverty*, where teachers often feel sorry for their low income minority

students and as a result expect very little from them academically and perceive their students as

deficient or disadvantaged (1991). In order to best create and sustain social capital in underserved schools, schools will need to combat the prejudices, and the well-meaning but misguided efforts to protect low income students' self esteem of educators that could undermine the development of social capital at their school sites.

Realistically, parents and teachers alone cannot set the norms and expectations of a school, nor can they be the only purveyors of social capital. If we consider that vertical ties (i.e. adult to child) are typically weak and horizontal ties (i.e. peer to peer) are often stronger (Granovetter, 1973), then peer to peer relationships can have better results at sharing information and network building. Gibson and her colleagues define this trend as *peer social capital* and explain, "adolescent's connections to peers and peer networks that can provide access to tangible forms of support that facilitate the accomplishment of academic goals (2004, p. 4)." Research on integrated school environments has found repeated positive outcomes for minority students by way of peer social capital. While some of these are structural benefits, research shows that integration of disadvantaged, minority students with white middle class peers can have positive effects on minority lower-performing students such that they benefit from their social networks with white peers (Gandara, 1995; Mehan, Villanueva, Hubbard, & Lintz, 1996).

However, Latinos are experiencing the highest levels of segregation in the last forty years and segregation rates for African Americans have reverted back to late 1960's levels (Orfield & Frankenburg, 2008). Two thirds of African- American and Latino students in major urban centers attend severely segregated schools where ten percent or less of their fellow students is white (Orfield & Frankenburg, 2008). While efforts to break down this isolation must continue, research on peer social capital will need to focus on majority minority schools and minority social networks given the demographics of present day schools.

A growing body of literature demonstrates that minority youth can serve as sources of social capital for each other in an effort to improve their academic and social trajectories (Conchas, 2006; Datnow & Cooper, 1996; Gibson, Gándara, et al., 2004; Mehan, et al., 1996; Monkman, Ronald, & Theramene, 2005; Smith-Maddox, 1999; Valenzuela, 1999). To exemplify, in his study of three minority groups in a northern California high school, Gil Conchas illustrates the various ways Vietnamese, Latino and African American youth can provide peer social capital for each other in the form of information and pro-academic social norms (2006, p. 114). Similarly, in their study of African America students attending an elite independent school, Amanda Datnow and Robert Cooper found that the high achieving African American students were "revered by their peers and held up as role models" (1996, p. 69) For these African American students, their academic identity was supported through their strong bonds with other African American students. Overall, these studies demonstrate that African American and Latino students are not always subject to an *oppositional culture* that is oftentimes associated with historically underserved minority groups (Ogbu, 1978, 2003).

Research in education has found that extracurricular activities have been largely successful in improving students' self of belonging in schools and provide social capital. Studies indicate that participation in extracurricular activities has been linked to positive educational experiences, improved self esteem and leadership skills (Brown & Theobald, 1998; Gibson, Bejinez, et al., 2004). In particular, extracurricular activities allow students to develop out of the classroom relationships with teachers and other students and form a community- social capital. This sense of community is especially important for low income children of color if the are to succeed in college, where they will inevitably need to find support in friends and groups on campus (Stanton-Salazar, 2001).

A study of the Migrant Student Association (MSA), a student group in a California school, determined that the members, who were almost all children of farm workers of Mexican descent, served as *peer social capital* (Stanton-Salazar, 2004) for each other (Gibson, Bejinez, et al., 2004). They found that the club was inclusive and created a community amongst its members. The MSA not only built a sense of belonging amongst members but also promoted positive school behaviors such as academic success and school involvement. The researchers observed the students helping each other with schoolwork and sharing information about the college application process. It should be noted that institutional agents were key in the development and sustainment of the MSA, and as a result it was able to offer its members social capital in three forms: expectations; social norms; and information. More importantly, this study demonstrates how the participation in an extracurricular club for low income Latino students provided social capital and resulted in 77 percent of migrant students graduating from high school (Gibson, Bejinez, et al., 2004).

While the achievements of the MSA club in this study are noteworthy, this peer social capital only benefitted the few in the group. The authors of the study caution that "pockets of peer and adult social capital within school settings may spur individual academic achievement and mobility, but they do little to alter the institutional structures that continue to marginalize working-class Mexican-descent students (Gibson, Bejinez, et al., 2004, p. 144)." In addition, research indicates that peer networks can provide dual functions as either mediators of pro-academic norms and information or moderators of pro-academic norms and information through an oppositional peer subculture (Stanton-Salazar, 2004). Countless educational studies have documented how Latino and African American male youth in particular, derail the academic norms of classrooms and promote an oppositional stance towards schools (Hurd, 2004; Lopez,

2003; Noguera, 2008; Ogbu, 1987, 2003; Vigil, 2004). Thus, further analysis is also needed to understand why some students engage in the pro-academic social networks while others do not.

Cultural Capital

The notion of cultural capital can help illuminate how people engage or disengage in schools. Bourdieu (1986) offered the term cultural capital and referred to it as a marker that serves to demarcate the privileged upper and middle classes from socioeconomically disadvantaged groups. He emphasizes that inequality persists among social classes because members of the dominant classes have grown up in a culture (*habitus*)[3] that society (*field*)[4] accepts and often privileges. Moreover, members of the dominant class often overlook the benefits of their habitus and how this often results in a benefit (i.e. capital) for them.

To clarify, Bourdieu explains that cultural capital can exist in the following forms: the embodied state; the objectified state; and the institutionalized state (1986). The embodied state refers to the attitudes and preferences those in the dominant class can benefit from and yield gains. The objectified state refers to an individuals' possession of sought after material objects usually used by the dominant class while the institutionalized state denotes a person's academic qualifications which is almost always valued by society at large. For example, individuals can

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[3] *Habitus* can be defined as the system of dispositions that result from past experiences and socialization (Lareau, 2003). Annette Lareau clarifies the term and explains that "differences in habitus give individuals varying cultural skills, social connections, educational practices, and other cultural resources, which can then be translated into different forms of value (i.e. capital) as individuals move out into the world (2003, p. 276).

[4] *Field* is defined as a "structured system of social relations at a micro and macro level (Michael Grenfell & James, 1998, p. 15)." David Swartz suggests that "Bourdieu sees the image of 'field' as superior to that of 'institution' for two reasons: first, he wants to emphasize the conflicted character of social life where the idea of intuitions suggest consensus, second he wants a concept that can cover social worlds where practices are only weakened institutionalized and boundaries are not well established (1997, p. 120 as cited in Lareau 2003, p. 277)."

demonstrate the embodied, objectified and institutionalized state by way of their speech, their

attire and their academic degrees, respectively. For Bourdieu, the relevance of the cultural

capital principle lies in the way it is usually transmitted. He explains

> The initial accumulation of cultural capital, starts at the outset, without delay, without
> wasted time, only for the offspring of families endowed with strong cultural capital; in
> this case, the accumulation period covers the whole period of socialization (Bourdieu,
> 1986, p. 248).

It becomes clear then that those from the dominant class have secured their children's success in

life by way of passing down not only their economic and social capital, but also their cultural

capital. As these children grow into adulthood, they benefit from their high status social

networks and as a result seek to set themselves apart through a public show of "high brow"

cultural markers (Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Lareau & Weininger, 2003).

Other researchers have sought to prove the utility of Bourdieu's cultural capital

framework in order to demonstrate that the possession of dominant cultural capital produces

returns. Unfortunately, many studies still use parental education levels as a proxy for cultural

capital, which does little for the study of how culture capital is operationalized (Sullivan, 2001).

While few studies have focused on cultural capital and its relationship to educational outcomes,

cultural capital has been found to have positive outcomes of educational attainment and

aspirations for white, middle class or in some cases lower class white male students (DiMaggio,

1982; Paul DiMaggio & J. Mohr, 1985). The lion's share of this work has been spearheaded by

Paul DiMaggio, whom uses Max Weber's notion of *status culture* to explain how elite groups

will make obvious their own cultural traits, tastes and styles in the areas of literature, art, and

museums (1982). His studies conclude those students who pursue "elite cultural interests and

activities in high schools maintain their advantage" in the form of grades and educational

attainment (1985, p. 1248). While these studies point to a "status culture" that can benefit white middle class students and in some cases low income students, DiMaggio's work is limited because it fails to include a racial lens. Given that white, middle class culture is already associated as the "status culture" in the United States, DiMaggio's work does little to demonstrate that a white, "status culture" promotes educational achievement or if it's a function of something else. In order to make the culture capital framework generalizable, the model must include other racial and ethnic and historically marginalized groups.

Many researchers have taken issue with Bourdieu's work given its grandiose assumptions and lack of evidence that shows students in fact benefitting from cultural capital. In particular, Alice Sullivan critiques Bourdieu in her empirical study on how cultural capital is transmitted in the home and whether it produces positive gains in education (2001). She notes that Bourdieu takes for granted that parental education level is synonymous with parental cultural capital. In an effort to document the transmission of cultural capital, in her study, Sullivan surveyed parents and students on their knowledge of; participation in activities related to; and language associated with cultural capital. The study finds that children do inherit parent cultural capital, and this in turn can have positive effects on students' linguistic ability via test scores. However, Sullivan is quick to point out that these test scores may be more of an outcome of the kinds of cultural capital activities (e.g. reading) that were encouraged by parents in the home. This is of particular interest because Bourdieu does not define cultural capital as a skill, but rather as traits. Sullivan also critiques Bourdieu's use of a simple bivariate analysis to demonstrate a causal relationship between parental education and student education outcomes. Concurrent with social reproduction theories, Sullivan's study found that parent's social class has a large effect on the test scores of their students and as such the positive correlation between parents' cultural capital

and student academic outcomes becomes unclear. Overall, her study determines that the positive test outcomes may be more a function of parental social class and the associated material resources that come along with this rather than an outcome of parental cultural capital. Therefore, future studies of cultural capital will need to 1) control for parental social class; 2) clearly demonstrate how cultural capital operates and 3) if it produces returns.

For more than twenty years, Annette Lareau and her colleagues have conducted a series of studies using and developing the cultural capital framework (1987, 1989, 2003; Lareau & Horvat, 1999; Lareau & Weininger, 2003). Their studies of cultural capital (which control for social class) have often documented the ways in which parents transmit their cultural capital to their children, and how these families benefit from their cultural capital. However, Lareau's work is important because it documents how race can still diminish the returns people of color would expect to gain even when they use their cultural capital. Lareau's in-depth studies of families illustrate the cultural capital of white and Black parents, but also, the way this is either activated or not used in a series of interactions with actors (i.e. teachers) from institutions (i.e. schools) (Lareau & Horvat, 1999). Her work serves as an important application of the cultural capital framework because it goes beyond focusing on individuals and showing "for example the association between cultural consumption and educational performance. Individualistic analyses fail to demonstrate the standards of social institutions which, according to the concept, are infused with the family life, and experiences of the privileged social classes" (Lareau, 1989, p. 5). Lareau acknowledges that while class is a strong indicator of educational success for smaller children, as these children grow in age and encounter institutions that have historically privileged whites, race will become a stronger predictor in their lives (Lareau, 2003).

More notably, Lareau's work has included class and race and has illustrated the strong relationship between cultural capital and class and a more tenuous relationship between cultural capital and race. Her work has documented the ways in which white and African American, middle class parents' cultural capital can have positive effects on their children's achievement and experiences in schools (Lareau, 1989, 2003). However, not all studies of parental involvement demonstrate such a positive relationship between social class and schooling outcomes. In a number of studies of white and African American families, the return (or positive effect on education) is lower for African American children despite their parent's social class and display of cultural capital (Lareau, 2003; Lareau & Horvat, 1999; Roscigno & Ainsworth-Darnell, 1999). Research in this area supports this claim. Minority parents in under-resourced schools are typically not able to hold the school accountable for the quality education they desire for their children (Lareau & Horvat, 1999; Noguera, 2003, 2008; Valenzuela, 1999). Lareau explains "the standards of the school are not neutral; their requests for parent involvement may be laden with cultural experiences of intellectual and economic elites " (1989, p. 8). To clarify, teachers and school staff often hold deficit views of African American and Latino parents because their level of participation may not look like typical middle class norms. As a result, majority-minority schools generally have low levels of intergenerational closure[5] and the relationship between minority and poor parents often is marred with a lack of trust and even respect (Noguera, 2008).

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[5] Coleman defines the relationship between schools and parents as "intergenerational closure" and argues that it is a vital component to ensuring positive academic outcomes if schools respond to the needs of parents (1988). Simply put, parents and school personnel that share common visions, goals and expectations for children are more likely to produce successful outcomes (Coleman, 1988; Noguera, 2008).

Overall, the cultural capital framework highlights the transmission of cultural capital from parents to children. However, the cultural capital paradigm also underscores the dominance of cultural traits that are associated with whiteness and the middle to upper class.

Dominant and Non-dominant forms of Cultural Capital

It becomes clear that the cultural capital framework sustains and reinforces the dominance of white middle class culture and serves to perpetuate the inequity present in historically underserved communities. In response to these deficit views of communities of color, Tara Yosso challenges these dominant epistemologies and proposes a community cultural wealth model in an effort to expand the definition of cultural capital (2005). Yosso argues that Bordieu's limited notions of cultural capital devalue those cultural traits associated with People of Color and other historically marginalized groups. Her framework illuminates the returns People of Color can attain from these non-dominant forms of capital: 1) aspirational; 2) linguistic; 3) familial; 4) social capital; 5) navigational; and 6) resistant capital. Her model is a helpful extension of Bourdieu's cultural capital model because it demonstrates how cultural traits often associated with People of Color can be of value to their educational trajectories. Similarly, Patricia Gándara identifies that family stories served as a form of cultural capital for the low income Mexican families. She explains, "the stories were a way for mothers to convey to their children that the current circumstance in which they lived- poverty- was not one in which they needed remain…the stories point to a great deal of hopefulness" (1995, p. 55). Much like the aspirational and familial capital Yosso speaks of, these family stories served of great value to the families and in the end, provided high returns in the form of educational and life success all of these individuals.

In an effort to codify the returns of non-dominant capital, Prudence Carter's study of 44 low income African American youth demonstrates how these youth benefitted from both dominant and non-dominant forms of capital (Carter, 2003). The study empirically shows how low income minority youth recognize and use these forms of capital depending on the social context in which they find themselves. In her work, a group of bicultural youth emerges as *cultural straddlers* when they value both dominant and non-dominant forms of capital and utilize them according to their context. Another group of youth acted as cultural resisters when they demonstrated a lack of wiliness to conform and adopt the cultural capital of the dominant class. Carter's work calls on researchers to better document how dominant and non-dominant forms of capital can provide historically underserved students social and academic benefits.

Similarly, in their Multiple Worlds study, Patricia Phelan and her colleagues found that students who went to school in very different social contexts than their own, experience cultural dissonance, but some are able to manage the boundary crossing (1991). Like the cultural straddlers, Prudence Carter describes in her study, these students are able to move between two worlds and succeed in school, but this comes at the cost of peers. Additionally, the multiple worlds' study identifies students who perceive the movement into other worlds as insurmountable and have trouble engaging in contexts that are culturally different than their own (Phelan, et al., 1991). These students, like the cultural resisters in Carter's work, often disengage from school especially when there is a mismatch between the cultural norms of the teacher and student.

Catholic Schools

Historically, Catholic schools have educated a portion (albeit small) of immigrant and minority children. In the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth century, Catholic schools

served the needs of various European immigrant groups, and in some cases provided bilingual and bicultural education for German and French Canadian students (J. A. Greene & O'Keefe, 2001). For the majority of the twentieth century, Catholic schools were considered affordable for immigrants and minorities who earned blue collar wages. By the 1970's, a little over ten percent of students enrolled in Catholic schools were of color and by 1980 the number almost doubled. Interestingly, in 1983, Hispanic student enrollment in Catholic schools was 8.9 percent and eight percent of public school students. In comparison, African American student enrollment in Catholic schools was half of the public school student enrollment (16.8 percent). The rates of minority students in Catholic elementary schools had been sustained by low cost parochial schools and as a result the presence of minority students in Catholic high schools was substantial. By the mid 1980's, Catholic high schools enrolled minority students almost at the same rate as public schools (J. A. Greene & O'Keefe, 2001) and by 1998, minority student enrollment in Catholic high schools had increased to 24.7 percent (Manno & Graham, 2001).

The demographics of Catholic school student population indicate that these schools may have served a limited number of all minority students, but their success rates with these populations need be recognized. In their study of parochial elementary schools, Cibulka and his colleagues detailed the academic success of minority students in these urban Catholic schools (Cibulka, O'Brien, & Zewe, 1982). Similarly, in an analysis of 31 Catholic high schools serving predominantly African American students in urban areas, Vernon Polite found that 81 percent of all students went on to attend a 4 year college and 13 of these schools boasted 96 to 100 percent college matriculation rates (2000). Polite's interviews of the principals of these high schools, nicknamed "Cornerstones" emphasized that a lack of tracking and strong communal

environments led to these successful schools. Jacqueline Irvine and Michelé Foster collected case studies and essays from successful African American researchers in education, who all coincidentally attended Catholic schools (1996). These works portray these individuals as resilient youth who learned to navigate Eurocentric schools and society, while maintaining their African American culture. More importantly, their reflections underscore the importance of a demanding curriculum set forth by teachers who cared about the success of African American students.

Most notably, a series of studies using the High School and Beyond (HS&B) data set, which included longitudinal data from public and private schools, have demonstrated that minorities in Catholic schools perform better than their public school counterparts (Coleman & Hoffer, 1987; Coleman, Hoffer, & Kilgore, 1982; Greeley, 1982). In particular, Greeley's 1982 study focused on academic outcomes of African American and Latino students and found that not only were Catholic schools more effective for these students, but the more at-risk the student, there was a greater differential in achievement between public and Catholic schools (1982). In an extension of their earlier work, James Coleman and Thomas Hoffer revisited their study, and this time working with additional data, they were able to reconfirm nearly doubling of verbal and mathematics scores Latino and African American students (1987). Additionally, the dropout rates for minority and low income students has been consistently lower in Catholic schools (Coleman & Hoffer, 1987; V. Lee & Burkam, 2003). Anthony S. Bryk and his colleagues also conducted a three part study that analyzed the two sets of HS&B data and collected additional national data on seven Catholic secondary schools (Bryk, et al., 1993). The Bryk et al study, which used more complex statistical methods than their predecessors' (path analysis and HLM)

is notable for two of its major findings. First, the authors found and reiterated that the achievement gap between white and minority students decreases from sophomore to senior year while achievement gaps widened in public schools. In other words, the student achievement becomes more homogenous in Catholic schools. Second, the researchers argue that a communal school organization along with a shared ideology and a focused academic structure contributed to the effectiveness of Catholic schools (Bryk, et al., 1993). Collectively, all of these authors maintain that high academic expectations for all students established by Catholic schools facilitated positive academic outcomes. In particular, Coleman and Hoffer emphasize the importance of a shared mission amongst faculty in Catholic schools (1987). In line with the literature on college going culture, the research on Catholic high schools indicates that these schools' high expectations for all students and de-tracking facilitates academic development of minority and low income students.

The aforementioned studies on Catholic schools have all also underscored the importance of community and its associated social capital for its members, which is particularly important for students from disadvantaged economic backgrounds and historically underserved communities. Bryk and his colleagues argue that Catholic schools are able to provide social capital for their students because of their communal organization and social trust (1993). They describe three critical elements of a communal organization: an abundance of school activities that can provide multiple opportunities for face-to-face interaction; meaningful relationships between students, teachers and other members of the community and a shared set of beliefs amongst all members of the school community. In particular, relational trust "views the social exchanges of schooling as organized around a distinct set of role relationships: teachers with

students, teachers with other teachers, teachers with parents and with their school principal (Bryk & Schneider, 2002, p. 20)." Trust embedded in these relationships as evidenced by patterns of respect, personal regard, competence in core role responsibilities and personal integrity result in successful academic and social outcomes for students (Bryk & Schneider, 2002). Through these organizational and social structures, members of Catholic school communities, for example, benefit from a network of caring and individuals, thus increasing their social capital. Bryk and his colleagues sustain:

> Catholic schools benefit from a network of social relations, characterized by trust, that constitute a form of social capital. Trust accrues because school participants, both students and faculty, choose to be there. To be sure, voluntary association does not automatically create social capital, but it is harder to develop such capital in its absence.
> (1993, p. 314)

Research demonstrates that social trust in schools can facilitate organizational conditions, structural conditions and socio-psychological conditions that facilitate student growth and success (Bryk & Schneider, 2002). It is the level of social trust that determines how people will not only participate in social networks but to what extent individuals will place the good of the group before their own (Schneider, 2002). Trust in particular has been linked to closing the intergenerational closure between parents and schools (Coleman, 1988). Furthermore, groups who establish norms and trusts are notable because of their ability to move individuals to work for the common good of the group, resulting in an increase of social capital for everyone in the network (Schneider, 2002).

Furthermore, Catholic schools benefit from a community that leverages the resources of all members towards a shared vision. As a religious and Catholic institution, Catholic schools are subject to the teachings of the Bible as well as influenced by Catholic social teaching. Catholic

schools must adhere to the messages and teaching of Catholicism found in papal, conciliar and Episcopal documents which emphasize living a life in the likeness of Christ in the pursuit of a more just society. In this manner, Catholic schools are expected to mobilize their students, faculty and parents to engage in the mission of social justice for the disadvantaged and poor. According to the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB):

> Catholic social teaching emerges from the truth of what God has revealed to us about himself. We believe in the triune God whose very nature is communal and social. God the Father sends his only Son Jesus Christ and shares the Holy Spirit as his gift of love. God reveals himself to us as one who is not alone, but rather as one who is relational, one who is Trinity. Therefore, we who are made in God's image share this communal, social nature. We are called to reach out and to build relationships of love and justice.
> ("Sharing Catholic Social Teaching: Challenges and Directions ", 1998)

For Catholic schools, the structure of community is an integral mechanism that asks Catholics to prioritize the community and relationships with others. In this manner, the Catholic Church and schools rooted in the Catholic tradition emphasize relationship building, and in particular with those in need. In particular, Catholic social teaching promotes social justice and highlights the following major seven principles:

1. Life and Dignity of the Poor
2. Call to Family, Community and Participation
3. Rights and Responsibilities
4. Option for the Poor and Vulnerable
5. The Dignity of Work and the Rights of Workers
6. Solidarity
7. Care for God's Creation
    ("Sharing Catholic Social Teaching: Challenges and Directions ", 1998)

The seven major Catholic social teachings manifest the Catholic Church's commitment to community and social justice. Throughout various church documents, such as the Option for the Poor, Catholic Bishops and other clerics have attempted to publicly demonstrate their

progressive agenda and commitment towards social reform (Cousineau, 1998). Most notably, members of the Catholic Church in Latin America originated "Liberation Theology" which articulates "the belief that one's eternal salvation is inseparable from the struggle toward social justice" (Cousineau, 1998). According to Catholic doctrine, its church members share the collective responsibility to work together as a community of God, in the name of Christ towards eradicating injustice.

The choice to explore Catholic schools was purposeful. Catholic social teaching emphasizes a call to action against injustice and a collective effort to remedy the issues that plague the marginalized. In the context of education, underrepresented minority youth have been historically underserved by schools, which have resulted in a cycle of underachievement in the African American and Latino communities. Urban Catholic schools then face the tremendous challenge to work alongside underserved minority communities to disrupt the cycle of poverty by offering these youth the resources to prepare, apply and hopefully attend college.

The Cristo Rey Network

One such example of schools committed to improving the social mobility of low income students are the Cristo Rey Network schools. The idea for the first Cristo Rey school came about when Father John Foley had returned from work in Peru and had wanted to continue his work in Pilsen, Chicago, a mostly immigrant and poor Latino community (Kearney, 2008). Families expressed to father Foley that one of the most important things their community needed was a college preparatory high school. As a result, in 1996 Father Foley established a college prep high school that immigrant families could afford, by establishing a work partnership with local corporations to employ the students in exchange for tuition payments.

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Formally, the Cristo Rey Network of schools was founded in 2001 when educational and Catholic school leaders met with school leaders from the Cristo Rey Jesuit High School in Chicago, in an effort to learn how to replicate the Chicago school model in other Catholic schools. Schools associated with the Cristo Rey Network must also provide a college preparatory academic program to students with "limited educational options" (Cristo Rey website). These schools pride themselves in offering students a rigorous academic experience as well as the social skills via the work program to prepare them for post secondary and career success. More than 6500 students have received a Catholic educational experience and participated in the corporate work study program. The network of schools serves a student body that is overall 95 percent student of color and $36,000 is the average family income.

Since then, the network of schools formally established itself as a non-profit charity in 2003 and is directed by a Network Board of Directors and staff and benefits from its university partners (21 colleges and universities) and corporate sponsors. As of 2012, the Cristo Rey Network was made up of 24 schools across 17 states and the District of Colombia, and 22 of these schools are located in urban centers. Member schools are made up of both single sex and co-ed high schools and some were started as a Cristo Rey schools while others were incorporated into the network generally after the high schools experienced extreme financial burdens that would have otherwise resulted in the closing of the high schools. To be a Cristo Rey school, schools are asked to adhere to ten standards which clearly articulate their mission to serve low income and historically undeserved students and their families (Appendix A).

In the following chapter, I present my research project and the central research questions that guided this study of urban Catholic schools that aimed to improve the social mobility of students through a college going culture and a corporate work study program.

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CHAPTER 3

Methods of Research

Research Questions

This study sheds light on an underexplored area of educational study: work study programs and their capacity to develop social capital and expose students to dominant forms of capital. In this manner, I investigated how a corporate work study program was a vehicle for social and cultural capital and a means by which Catholic schools can serve low income students. This research project additionally examined the culture of two urban Catholic schools with an emphasis on the mechanisms that provide 1) a college-going culture and 2) dominant forms of social and cultural capital for low income Latino and African American male students through their coursework and a communal organization. Towards that end, I did a comparative analysis of the social structures in two, distinct urban Catholic high schools that each sought to prepare its students for college through its academic and social programs. In sum, the project sought to describe each school's capacity to develop and distribute dominant forms of capital, but also how they dealt with non-dominant forms of capital. My research questions were the following:

1. What is the role of a corporate work study program in the development of students' academic and social identity? Does the work study experience serve as an important source of social and cultural capital? A college-going identity?
2. How are college-going cultures created at two all male Catholic high schools? What are the processes and characteristics of each school site that facilitate a college preparatory environment?
3. How do dominant forms of social and cultural capital get shared and distributed at these two urban Catholic high schools? How do students perceive and engage with dominant forms of social and cultural capital in extracurricular activities, religious classes and at work?

This dissertation detailed an institutional level analysis of two school's attempt to meet the needs of its historically underserved students and their families. In doing so, the study

revealed the critical social support structures and leadership of each school aimed at creating an effective school environment. Additionally, this work analyzed the ways in which school staff and students demonstrate their support and opposition of dominant and non-dominant of social and cultural capital.

Study Design

Ethnography is the "principled effort to describe the everyday, cultural life of a social group" and "seeks a holistic, cultural description of the multiple dimensions, aspects, domains, institutions, activities, practices, and settings of a social group" (M. Grenfell, Bloome, Hardy, Pahl, & Roswell, 2011, p. 9). Drawing from classroom ethnographic research, my study was rooted in the tradition of research that seeks to illuminates the social and cultural processes that are embedded in schools. Specifically, I employed ethnographic fieldwork methods to best capture of the culture of these two schools (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). In an effort to understand they ways in which young men of color engaged or disengaged in Catholic schools and at work, an ethnographic study, grounded in sociology and anthropology, allowed me to analyze how social contexts and interactions with other people mediated the academic experience of students. Towards this end, I reviewed school documents, observed school activities, interviewed key informants and reviewed student data at each school site to create a portrait of each school (Lightfoot, 1983).

Furthermore, an ethnographic approach grounded in critical principles makes it possible to not only detail the unequal distribution of resources for students often present within social structures, but call attention to the cultural ideologies and inequities that contribute to social reproduction (Carspecken 2001). Towards that end, the study focused on *how* and *if* social and

cultural capital which are normally afforded by a mix of middle class peers could be transmitted similarly or possibly better through experiences in mainstream corporate contexts. I also focused on how schools treated non-dominant capital and how students negotiated these cultural ideologies. In that manner, this dissertation used *ethnographic research methods* to convey and better understand the culture of Catholic schools that serve historically underserved students and their management of dominant and non-dominant forms of social and cultural capital.

To better comprehend the ways in which Latino and African American youth engage in and perceive Catholic schools, I purposefully selected two Catholic high schools that have historically served these minority groups. A qualitative study employing ethnographic research methods of two Catholic schools allowed for "cross site comparison and generalization [which] require researchers at all sites to used shared definitions of concepts and common data collection procedures to ensure that cross site similarities and differences are characteristic of the sites and not the result of measurements procedures or measurements bias (Firestone and Herriot, p. 69 1984)." Given my interest in the ways in which schools serve minority youth, it seemed appropriate to engage in a multisite ethnographic study so that I could draw conclusions across sites situated within a macro perspective of the educational system but also highlight the historical and social contexts of each school and how these influence the micro level of individual experiences positioned within classrooms and schools. Moreover, it was important to have a more traditional urban Catholic school to contrast in order to better understand the salience of the St. Peter model.

St. Peter High School and Divinity High School[6] are located in urban centers that have both a history of and mission to serve the educational needs of poor and historically underserved families. I selected each high school because they served all male students, who are mostly Latino and African-American; given that these demographic groups have the lowest educational attainment rates as well as the highest high school drop-out rates. The mission and history of each of the Catholic high schools in my study articulate clear intentions about serving low income, young men of color and therefore I expected to find some replication when I compared the schools' academic and social program and overall school culture. The study design then employed was a comparative ethnographic study that depicted some similarities in social structure and culture but the project inevitably illuminated key differences between the school sites and how these affected student experiences.

There were some key differences between the two schools, which I centered on for the study. St. Peter is part of the Cristo Rey Network of Schools, which required the school to only accept low-income students and operate a corporate work study program that pays for the cost of tuition. Under these circumstances, the students at St. Peter were segregated both economically with other low income students and in effect ethnically such that every student was of Latino and/or African American background. My research design allowed me to underscore the contribution and influence the work study program has on the students who participate by comparing it to a school with a similar mission and target demographic groups. I also sought to understand how students' perceptions and experiences in the work study program related to their educational trajectories. The uniqueness of the work study program also made it a worthy focus

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[6] Names of schools have been changed to protect the identity of research participants.

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of this research because of its potential benefit to its students who are attending a racially and socioeconomic segregated school.

Research Sites

St. Peter High School

St. Peter High school, a Catholic school located in an economically depressed city in the southwestern portion of the United States was established in 1962 by the local Archdiocese[7] in response to the need for a Catholic high school in the area to serve a predominantly African American community. St. Peter would draw attention for having the first African American priest, Father Joseph Frances serve as principal of a Catholic high school. The school formally opened its doors of its present day campus in 1963 and regarded itself as an "integrated" school comprised of 46 percent Latino and 54 percent African American student population (Lopez 2003). The school had the lowest tuition rates in the entire area and offered students a college preparatory curriculum.

Within a couple years of its beginning, an urban riot afflicted the surrounding community of St. Peter and yet the school was not harmed[8]. Over the late 1960's St. Peter increased its enrollment, expanded its course offerings and passed its accreditation. The school continued to keep tuition rates the lowest in the entire county to ensure that families from the community could afford the school. The students benefited from a college preparatory curriculum and a successful sports program. Students who needed financial assistance were also aided by a federally funded program called, Neighborhood Youth Core, which offered students 20 hours of

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[7] The Archdiocese is the territorial jurisdiction of a Catholic Bishop.

[8] In fact, the school had been watched by neighboring residents and protected throughout the riots. Once residents could no longer stand watch, community members took a large piece of a nearby railroad guard, wrote "blood" across it and placed it in front of the school doors. The school was never harmed. (Lopez 2003).

employment on campus for their help with janitorial services such as cleaning classrooms and corridors (Lopez 2003).

Still, over these 25 years, the religious order that operated St. Peter, the Society of the Divine Word, struggled to meet the economic needs of the families who could not afford the increasing rates of tuition and the Archdiocese failed to meet their demands (Lopez 2003). After experiencing serious financial debt and low student enrollment throughout the late 1990's, St. Peter was faced with closing its doors. However, in 2000 the Archdiocese encouraged a distinct and separate Catholic order, the Society of Jesus, to evaluate the school's future and possibilities for a new administration. The Society of Jesus, who are also more commonly referred to as the Jesuits, studied St. Peter's financial problems and determined the school, could never exist under a tuition-funded model as most other schools in the Archdiocese have done. Instead, the new Jesuit school administration took over the school, replaced the Society of the Divine Word and decided to become a Cristo Rey school in 2003, which established a work study program for all students. It took St. Peter a couple of years for the new administration and school to adopt the standards set forth by the Cristo Network. As a result, the school now has a unique financial and work requirement of its students and their families. Today the school maintains student enrollment around 300.

Divinity High School

Established in 1925, Divinity High School was the first Catholic Archdiocesan high school for boys in one of the largest metropolitan cities within the southwestern portion of the United States. In this manner, the Archdiocese advised and helped fund the school. However, the Christian Brothers, guided by the work of Patron Saint of Schools- St. John Baptist de La

Salle, operated the school. Like other high schools within the city, Divinity experienced rapid segregation and by the 1950s, the student population was primarily Latino which mirrored the demographics of the surrounding areas of the school. Even though the Catholic Archdiocese had intended for Divinity to serve various church communities in the area, by the 1950's the Archdioceses had begun to build more high schools throughout the suburbs of the city.

In the 1960's, the Divinity' leadership decided to make a college preparatory curriculum mandatory for all its students, to ensure the success of the Latino students all the way into college. During this time, Divinity High school took part in educating some of Los Angeles most important Latino leaders in the Chicano movement and active members of *Catolicos por la Raza* such as Richard and Ray Cruz[9]. And yet, in 1984 the Archdiocese announced it would close Divinity- which was fully enrolled! Alumni, the school leadership, the Christian Brothers as well as students and families voiced concern over the Archdiocesan decision, which was finally overturned in 1987. By the mid 1990's however, the school had experienced a serious decline in enrollment and a great deal of teacher turnover. This time, the Christian Brothers were in a much stronger position to support the school financially and coupled with a much stronger alumni network, the Archdiocese arranged for Divinity to become an independent school run by a Board of Trustees and the Christian Brothers. Today, Divinity boasts of a 720 student enrollment.

[9] "Divinity" alumni also included Tomas Varela, Percy Duran, Miguel Duran and Peter Navarro. These students along with Richard and Ray Cruz became known as the "[School name] Mafia" whom became Chicano activists concerned with ambivalence the Archdiocese demonstrated towards the parochial schools and parishes that served Latino communities. The college educated activists were prompted by the Chicano movement but inspired by their faith and influenced by the Christian Brothers. This resulted in their opposition to the Archdiocese's decision to close the Our Lady Queen of Angel's High school which had an 87 percent Mexican American population while the Cardinal spent three million dollars on another church renovation located in a wealthy district (Garcia 2008).

Positionality

Before I began the data collection process, it was important to recognize my *positionality* as a researcher in each of these schools. I first discussed my *positionality* which facilitated my entry into the research sites. I then explored how appearance and background affect the ways various school community members view and react to the researcher in a schooling context (Faulstich-Orellana, 2009). In particular, I distinguished between the affordances my teaching background and social capital garnered when I spoke with adults, and how in contrast, my status as an adult in the context of schools required me to be sensitive to the ways in which underrepresented minority youth might interpret my research.

My initial entry to each school was similar in that I used my background as a teacher and I invoked the names of various educators to demonstrate my credibility as a researcher. But I soon found out that one school would be very cautious about allowing anyone to conduct research at their school. My entry into St. Peter was easy in comparison to the amount of work it took to get a commitment from Divinity. I had heard about St. Peter from Jesse, a former student of mine, whom I had taught in Compton when I was a middle school teacher. He kept in touch with me over the years and invited me to his high school graduation which would be my first exposure to the St. Peter High School community. He encouraged me to learn more about the school and offered to introduce me to staff and students since he was still an active alumnus given his current involvement with a mentoring program and soccer team. I also knew that the principal of St. Peter had recently received his Doctorate and I personally knew a Professor that served on his committee. When I approached Dr. Jones, the principal at St. Peter, about conducting my research at his school, I invoked the names of his professor and mentioned that Alex was my former student and he agreed to me conducting the study at the school. In fact, he

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invited me to observe the work study summer school program before my official dissertation data collection began. Accordingly, I conducted a pilot study St. Peter during the summer with the help of a summer research grant. During the summer of 2010 I was able to meet all of the incoming 9th graders, transfer students, as well as the staff at St. Peter that worked in the work study department. Dr. Jones then introduced me to Ms. Gomez, the director of the corporate work study program who would also serve as my guide to the school and work study program.

In the case of Divinity High School, a high school friend (who also taught at a nearby Catholic school) suggested I use her husband's name (a teacher at Divinity) to help convince the principal, Brother Carroll to let me study the school. A friend from college was a principal at a nearby Catholic high school and he too suggested I use his name to help me gain an entrance into the school. Both indicated that gaining entry to study the school would not be easy and that I would need to demonstrate that I was the right kind of person to conduct this research. After a couple of unanswered emails to Brother Carroll, I included in my emails that I was a student of a Divinity alumnus, who would also serve on my dissertation committee and in part would supervise the study. After a few follow up phone calls, I finally secured a meeting with Brother Carroll to discuss me conducting my dissertation at his school. While he appreciated my experience as a student in Catholic schools and the connections I had made along the way, he shared that it was my seven years of teaching experience that convinced him that I was worthy of conducting research at his high school. In the same manner that Dr. Jones secured me a guide to his school. At that point, he introduced me to Ms. Finley, Dean of Students, who would become my guide and entry into classrooms and activities.

Notwithstanding my prior meetings with each school and its school community members, over the course of one academic year (2010-2011) I worked diligently to be present, document

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and understand the people at each high school. As a former teacher, I was more easily afforded an *emic* perspective with the teachers of each school as they shared stories, food and pedagogical concerns with me. My decision to work in teacher sanctioned spaces such as the teacher work and break rooms most likely positioned me as a colleague more than an external researcher. As a Latina and female, I also shared an affinity with some of the staff and they often shared salient issues often overlooked by non members of these groups.

In contrast, I had to work much harder to gain the trust of the students at each school given the fact that I most resembled their teachers and other authority figures. If I had not, I would have run the risk of being seen as a "teacher" and students might have felt uncomfortable sharing concerns they had with the school, rules and staff. Students, and in particular young men of color, have historically been overly disciplined by authorities (Lopez, 2003; Noguera, 2008). As such, I prioritized earning the trust of my younger participants with much thoughtful planning on my part. Over the year, I persistently reintroduced myself so that students would understand my role as a researcher but also reminded them that what they shared with me would be kept confidential. A few students actually voiced these concerns before we started the interview and I made sure to explain my non affiliation with the school to set them at ease. I spent a little more than a semester getting to know each student body by attending various classrooms and activities both on and off campus at each school. Given that St. Peter was a smaller student body (and campus), I found it easier to make strong connections with students because we simply saw each other more and I consistently saw the same students at St. Peter. When I attended large social events such as soccer and football games, Mass or bus rides to work, I was generally an observer with the occasional chats I engaged in with student who recognized me and would ask questions. In class, my role morphed from observer to participant observer over the year as students

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realized they could depend on me for help on an assignment. I capitalized on these moments in and outside of the classroom, and used them to articulate the point of study and my interest in interviewing students. In all but one case, students welcomed the idea of talking about their experience at their high school. In fact, by the end of the school year, I had multiple students asking me if they could be interviewed too, especially at St. Peter. Still, I started every interview with the reminder that as a participant, students had the power to stay silent, pass on the question or stop the interview. Students and teachers did share their very personal beliefs at times, and while staff invoked that something was "off the record" students simply made sure that I would not out them to staff- although some adamantly revealed they did not care if the staff knew what they said.

Data Collection

I collected a variety of data for the study that was appropriate to conducting an ethnographic study. To fully document the culture and experience of students and staff at these schools, I collected the following kinds of data from each school: student data, surveys, observations, field notes, interviews and document collection (Table 1). Given the design of the study, I made every effort to collect similar types and quantities of data from each school to ensure accuracy. To monitor my collection at each site, I decided on a set amount of data to be collected (number of observations; number of students interviewed) and made sure I collected the same at each site. I checked my data progress spreadsheet monthly and made note of the data that I had collected more of from one site and in turn schedule the next round of data collection to meet the needs of the outstanding data from a certain school.

Before my formal data collection started, I began to collect historical and general school site documents so that I could understand the historical and social context of each school. The

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history of each school is integral data I needed to understand before I started my data collection,

so I drew from school documents, websites, a dissertation on St. Peter and stories from staff to

understand the historical context of each school. Rather than view each of these schools as

islands among their community, I also made note of newspaper articles where either the schools

or students were depicted. Finally, on my visits to classrooms and school activities, I also

collected classroom assignments, fliers, announcements, pamphlets and anything else that I

thought added to my knowledge of each school's mission and culture.

Table 1: Data Sources

Data	SPHS N	DHS N	Purpose
Student Data (Transcripts)	N=161	N=378	To understand the academic program offered to students as well as the course taking and passing patterns of students in general.
Surveys of students (9th and 11th graders) at both schools	N=118	N=313	To determine presence of social capital and college going culture of schools and student participation in extracurricular activities.
Observations of school activities; assemblies; sporting events, etc	N=10	N=10	To understand the culture of the school as symbolized in ceremonies and activities and student and staff interactions.
Observations in a English classes (9th and 11th grades) at both schools	N=15	N=15	To identify the rigor of a college preparatory class and describe the college- going culture of the school and how teachers facilitate social, cultural and non-dominant forms of capital
Observations in Religion classes (9th and 11th grades) at both schools	N=12	N=12	To explore how social, cultural and non-dominant forms of capital are treated in a religious context at school and to document how students discuss these forms of capital.
Interviews with school staff (2-3 teachers, college advisor, principal and work study coordinator)	N=9	N=9	To understand who engages in social/cultural capital transmission and a college going culture of schools and to understand how they see their mission (if at all) in providing this capital for students; To understand the school's view of the role of work study.

Interviews with Students	N=16	N=16	To understand students' perceptions of school culture, and acquisition of social/cultural capital, who engages in these dominant cultures, and effects of extracurricular activities and work experience
Observations at work sites	N/A	N=4	To understand the work experience and what students do and are treated.
Interview with Corporate work study employers	N/A	N=3	To understand how they see their mission (if at all) in providing dominant forms of social/cultural capital for students.
Surveys of Alumni students	N/A	N=32	To determine presence of social capital and college going culture of schools and its effect on student collegiate experience.
Interview of Alums	N/A	N=8	To understand the work experience and how it affected students in the long run.

Observations

During the academic 2010-2011 year, I started formal data collection with observations of English and Religion classrooms at each school, as well as field notes of general school life and activities. I utilized a small laptop notebook which facilitated my note taking in classrooms and other assemblies. At first, students looked back towards me when I would type something, but over time, they must have become accustomed to my presence (as I tried to visit classrooms multiple times) as they no longer looked at me when I typed. Over time, students at both campuses expressed curiosity over what I was typing and in turn I would immediately show them my notes on their classroom or assembly. Students often wanted to know if I was typing their name and documenting their disruptive behaviors and so I often reiterated that my study was not focused on the behavior of one student in particular, but rather the collective experience of the classroom or activity and how all of the students in the class interacted with the curriculum, their peers and their teacher.

I chose religion classes because I expect these classes to be spaces in which students are allowed to share their personal feelings about their identity and their relationships with others. In

addition, the observations of 9th and 11th grade English classes served to illustrate the rigor of these courses- and be used to confirm the presence of a college going culture on each campus, as well as another factor by which to compare schools. I began the selection of classes to observe at random, and over time aimed to systematically observe each of the Religion and English classes in each grade taught by distinct teachers at different periods. In this manner, I saw each class per period at least twice, and in some cases some periods were observed up to four times.

In an effort to best capture the culture of both of the schools I attended a variety of extracurricular activities such as sporting events, club meetings, Mass and/or liturgies that offered me a glimpse of the school culture in more unstructured settings. Most often I planned an entire day of observations, where I visited each campus once a week in an attempt to observe more than one event a day. However, the evening events required me to come back to schools just for these major events such as a football game or a parent workshop. In total, I observed 37 events at each school (classes or events) for a total of 74 between both sites over the course of one academic year.

Survey

In order to compare the social and cultural capital development at each school, I used a student survey to explore if and how each school expanded these forms of capital (Appendix B). My student survey was adapted from Angela Valenzuela's (1999) and Ricardo Stanton-Salazar's (2001) surveys used in their seminal studies on social capital. Questions 1,6,7,9 and 10 through 15 from my survey were taken directly from both Valenzuela and Stanton-Salazar's questions that focused on students' perceptions of how teachers and counselors on their campus cared or supported them. Then I added similarly worded questions that asked about students'

relationships with other school staff and peers. I also added a set of similarly worded questions for the students at St. Peter that asked them about their experiences with the corporate work study program, in an effort to determine if the work study program provides social and cultural capital. Additionally, questions 16, 17 and 19 on my survey were borrowed from Angela Valenzuela's survey which included these to measure school climate. In total, 13 questions on my survey were taken from Valenzuela and Stanton-Salazar out of the total 26 questions. Given my research questions, I also included questions about students' college goals. In sum, 50 percent of the survey was borrowed from Valenzuela (1999) and Stanton-Salazar (2001) and 50 percent of it was developed based on my review of the literature and the theoretical perspectives guiding this study.

Students used a 4-point Likert scale on questions that asked about students' perceptions of adult support, college going culture and school climate were on the survey asked students to use a four point Likert scale that ranges from strongly agree to strongly disagree. In this manner, students were able to best describe their relationships with family, peers, teachers, counselors and other adult staff on campus and how these individuals offered them support. The survey also asked students to share basic demographic information so that I would be able to make analyses based on mother's education level or race/ethnicity. In general, the results from the survey are intended to demonstrate what kinds of social capital students have access to as well as the student culture of each school.

I distributed the survey to ninth and eleventh grade students at both schools to gain an understanding of the social and cultural capital of the school as well as the overall culture (whether college going or not) of the school. I gave the school survey in the middle of the second semester so the 9th grade student in particular could have experienced the school culture

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and be able to share actual experiences in school rather than their hypothesis. I distributed the surveys in classrooms and got back 431 surveys, which was an 82 percent response rate. In particular, I received and 85 and 84 percent response rate at St. Peter for 9th and 11th graders, respectively, and a 75 and 90 response rate for Divinity 9th and 11th graders, respectively. I am not sure as to why I received a lower response from the survey from Divinity's 9th grade class, except that there may have been a higher rate of students absent from class on the days I distributed the survey.

Interviews

Toward the mid part of the second semester, I interviewed sixteen students from each school about how they perceived the culture of the school, their personal experience, and relationships as well as how they would make the school better. I selected these students on a variety of criteria. I asked the schools for GPAs and progress reports so I could determine students' academic standing at school. I used this information divide the students by academic standing so that I could ensure I selected students with a range of academic experience at the school. I also made note of which students participated in extracurricular activities (per my observations in class and at school) and those who did not. I also asked teachers to share their suggestions for students to interview. Using all of this information, I selected students based on these characteristics including race/ethnicity. Again, I tried to select a diverse set of students that would best represent the different student experiences at each school.

The semi structured interviews with students followed an interview protocol (Appendix C) that focused on their school and for the students at St. Peter- their work experience. Interviews of Divinity High School students usually lasted between 20 to 35 minutes, while the

St. Peter High school students' interviews took between 45 minutes to one hour and 15 minutes. These interviews and observations took place in 2010-2011 during the second school semester, in an effort to allow the students and me to get to know each other before I asked to interview them.

I digitally recorded the interviews with a Livescribe pen and simultaneously took notes with the Livescribe pen. Interestingly, the Livescribe pen became the first point of every conversation I had with students because I started every interview by asking if I could audio record the interview with the pen, which led to students' curiosity about a pen that recorded. In many cases, the pen provided an easy conversation starter for both the students and I to engage in which led to an easygoing beginning to the interviews. Only one student asked to not be audio recorded, to which I obliged and took handwritten notes in my field notebook.

As I reviewed my notes and listened to the playback of audio, I took short notes on each person interviewed including demographic information as well as key words to help me organize each participant (See Table 2). I compiled this data into an attribute spreadsheet which I later entered into NVivo. Once the database of interviewees had been created, I contracted a service to transcribe the interviews verbatim. One by one, I reviewed the transcripts along with the audio as they were sent back to me and cleaned them to ensure their accuracy.

Table 2- Student Interviewees

Participant Number	Name[10]	School	Grade	Race/Ethnicity
1	Antonio	Divinity HS	11	African American
2	Lewis	Divinity HS	11	Latino

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[10] The names of students have been changed randomly to ensure confidentiality.

3	Darrell	Divinity HS	11	Latino
4	Tony	Divinity HS	11	Latino
5	Salvador	Divinity HS	11	Latino
6	Tim	Divinity HS	11	African American
7	Sam	Divinity HS	11	Latino
8	Andy	Divinity HS	11	Latino
9	Evan	St. Peter HS	11	Latino
10	Victor	St. Peter HS	11	Latino
11	Brandon	St. Peter HS	11	African American/Mixed
12	Maurice	St. Peter HS	11	African American
13	Alberto	St. Peter HS	11	Latino
14	Sergio	St. Peter HS	11	African American
15	David	St. Peter HS	11	Latino
16	Michael	St. Peter HS	11	African American
17	Jared	St. Peter HS	11	African American
18	Alan	Divinity HS	9	Latino
19	Marquis	Divinity HS	9	Latino
20	Miguel	Divinity HS	9	Latino
21	Sean	Divinity HS	9	Latino
22	Daniel	Divinity HS	9	Latino
23	Angel	Divinity HS	9	Latino
24	Patrice	Divinity HS	9	African American
25	Mark	Divinity HS	9	African American
26	Anthony	St. Peter HS	9	Latino
27	Eric	St. Peter HS	9	Latino
28	Steve	St. Peter HS	9	Latino
29	Kelvin	St. Peter HS	9	Latino/mixed
30	Luis	St. Peter HS	9	African American

31	Christian	St. Peter HS	9	African American
32	Ivan	St. Peter HS	9	Latino
33	Carlos	St. Peter HS	9	African American/mixed

The student interviews offered me the ability to provide a micro analysis of how students participate or reject the school's and/or work culture. I interviewed eight students from each ninth grade class and from Divinity's eleventh grade, but nine from St. Peter's eleventh grade classes for a total of 33 students. At St. Peter, students began to volunteer to be interviewed in much larger numbers than I expected, so I ended up interviewing one more student. I had also attempted to interview an equal number of Latino and African American students from both the ninth and eleventh grade classes, but issues arose when I tried to follow this plan. Divinity High School had an overwhelming Latino student majority which made it difficult to interview and preserve the anonymity the African American students. In the case of St. Peter, I came across a number of students who identified as both African American and Latino, and my categorization would not make sense in their case. As a result, I decided that I would try my best to interview students from each target group but allow for differences in the number of each. I only selected students who had signed consents and every student I asked to be interviewed agreed.

In an effort to provide a balanced perspective of the culture of each school, I selected students from each grade who are on various ends of academic and social trajectories at each school. In other words, I asked classroom teachers as well as administrators for student records so that I could target students from the full range of the academic spectrum. In this manner, I selected a couple of students who had demonstrated academic success, two students who had experienced academic difficulties and four students in the middle range for each grade and school. In the same manner, I selected students who were very involved in extra-curricular

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activities as well as students who had not participated as much or not at all to understand how different students engage in the culture and activities at school. In my selection of students to interview, I also used my observations of classrooms and school activity field notes to help me target students that would fit my criteria.

Close to the end of the year, I interviewed nine teachers, college advisors and/or other staff at both schools (See Table 3). These semi structured interviews were conducted at convenient times for the staff such as the preparation period or after school. In preparation for the interviews, I created a general interview protocol for all teachers and other key staff at both school sites, whom I plan to interview on their perspectives on the culture and capital of the school they work for (Appendix D). The interviews lasted as little as 30 minutes but more often were between 45 minutes to one hour and 15 minutes. I also used my Livescribe pen to record the conversations, and enlisted the use of a transcriber. Once I received the transcripts of the interviews, I listened to the playback of each interview and ensured accuracy of the transcript I received. As I had hoped, the interviews helped me understand how staff members view and participate in the culture of the school.

Table 3- Staff Interviews

Participant Number	Name[11]	School	Staff Position
34	Mr. Encino	Divinity HS	College Counselor, English teacher, Advisor of 2 programs/clubs
35	Brother Mike	Divinity HS	Religion teacher, Advisor to La Sallian Youth Group
36	Ms. Grange	Divinity HS	English teacher
37	Ms. Lopez	Divinity HS	Religion and Science Teacher, Advisor to one club
38	Mr. Jimenez	Divinity HS	English and History Teacher

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[11] Names have been changed randomly to maintain anonymity.

39	Ms. Robina	Divinity HS	English teacher, Student Government Advisor
40	Ms. Finley	Divinity HS	Dean, Science Teacher
41	Brother Callahan	Divinity HS	Principal and History Teacher
42	Ms. Graham	St. Peter HS	Assistant Principal, History Teacher, Club Advisor
43	Ms. Gallagher	St. Peter HS	English teacher, Advisor to student government
44	Ms. Lack	St. Peter HS	English teacher, Drama Teacher,
45	Mr. Villalobos	St. Peter HS	Religion Teacher, Choir Instructor
46	Ms. Lee	St. Peter HS	Religion Teacher
47	Ms. Cardeiro	St. Peter HS	Director of Work Study Program, Art Teacher, Club Advisor
48	Dr. Jones	St. Peter HS	Principal
49	Ms. Nichols	St. Peter HS	College Counselor
50	Mr. Young	St. Peter HS	English Teacher
51	Mr. Gonzales	St. Peter HS	Student Support and Religion Teacher

Additionally, I collected ninth and eleventh grade student academic transcripts from each school. I asked each school for ninth and eleventh grade student transcripts, which illustrated the typical coursework schedule for students both at their initial entry into the school. I used the transcripts to determine what percentage of students had access to college preparatory coursework. I also focused on course failing patterns especially for students in the eleventh grade because it is a critically important year for college bound students- eleventh grade.

Given the uniqueness of the work study program, I collected data on the corporate work study program to explore the effects of this program and identify if the corporate work study experience could yield critical social and cultural capital for these students. I visited four worksites and completed field notes to illustrate the students' experiences at work. I was able to visit a university and visit students' worksites in the Management and Facilities Department and the Innovation Technology Center. I also visited two law firms located in the downtown area.

During these visits, I informally interviewed three corporate work study supervisors to gain a better understanding of the program and how they see their role in developing the skill sets of the students. I also asked them questions about how their work-study student(s) performance at work and if they perceived anything the student may have gained or found difficult about the corporate work study experience. Purposefully, I interviewed two students who worked at these worksites in an effort to confirm the supervisor's perceptions.

Alumni Interviews and Survey

In an effort to understand the long term implication of the corporate work study program, I surveyed and interviewed alumni from St. Peter (Appendix E and F, respectively). I asked current teachers and administrators at St. Peter to distribute my survey to St. Peter alumni that had graduated during the following years: 2010; 2009 and 2008. I selected alumni from only these years because these students had attended the school when the work study program, current administration and governing board were present. I used Survey Monkey to distribute the alumni surveys since I would not be able to meet them all in person. IRB limitations required me to ask others to contact alumni, and therefore I relied on staff and my former student Jesse to distribute the survey via email and Facebook. In total, 32 alumni completed a survey. The survey mirrored the student survey but asked alums questions specifically about how they perceived the work study program had affected their current postsecondary educational experience. Additionally, I utilized a snowball method to find alumni that would be willing to participate in an interview. I began with Jesse and he recommended others. I also found some contacts from my collegiate alma mater, who had accepted some students from St. Peter and they recommended other students as well. In sum, I was able to interview eight alumni from St. Peter

who represented a range of academic experiences in college (Table 4). I utilized an interview protocol when I interviewed the alumni and these semi structured interviews lasted between 55 minutes and one hour and a half. In fact, the alumni I interviewed had a lot to say about how their work study and academic experience at St. Peter affected them.

Table 4: Alumni Interviews

Participant Number	Name	Postsecondary Schooling	Gender	Race/Ethnicity
52	Alejandro	Withdrew from 4 Year university, Attending Community College	Male	Latino
53	Jesse	4 year university	Male	Latino
54	Eduardo	4 year university	Male	Latino
55	Jon	4 year university	Male	Latino
56	Darius	4 year university	Male	African American
57	Richard	4 year university	Male	African American
58	Abel	4 year university	Male	Latino
59	Max	4 year university	Male	Latino

Coding

Once I collected all interview transcript pages as well as pages of field notes from my school visits and observations, I had thousands of pages of qualitative data and accordingly moved forward with organizing it into manageable sets of data that I could analyze. I used NVivo, a qualitative data analysis program that allowed me to import all of my files. Once in NVivo, I separated the data by each school and by the source of the data (e.g. interview or field note).

For the qualitative data, I engaged in various phases of coding. At the pre-stages of coding, I completed a simple process of attribute coding , where staff and students in particular were classified by gender, race/ethnic, grade/staff position and school (Saldana, 2009). I then began formally coding with provisional coding, where I looked for utilized predetermined codes: college going culture, social capital, dominant and non-dominant forms of cultural capital. I used my research questions and major theoretical frameworks to inform the manner in which I would first code the data. I used key literature and research to develop definitions and descriptions of these codes (See Table 5 and 6 for social and cultural capital). Given the literature on Catholic schools presupposes a presence of social capital and a college preparatory environment in a Catholic school environment, I utilized these codes as a way in which to review the data. I also included cultural capital because it is a central theme to this study. However, I was well aware that if I relied strictly on my provisional codes, the data would yield what I wanted to be there (Saldana, 2009). In an effort to remedy this, I engaged in a preparatory pilot study during the summer before I started the formal dissertation and utilized my fieldwork and informal interviews to adapt the definitions of the aforementioned provisional codes.

Table 5: Social Capital

Social Capital	*Definition*	*Examples of development or hindrance of social capital:*
	Social capital: "aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu 1986)	
Institutional Agents	Network members: school teachers, counselors, staff and work supervisors	• School staff discusses practical ways to afford college despite high cost or other barriers (AB540 status). • School staff informally checks in with students who are struggling with work placement- they prepare students with ways to deal with

		difficult work colleagues.
School Peers	Network members: fellow students at school	• Peers discuss colleges and share resources and information about them • Peer study group
Family and outside friends	Network members: (Non-school and school) Peers, Community and/or *familia/kinship*	• Outside of school peers and community groups (e.g. churches, *asociaciones*) establish informal support systems (academic, financial, emotional, etc). • Parents support student's educational aspirations.

TABLE 6: Forms of Cultural Capital

Cultural Capital	Definition	Dominant	Non-Dominant
Embodied	attitudes and preferences (e.g. speech),	Speaking in standard English, musical and cultural tastes are Eurocentric ,	African American Vernacular English (AAVE), Spanish, musical and cultural tastes reflect a Pan-ethnic identity Black or Latino), "keeping it real" (Carter, 2005)
Objectified	Possession of sought after material objects, interaction with adults/ peers who possess these materials,	Social Mobility (to leave the ghetto), Interaction with Middle class and corporate culture, cultural tokens of white middle class (clothes, technology: laptops)	Pop Culture/youth culture, Interaction with local community members and industries, idolization of "celebrities" of color,
Institutionalized State	Academic qualifications, extra-curricular activities, associations, field trips, cultural events/outings	Honor Society, College Tours, Tutoring at local school,	Visits to Mexico, tutoring sibling and extended family, member of ethnic/culturally based social, music, art groups/networks

My process for coding included not only examples of each theoretical construct, but also the data that indicated a non example of a specific code. For example, I coded for dominant forms of cultural capital and as well non-dominant cultural capital and used key literature to detail how I defined each. For social capital and college going culture, I also coded for data that would indicate an absence of this construct. In this manner, I prepared a set of anomaly data for

me to recode as a non example, so that I subsequently investigate the strength of this disconfirming evidence and its meaning within the larger study.

Once I coded the documents with three major codes, I also engaged in initial coding so I could generate more codes (Saldana, 2009). This part of the process was especially important because it allowed me to remain open to new ways to interpret and classify the data. For example, I coded for tracking and culturally relevant pedagogy, which focused on emergent themes that indicated how college going culture or dominant form s of cultural capital were challenged. In this manner, I was careful to account for moments in the data that served to disconfirm a college going culture, social capital and dominant forms of capital.

The second phase of coding included a series of simultaneous codes that produced sub-codes. In particular, I simultaneously coded for descriptors that served to clarify how the theoretical constructs were facilitated. For instance, all of the social capital codes were re-coded to clarify if the interaction was between peers, students and teachers/adult, parents to student, etc. For college going culture and social capital, I also re-coded the data according to the structures set place in each school that facilitated or hindered the resource distribution (e.g. clubs, sports teams, honors classes). I did the same for the cultural capital, but instead focused more on which formal or informal school structures could develop cultural capital and which would value or ignore non-dominant forms of cultural capital. In summary, I used NVivo to code all 98 sources of data (e.g. interviews and field notes) and worked with 2,622 coding points.

Data Analysis

During the data collection year, I began informal data analysis with the field notes I had already collected. I wrote four analytic memos about various themes related to college going

culture, social capital, religion class and spirituality, and cultural capital during the year I collected data (Saldana, 2009). I used these memos to discuss my findings with members of my dissertation committee as well as other doctoral students familiar with themes such as these. I also presented preliminary findings related to dominant and non-dominant cultural capital during educational research conferences and used the feedback during these sessions to improve my understanding of these concepts.

I derived patterns from the coded qualitative data to specify the way each of these schools distributed resources to their student bodies and reveal the differences between each site. In an effort to validate my findings, my dissertation used concurrent triangulation strategy which allowed me to use "two different methods in an attempt to confirm, cross-validate, or corroborate findings in my study" (Creswell, 2003, p. 217). For example, I used survey data in tandem with the qualitative data to draw conclusions about how urban Catholic schools imparted dominant forms of capital students to their students, and in particular for low income underrepresented minority youth. I entered every survey response from all of the paper surveys collected from students into SPSS. Given the survey utilized a Likert scale; I was able to generate the percentage of students that responded affirmatively or negatively on specific survey questions. I used the survey data to determine the extent to which social capital was present at each school as well as students' participation in extracurricular activities and work. This survey data also indicated how much students engaged in extracurricular activities and outside work. I was also able to compare survey participant responses between school sites. As noted earlier, I took disconfirming evidence from the interviews and field notes to explain the anomalies from the survey responses.

I used a *multi-level mixed design* where qualitative and quantitative data were "analyzed and integrated to answer aspects of the same question or related questions" at various stages of the data collection process (Teddie & Tashakkori, 2009). In particular, the qualitative data in this study was "used to supplement, validate, explain, illuminate or reinterpret quantitative data gathered from the same subjects or sites" (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 41; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Towards that end, I utilized the qualitative data to analyze how each school developed a college going culture and distributed dominant forms of capital to their students, which I present in chapter five. Student records and survey data were used in tandem to indicate how effective each school was in this attempt. I also used the qualitative data to reveal how each school treats non-dominant forms of capital and to highlight the structures set in place that may have ignored or valued non-dominant culture. In the next chapter, I highlight demographic data from the survey to provide a holistic picture of each school, with qualitative data supplementing and explaining the differences between the sites.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Social Context of the School Sites

St. Peter High School

A Typical Day at St. Peter HS

I drove towards campus and took heed to the suggestions given to me by staff members to park my car in the school parking lot. I glanced beyond the lot, the empty field and the wrought iron gate towards the pale blue housing projects that border the entire backside of the school. The series of two story apartments were empty, almost desolate. As I walked through the parking lot, I looked towards my right where the wrought iron gate separated the school from an alleyway with railroad tracks and a graffiti filled wall.

I entered St. Peter from the back side of campus, where grand silver letters that spelled the school's name greeted me and adorned the royal blue entryway that spreads across one of the yellow classroom buildings. Standing between the parking lot and a series of huge yellow pillars that divided the parking lot and the two story gymnasium, the beauty of the St. Peter campus stood out in comparison to the rest of the neighborhood. Facing inwards, lush green grass and plant beds laid between three classroom buildings. In the middle of campus, an outside altar raised on a couple of steps framed the quad.

I walked through one of the corridors and noted that some of the blue classroom doors were open but most students were outside. The security guard who was surrounded by a group of African American students sitting at a few blue lunch tables greeted me as did the students. It was a cold morning and the campus was full of students even though it was only 7:20 am. A few students were buying breakfast burritos through a small window adjacent to the gym while pockets of students were talking and working on school assignments at the lunch tables outside.

Another group of students were standing outside, playing with a football, others engaged in some form of horseplay (e.g. jumping on each other's backs, punching) despite the fact they were all wearing white collared shirts with ties, black slacks and dress shoes.

I heard the bell ring and before I made my way inside from the benches, I saw students quickly collect their things and as other fixed their ties. Standing next to me, a student with impeccably neat hair, wearing a Members Only black jacket and trendy glasses took his diamond studded earrings out. "Why don't you just leave them out?" I asked. "Cause they'll close," he responded. I knew the rules of the school clearly stated "No earrings" but still I inquired with disbelief, "Do you do this every day?" "Yes" he responded succinctly as he quickly cleaned himself up before walking through the glass doors that lead towards the Multipurpose Room (MPR).

While most of the students walked towards their classrooms, all members of the 11th grade class walked towards the MPR. As they walked in, they were greeted by Ms. Cardeiro and Ms. Fine with a "Good Morning" and a firm handshake. A very tall student greeted Ms. Fine, to whom she playfully tapped on the shoulder but verbally chided harshly, "Why'd you forget your CWSP book?" "I'm sorry," he responded. Ms. Fine laughed sarcastically, "Don't be sorry, you'll just get an F."

Once all of the students were sitting down in the large auditorium, Ms. Cardeiro and Ms. Fine began roll call at 7:40am and simultaneously reviewed students clothing. I sat down in the back in empty church pews. I recognized Jared, a student from the St. Peter Summer Soar Program who was a transfer student. He sat next to me and asked warmly, "How you been? You don't come around to our English class." I explained that I am trying to visit all of the English

classes but Ms. Fine interrupted us by insisting Jared take his seat with the class in the first four rows.

After roll call, the students were grouped according to their van/bus assignments and asked to sit down in various areas throughout the MPR in their van/bus groups. Students were leisurely assembling into their groups, when Ms. Fine yelled at them to immediately sit down. The students sat in groups and next to me, a few students began to discuss their chemistry homework quietly. Ms. Cardeiro and Ms. Fine took turns announcing the destination and departure of each van, and called the boys to board them. Meanwhile, the students who were traveling to Downtown had to wait thirty minutes for the bus. Once the bus was ready, everyone lined up outside of the bus but had to wait for Horacio who had been in the restroom. Horacio apologized for having been in the bathroom and rushed to catch up but Ms. Cardeiro stopped him and pointed out in Spanish that his scuffed shoes needed to be replaced. Classmates poked fun at Horacio over his restroom break but he quickly quieted them down with a few cuss words and empty threats (out of Ms. Cardeiro's earshot). Along with the students, I hopped onboard the charter bus and sat in the middle of the rowdiness.

As we pulled out of the campus, the train tracks and graffiti filled walls outside the school were left behind. The bus radio played music loudly enough so students rapped and sang along to artists such as Eminem and Lil Wayne. Most of the students were looking at their phones. As the bus took the elevated freeway ramp out of their school area and into Downtown, the conversations got quieter with a few exceptions. Tyrone asked aloud, "Where we goin' for lunch today?" Ronaldo yelled back from the front of the bus, "Where do we usually go? Pizza!" From the back of the bus, Tyrone yelled back, "Yo momma's! Sbarro's." After some time, high rise buildings entered the landscape and the bus was almost silent.

Marquis, a student seated in the back of the bus asked me why I was riding the bus with them and what I was looking for. I explained how some folks think it's great they are working, while others are wary of a program that makes Latino and African American students work to pay for their education. Marquis immediately retorts, "So they have prejudices against us 'cause we're Latino and African American?" I clarify not exactly, but my work aims to seek how he and his classmates experience the corporate work environment. Marquis exclaimed, "Oh my God, I'm in a corporate office for god's sake! It's not like I'm cleaning gutters or anything." At this point, the bus driver called out the next stop, 8th and Figueroa, where I along with three boys got off the bus. As we walked off the bus, a student carried his lunch in a plastic bag, while the other two placed their hands in their pockets and faded into the sea of people walking in the street.

I provide this vignette to portray the major themes I observed during my research at St. Peter High School. Long days on the campus as well as off campus visits to work sites provided me the time to absorb the social and academic culture of the school. Over the course of a year, I felt welcomed by the staff and students of St. Peter by their willingness to speak to me and showcase their school. I witnessed the school's focus on college preparation, the corporate work culture, emphasis on discipline and a sense of family worked in tandem to meet the school's goals.

School Description

In this section, I describe the student recruitment and application process, demographics, culture and life at St. Peter High School. St. Peter High mostly recruited students from Catholic elementary schools from various communities around the school. Still, students from public schools often found out about St. Peter from word of mouth as I found out during interviews with students who shared that their mothers had heard of the great reputation of the school.

Accordingly, the school had a mix of students who came from overwhelmingly Catholic elementary schools and some public schools. 9th and 11th grade survey data revealed that 78 percent of students had previously attended Catholic schools while 22 percent of students had attended public schools prior to enrolling at St. Peter.

Staff at St. Peter shared with me that they wanted to focus more on recruiting students, but my observations showed they already did what most high schools did for recruiting. If a student wanted to participate in a school-day visitation to campus, they could "shadow" a student at St. Peter. To assist in the recruitment of students, St. Peter also established a Student Ambassadors Program where current St. Peter High School students visited elementary schools to make presentations and answer questions students and parents might have about the school and work study program. A student shared with me why he felt it was important to be part of the Ambassadors Program.

> I just go to middle schools and talk about my own personal experience, give information to 8th graders who are going to apply for high school, and give information to parents as well. … For the most part, it's the parents that are asking questions because the students are just like, 'Oh whatever'. They don't really hear about it as much as any other school. So I talk about my personal experience. …I felt that it was my obligation to represent this school because of how much I'm learning from this school and how much I'm taking advantage of the things are offered to me.   (Evan, 11th grader)

I met a variety of students who had been selected to be part of the Ambassadors Program at St. Peter and each of them related why they enjoyed the experience. I noticed that these students were often well poised and were also selected to speak to visitors when they came to campus. In this manner, the St. Peter staff utilized the members of the Student Ambassadors Program to both recruit students but also to best represent the school to visitors to the school.

Students applying to St. Peter underwent a rigorous application process that required them to demonstrate specific socioeconomic, academic and social characteristics to gain acceptance into the school. Before students could apply, they needed to turn in an Inquiry Form that indicated their household income and number of household members. Given that St. Peter only admitted students from low income families, students could only apply if they met the socioeconomic criteria that would qualify them for free and reduced lunch or make no more than $38,055 for a family of two (See Appendix G for St. Peter High School's Financial Eligibility requirements) .

Student application procedures included turning in an application, academic transcripts, test scores from a high school entrance exam, as well as participation in an interview with a panel of St. Peter staff and students. Students with less than a 5th grade reading level were turned away because the school could not properly support them academically and their lack of skills could prove disastrous at a work site. Furthermore, new students were accepted under a provisionary status provided they successfully completed two courses during St. Peter's summer school and the Summer SOAR Program which included a work training course. During my observations of the Summer SOAR Program, I was privy to the assessments students were given which required them to perform simple office tasks like alphabetize file names or perform basic math functions. Students also participated in a variety of exercises that would prepare them for the behavioral aspects of life in an office setting such as answering phones, taking notes and having social conversations with colleagues. Staff from the Summer SOAR Program got to know every incoming freshman and transfer student and by the end of the program, every student was evaluated on his capacity to both meet the expectations of the school's academic and work's social environment. If a student did not meet the requirements of the school, the staff held a

meeting with parents to either counsel the student out of the school or admit him under a provisional status.

Once a student was accepted at St. Peter, the school's corporate work study program paid for more than half of the $12,000 tuition, parents were asked to pay $2500 a year and the school's endowment covered the rest. The high cost of tuition was due in part to the low teacher student ratio as well as the costs associated with running the corporate work study program (e.g. vans, charter bus, drivers, gas, and staff). However, more than 60 percent of students received financial aid from the school, when the average household income for a family of four was $27,000. No student was turned away if he could not pay the tuition and it was common for families to pay less than half of the $2500 tuition.

Although the school reported that its student body was evenly split between African American and Latino students, in actuality, I suspected that there was a Latino majority at St. Peter given the influx of Latino immigrants into the area around St. Peter over the last 25 years. Survey data of 9th and 11th graders reflected the following: 62 percent Latino; 25 percent African American and 10 percent were mixed race (which were mostly Latino and African American biracial students) (See Figure 1). So in fact, the school demographics reflected a Latino majority. Student demographics reported in the survey were more in line with the area surrounding St. Peter, which was predominantly Latino at roughly 75 percent and African Americans at 10 percent. To get a sense of the family background of students and how many came from immigrant households, I asked students what their home languages were and found that 44 percent of students lived in English only homes while 53 percent lived in homes where Spanish was the home language (see Figure 2).

Figure 1- St. Peter High School: Ethnic/Racial Demographics (9th and 11th graders)

Ethnicity/Racial Demographics

- African American: 30
- Latino: 73
- MIXED RACE: 12
- DECLINE TO STATE: 3
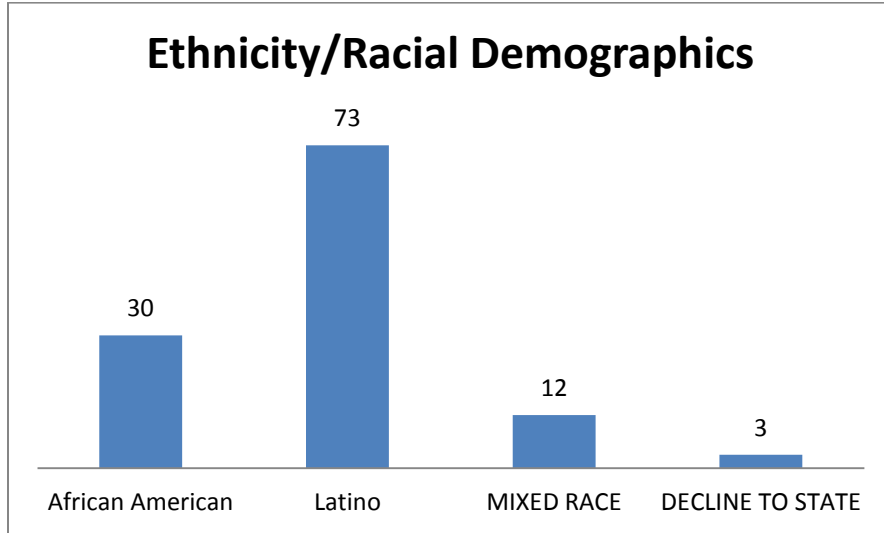
Figure 2- St. Peter High School: Home Language (9th and 11th graders)

Languages spoken at home

- English only: 52
- Spanish: 63
- Creole: 2
- Samoan: 1
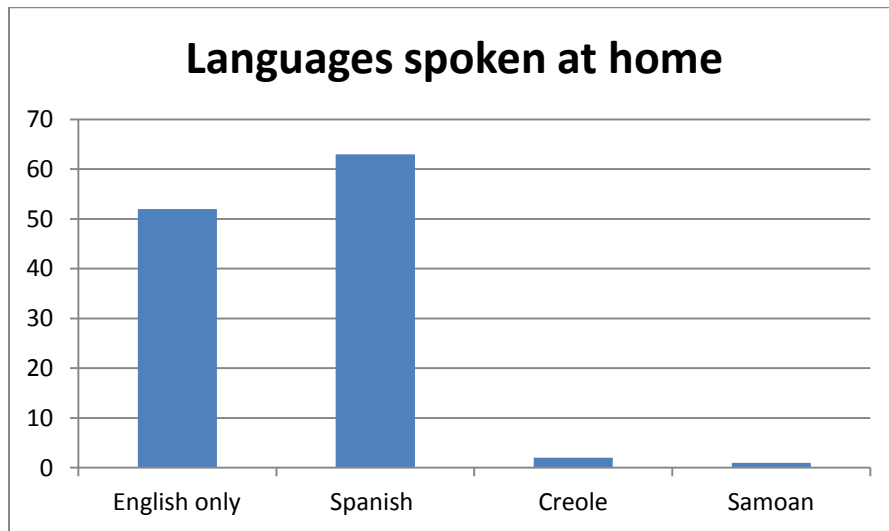
Data from the student survey indicated that while students at St. Peter were classified as low income, the students' mothers' education levels varied in levels (Figure 3). I was puzzled at how students' mothers could have obtained a college or graduate degree and still qualify as low income to send their children to St. Peter so I asked the principal about this. According to Dr. Jones, these students most probably lived in single mother households, so that they met the low

income status. He offered the example of a St. Peter teacher who was a single mother and earned a modest salary (as most Catholic school teachers do) and as a result qualified for the school's low income status. Interview data supported this claim; half of the students I interviewed at St. Peter came from single parent homes. This served as an important reminder to those researching working class families and low income youth that the experiences of those labeled as low income can range and is worth investigating further to fully understand the needs of students and families.

Figure 3- St. Peter High School: Mother's Education Level (9th and 11th graders)
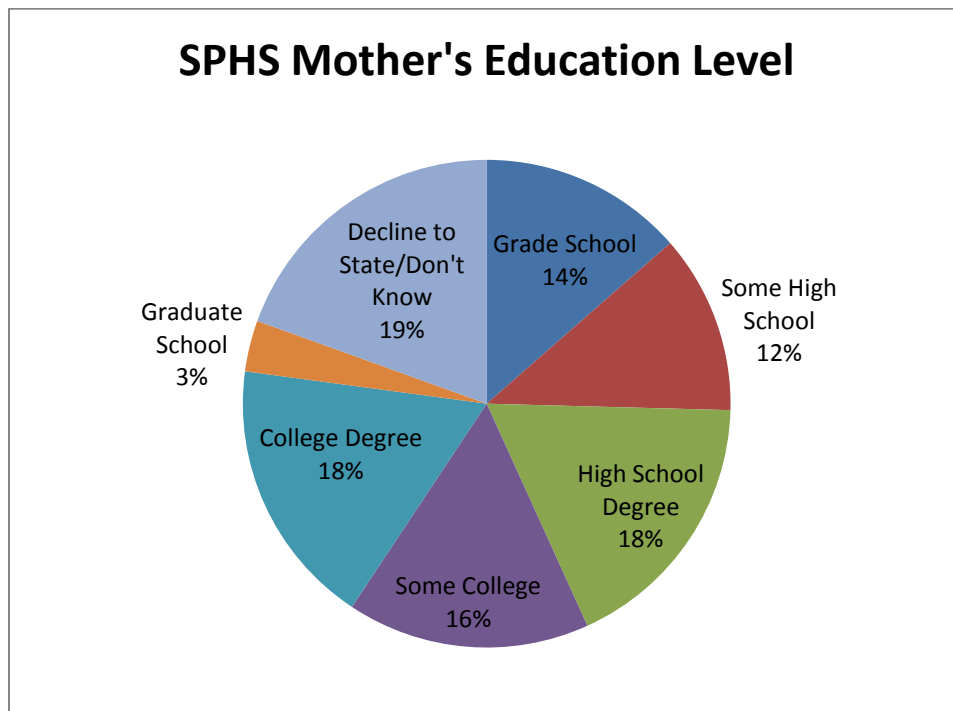
Finally, attrition at St. Peter was an issue for the school especially in the early grades. When I started observing the Summer SOAR Program, there were 83 freshmen enrolled, by October, there were 75 students and by the beginning of their sophomore year- only 67 students remained. These numbers indicated a 19 percent attrition rate which staff often suggested had to

do with students not being the right "fit" with the school. In some cases this was due to attitudes at work or academic failure. There were no students who left after the 11th grade during the study and the school actually allowed students to transfer into the school in the 10th and 11th grades.

School Culture

The area surrounding St. Peter is an economically depressed, majority-minority community. According to census data, a little more than 70 percent of households in the census tract that surrounded the school earned less than $24,999 dollars and 56.5 percent of individuals over 25 who lived there obtained some high school education (no diploma) or less (*FILES: 2005-2009 American Community Survey [California]*, 2011). In the middle of single family residences, housing projects, railroad tracks and a series of abandoned buildings and lots, the St. Peter campus stood out. Historically, St. Peter had been referred to as an "oasis" in a troubled neighborhood because of its aesthetically pleasing campus amongst a backdrop of such poverty (Lopez 2003). Driving through the community, I was often witness to multiple homeless people soliciting for money and the occasional assault on the street. In contrast, the St. Peter students worked in seven districts throughout the county at corporate work sites located in communities that looked nothing like where they lived or went to school. And when I did see one of the St. Peter students walking to and from school, they clearly stood out in their uniforms and ties.

Students shared with me that they felt safe within the school gates, but did note the "roughness" of the neighborhood as evidenced by the assaults on a small number of students going to and from school. Alberto, a student at St. Peter, explained how he and other students dealt with the neighborhood outside, "I say [city name], they think it's bad, but I just tell them we're next to the projects and if there's a problem we just concentrate in school" (Alberto, 11th

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grader). In contrast, the vibe on campus was warm and academic, where the young men acted like kids and could often be seen studying outside. The campus felt peaceful and inviting as evidenced by greetings from everyone in the corridors, and the students were consistently respectful and poised when I spoke with them. In fact, I never witnessed any sort of disruption on campus, not one fight or even an infraction.

St. Peter High School developed a broad set of goals for its students which they called the "Grad at Graduation". Here the school demonstrated a focus on a core set of values that students would espouse as "St. Peter" gentlemen by the time they graduate. The school's core values: open to growth; intellectually motivated; spiritual; loving, committed to doing justice and work experience encompassed the social and academic goals the school established with each incoming student. In that manner, life on the St. Peter campus revolved around academics, college preparation and work and was strengthened by a sense of family.

For example, whether it was in the morning before class, break or the tutorial period, students often kept busy with schoolwork. When I rode the bus with students to work, they shared questions about assignments and proofread each other's work. Staff members checked in with students individually and in groups about grades and college both in class and in the hallways. College information meetings and workshops were the norm on campus and fliers decorated the main hallways announcing these meetings. In classrooms, students were expected to turn in their homework or face the dreaded Saturday detention.

In addition to academic demands, St. Peter students were expected to demonstrate the behaviors of the corporate world in their dress, public social behavior especially when interacting with adults. During their Summer SOAR Program, students attended a variety of workshops that assisted them with the explicit and implicit rules of the corporate workplace. Staff members

modeled while students role played everything from business dress code, phone etiquette, interview skills, how to ask for help, note taking and interpersonal communications. After the summer, the students were expected to espouse that level of professionalism in their appearance, speech and general behavior. Throughout the year, before and after school, in or out of the classroom, the students needed to adhere to the rules of the business world and dress, speak and act accordingly or face being reprimanded.

Given the academic and social demands placed on students at St. Peter, students were constantly under surveillance to ensure they met the school's discipline policies. As noted earlier, there was a time in St. Peter's history where discipline standards were not being addressed nor enforced. Dr. Jones, the principal of St. Peter described the needs of the school when he started:

> Student behavior, classroom management: those types of issues were big problems and it became clear that the alumni were difficult and not happy with the direction the school was going. And I heard that there were a lot of good pieces in place, but no kind of, central hub holding us together. So, there are some good programs, and things here and there, but nothing kind of unifying it, moving it forward. ...So my first emphasis and my first year was figuring out the kind of behavior stuff. And [Ms. Nichols] does a phenomenal job because she and I are on the same page with that. …When I got here there were students who had 120 demerits when it said in the handbook that 50 demerits- you're dismissed. I was like, so, "you're not even following your own rules. So, what's the point?" So, I actually upped the demerits… but we're going to follow it.
>
> (Dr. Jones, principal)

For Dr. Jones, one of the central concerns of his administration was to enforce the rules that already existed on campus. Towards this end, he hired a Dean of Students whose duties centered on promoting pro-social and pro-academic norms on campus by enforcing a discipline policy with strict consequences. In this manner, the administration worked with teachers to police,

enforce and punish students, but to some students, the discipline was taken too far by some teachers. For example, Maurice, an 11th grader shared with me how one teacher in particular took the policing of students too far. He offered,

> Ms. Henry, she's so involved with her personal rules, like first she gave me a detention for playing with another student. So like, I was walking down the hallway, he was running down the hallway, so I put my arm out in front of him and I just let it drop and he ran under it and she said, "Oh, it looked like you're about to hit him." And then I was like, "Oh, okay, sorry," and then so she's like, "No way that was too close to hitting him, so you're getting a detention." …If it was another teacher, I wouldn't have gotten a detention. She's so involved with enforcing the rule. She doesn't care.   (Maurice, 11th grader)

The students at St. Peter appreciated the peace and quiet on campus, but also indicated they often liked to play around and be "boys." Interview data with the students revealed that half of students often felt like they were being punished for small infractions. These students related how they experienced being under the watchful eye of certain teachers, who had labeled them troublemakers and as a consequence got in trouble more than their peers. Maurice for example, interpreted Ms. Henry's punishment as an indicator that she did not care about what he had to say to explain his actions and felt like the rules were "her rules" that did not mirror his interpretation of the school norms on campus.

Despite the strict environment at St. Peter, the staff created a sense of community for students and faculty. Adults seemed interested in their students as evidenced by their interactions with them. Ms. Lack, an English teacher shared her thoughts on the campus.

> It's really close knit and friendly. Like, everyone's really looking out for everybody else. So even the kids I don't teach always say "hello" and like we're able to stop and talk. And if something happens to a kid on campus, like everyone's there for that kid. No matter what 'cause we're so tiny. …I think we're very lucky to be able to do that. Because it's like, someone's slipping down a crack somewhere, someone's bound to notice. Or like, if I feel like I can't approach a student about

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some things because like a relationship or whatever, you know, there's someone else I can have do that. We can all kind of tag team in that way.

(Ms. Lack, English teacher)

The students and staff both agreed that the school's small size allowed for the students and teachers to get to know each other well. The teachers and staff at the school demonstrated a deep willingness to help others, especially students. It was not uncommon for me to overhear a teacher or a staff member stop a student in the corridor and ask them how they were doing. Every student had a favorite teacher and explained how they went out of their way to help them. But the staff also conveyed a sense of family amongst themselves. During lunchtime for example, most staff members congregated in the lunchroom and checked in with each other about various students, shared their personal issues and a small group of teachers started a weekly book club.

The school also drew from the Society of Jesus' motto "Men and Women with and for others" which promoted the idea that students should help one another. Initially, I expected to see programs that cultivated peer social capital amongst students, where they were able to provide each other with resources and assistance. Instead, my findings indicated that students created a sense of brotherhood where they demonstrated concern for each other during prayers in classrooms and on retreats. For example,

The class started with a prayer. Ms. Gallagher read a prayer aloud and asked the class to share anything they wanted to pray for. The students called out prayers for their friends, students who are coming back from the DC trip, the band and the choir, their knees [so they could play their sports well], individual students and people in relationships. After they prayed for all of their knees they laughed and Ms. Gallagher said she hoped God has a sense of humor. (Field note, 11/07/11)

I also witnessed students asking each other for help with assignments and college related questions. Students especially reached out to each other when a student had a bad day and had been reprimanded by a teacher. David, a student athlete shared,

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> They say that while we're here, the school's always going to have brotherhood, for each other and stuff. And that's actually true, like, we go to each other's houses, we do homework. We call each other on the phone when we need help. We're always in touch, we go out; we go eat together.   (David, 11th grader)

The school environment at St. Peter also facilitated positive relationships among students on campus. One of the most common comments I heard from students, especially ninth graders, was that the St. Peter student was not looking to start trouble. Ivan, a 9th grader who had to repeat his freshman year due to poor grades related this characterization of St. Peter students, "They're pretty … they're cool. They're not like looking for fights. They're calm." I was struck by these statements because they indexed a portrait of a Latino and African American male students as troublemakers or thugs, which Ivan used to offer a counter example to his peers at St. Peter. Of all the students I spoke to at St. Peter, each spoke with fondness and respect for their peers, which facilitated deep friendships among the students. Carlos summarized the process, in which these friendships evolved on campus,

> Well, they're different races of students. They come – each one comes from different backgrounds. And so I think that forms a better, a bigger brotherhood between the students. People …make new friends, and so they know each other. Now, they're like the best of friends, and they'll care for each other, and they'll help each other with anything they need. Sometimes we get a little rowdy and messed up, but boys will be boys.   (Carlos, 9th grader)

It is impossible to know if the students at St. Peter were simply reacting to the strict rules imposed by the school and as a result stayed out of trouble or if in fact the students were simply "good" kids. Nevertheless, students demonstrated their concern for their peers, which they openly shared during prayer and intentions at the beginning of class. Furthermore, the students at St. Peter developed cross race friendships with their peers, which the school tried to facilitate through student activities, retreats and clubs.

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Divinity High School

A day at Divinity High School

"Ring, ring." The school bell announced the warning of 1ˢᵗ period while students in purple and white Polo shirts and khaki pants stood alongside their lockers. The students began to toss books into their backpacks and headed to their classrooms. Groups of young men began to disperse when an occasional student started to run towards class. As I walked through campus, I noticed Divinity High School's brick façade was surrounded by rolling lawns, rose bushes, gardens and trees. Signs showing the La Sallian core values adorned the open hallways of the main campus, reminding students of the importance of Brotherhood, Respect and Social Justice.

By the time the second bell rang, the hallways were empty. I noticed students were quietly praying as I walked by open classroom doors. Each classroom looked similar, students seated, staring at the teacher in the middle of the room. Because the second bell had already rung, I hurried towards the new two-story brick building in the back of the school that housed the gymnasium, science labs and administrative offices. As I passed through the parking lot adjacent to the La Sallian Brothers residential home, I noticed four women, (presumably mothers of students) organizing a multitude of foil wrapped dishes and drinks on folding tables set outside for the school's multicultural fair scheduled for later that day. As I looked straight, I saw booths set up between purple lunch tables and a wall honoring alumnae that have generously donated to the school. I arrived at the new building that overlooked the new football field and walked inside. The walls of the hallways were decorated with large black and white pictures of Divinity students and La Sallian Brothers from past classes.

I walked into Teresa Lopez's Religion class. She asked the students to take out their books and answer question B. The question was: What are your three most prized possessions?

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She told them that they would get points for explaining why these objects were so important. During roll call, the room got quiet and the instructor reminded them to finish the question. As Ms. Lopez was calling roll, she asked students if they brought a snack and they all gladly showed her. All but a couple of students had their book out and were writing on a piece of paper, while the other shuffled through their back packs. A few minutes later, Ms. Lopez asked students to bring their snacks to the front of the classroom and place them on the tray. A student asked, "Can't we eat it?" She smiled at the class, looked down at the hodgepodge of snacks: Twinkies, granola bars, fruit snacks, Jell-o, an apple, cookies, chips and enthusiastically revealed that she had a plan for them later in the class.

Ms. Lopez began with a quick discussion about human dignity and the role of material objects. Some students forgot to raise their hand, but generally the students engaged in an orderly discussion about the presence of God in inanimate objects and places. Before she moved on to the lecture for the day, Ms. Lopez explained that studying Buddhism and monism could help them explore God's presence all around us and told them that they would learn this in religion class next year.

The lecture portion of the class began with a Powerpoint slide entitled, A Poverty of Riches. Ms. Lopez began the lecture by asking students if there is a wealth gap in the United States. The students all said yes aloud and individual students shared opposite ends of the income spectrum. One student called out "houses like Beverly Hills and south Central." Another student yelled out "doctors and people who sell hot dogs on the street."

Ms. Lopez regained control of the class and commenced the lecture by outlining how it was difficult to maintain a middle class not only in the United States but also in countries like

Mexico and Pakistan. She presented a series of facts about the wealth gap such as "20% of the population control 86% of goods and services while poorest 20% use less than 1% of resources." Before the students could copy down the rest of the slide, Ms. Lopez asked the students to count themselves one-by-one, so they could apply the wealth gap percentages to their class of 29 students. Ms. Lopez explained that 6 students would be the 20 percent richest people and identified these students by picking their names from the class set of Popsicle sticks. Daniel, Jonathan, Terrel, George, Michael and Isaac were named the rich and stood up. The remaining students could be heard saying things like "Oh, you're rich."

Students determined that 23 snacks accounted for 86 percent of the 27 snacks (2 students did not bring in a snack) and these Ms. Lopez announced would go to the six rich students. As the six took their choice of snacks, the rest of the students were yelling at them to "Leave the hot cheetos!" The students started to laugh and become unruly, but Ms. Lopez regained their focus when she asked if this was fair. A student next to me said quietly that this was not fair. Ms. Lopez told the class that this was an exercise in how the world operates wastefully. A precocious student asked, "Are we criticizing us or the system" and Ms. Lopez challenged the class to think about how they contributed to the system as individuals, but underscored that this was a systemic problem. While Ms. Lopez returned to the powerpoint lecture and related this as a distribution problem, students engaged in a lively discussion about how they as Christians might unknowingly partake in this behavior. Ms. Lopez explained how "American voters are pretty convinced with democracy" and seemed afraid to disrupt the present social order to which a student quietly suggested "we need a new LA riot."

This vignette highlighted the salient themes that I encountered during my time at Divinity High school. A weekly visit to the campus allowed me to see, with regularity, the dimensions of

the school culture that are embedded in the social and academic structure of the school. An emphasis on academic excellence, brotherhood, social justice and sports was demonstrated by both students and faculty alike.

School Description

In this section, I describe the application process, demographics, and characteristics of the culture at Divinity High School. Divinity High School recruited students to attend their school through a variety of methods. Most often they recruited students from Catholic elementary schools, but students shared with me that coaches often scouted students from public schools with great physical talents. Accordingly, survey data indicated that 23 percent of 9th and 11th grade students came from public school, while 77 percent had attended Catholic school prior to enrolling at Divinity, which is very similar to St. Peter's student body. Admissions officers advertised the school in the magazine, Private School High School Guide, coordinated open houses for prospective students, and encouraged student shadow days. Similar to St. Peter, Shadow Days allowed prospective 8th graders to attend the school for a day with permission from their school and parents) and shadow a Divinity student. Most recently, the school established a math and science academy to recruit students who were interested in this kind of content area focused academic program.

Students interested in attending Divinity High School had to apply to gain acceptance to into the school. The application process included an assessment of students' application, transcripts and scores from the High School Placement Test (HPST). Teachers shared with me that the school accepted students with a range of academic abilities, some as low as 6th grade reading abilities.

Once accepted, families were required to pay for the registration fee and the yearly $8,000 tuition. Although the tuition seemed high for most students I spoke to, it was less than St. Peter's and most likely maintained at a lower rate due to the Brothers essentially working for free. Still in an effort to meet the needs of its students and their families, the school provided every student with a $1,520 tuition reduction, which left families responsible for the $5,730 tuition. The school also awarded a variety of academic and sports scholarships for students including a prestigious Math and Science four-year scholarship. Additionally, the school's leadership worked diligently to provide more than 80 percent of students with financial aid. In fact, the school raised its financial aid budget from 1.6 million to 1.8 million for the 2011-2012 school year. Towards this end, families of new students were asked to attend financial aid information sessions before the start of the school year and fill out a financial aid application if they felt they qualified for assistance. These financial aid forms were in Spanish and English, and staff at Divinity offered assistance to parents when they had questions about the forms.

The school's enrollment was 720 students and 98 percent identify as minority. According to survey data of 9th and 11th graders, the school was predominately Latino (74 percent) while Asian Americans accounted for 10 percent and African Americans made up 7 percent of the student population (Figure 4). As noted earlier, Divinity High School served immigrant families, which included both Latino and Asian families and home language data from the survey supported this claim (Figure 5).

Figure 4- Divinity High School: Ethnic/Racial Demographics (9th and 11th graders)

Ethnic/Racial Demographics

(Bar chart. Values: African American = 20, Asian/Pacific Islander = 32, Latino = 232, white = 4, Mixed race = 20, Decline to State = 5)
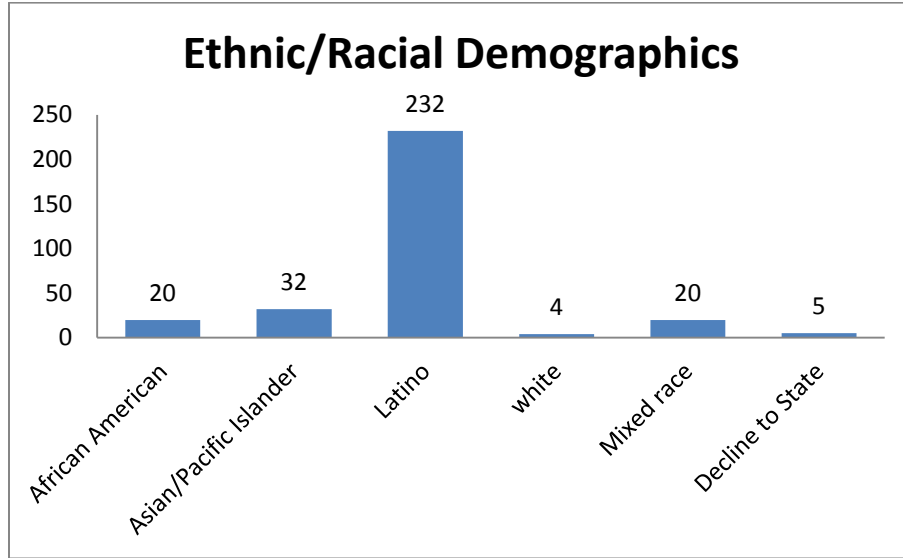
Figure 5- Divinity High School: Home Language (9th and 11th graders)

Languages spoken at home

(Bar chart. Categories: English only, Spanish, Tagolog, Korean, Cantonese, Vietnamese)
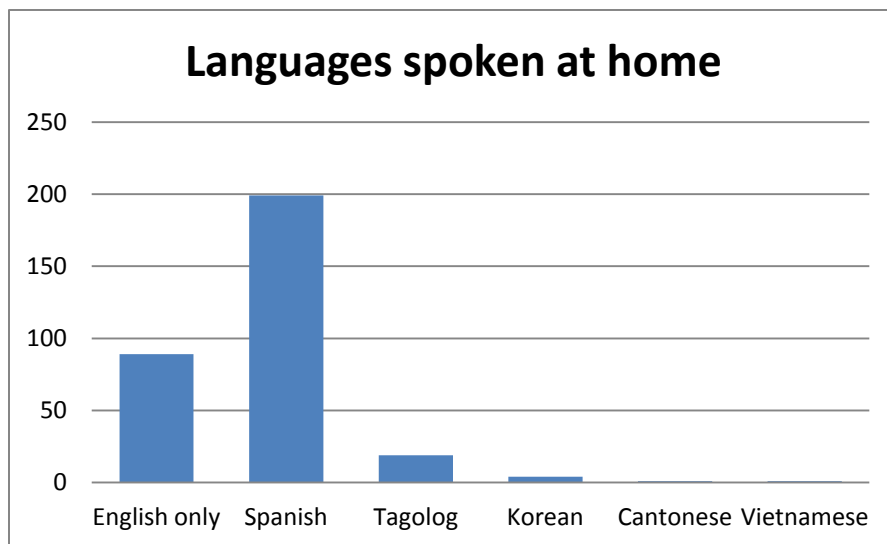
Census data revealed that a little over 70 percent of households in the area around

Divinity earned less than $24,999 and 52 percent of individuals who live in this census tract have

a high school education (no diploma or equivalent) or less (*FILES: 2005-2009 American*

Community Survey [California], 2011). Even though not all of the students lived in the

neighborhood, Divinity High School's mission was to educate young men from economically

disadvantaged families from neighboring areas in the city. According to school staff and the website, the majority of its students came from the poorest and in some cases, violent neighborhoods. Interviews with students demonstrated the range of neighborhoods that students came from which included nearby "tough" neighborhoods as well as working class suburbs.

More recently however, the school reported that alumni have started to send their children to Divinity resulting in a student population that is more socioeconomically mixed. Survey data supported this claim, as it revealed the presence of students whose mothers graduated from college and graduate school (See Figure 6).

Figure 6- Divinity High School: Mother's Education Level (9th and 11th graders)
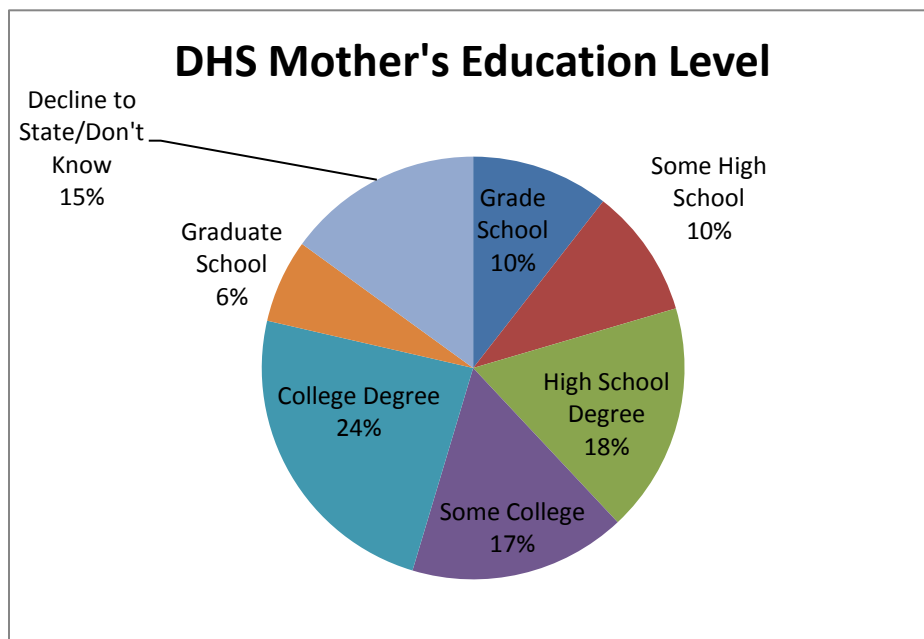
In comparison to St. Peter, the mothers' education levels at Divinity looked quite similar, with the exception of a few more students at St. Peter whose mother's educational level peaked in grade school versus college. Divinity staff had indicated that the school recently experienced a surge of alumni sending their children to the school, which in their estimation accounted for the students whose mother's education levels included post secondary schooling. It is also possible

that the institutions from which these mothers received their high school and university degrees differed in terms of quality and prestige from those of the mothers at St. Peter, but we do not know this.

Attrition was also an issue for Divinity in the ninth and tenth grades. In the fall of 2010, there were 223 freshmen enrolled and by their sophomore year- only 193 students remained. These numbers indicated a 14 percent attrition rate which staff often suggested had to do with students moving, low grades and most often- parents who struggled to pay the tuition. In fact, teachers shared with me that they had students who had missed weeks or even a month of school because their parents could not make their tuition payments. Staff indicated that students were asked to leave because of behavior or academic reasons, but these cases were rare and occurred once or twice a year. Additionally, there were only two students who left after the 11th grade during the study.

School Culture

The Divinity High School campus sits nestled in a working class community bordered by two ethnically distinct working class communities of Latino and a Cantonese speaking Chinese background. Despite the school's location (on the outskirts of a downtown metropolitan city), the school's campus was free from the school climate issues that often plague other inner city schools. I never encountered violence on or around the campus, and the staff as well as students indicated that this was the norm. Students shared that the school enforced a strict zero tolerance policy for many delinquencies and generally described their peers as nice guys who didn't want to start problems. In contrast to negative portrayal of Latino and African American students,

students at Divinity shared how their positive experience at Divinity was due in part to the kind reception and goodwill of their peers.

As a Catholic school, Divinity focused not only on the academic development if its students, but worked to shape the social development of students by establishing a set of communal norms on campus. Towards that end, the school established guiding principles to hold students to accountable to the norms of the school. The principles: Lasallian, Integrity, Focused and Educated (LIFE) were cornerstones to the type of pro-academic and pro-social norms the school encouraged. Lasallian and Integrity facilitated students spiritual, social and aesthetic development by asking them to see God in others, respond to the needs of the poor, work well with others and develop an appreciation for music, art, drama and their own physical abilities. Focused and Educated facilitated academic and personal development by asking students to set personal goals, practice mature decision making and develop a critical thinking skills prepare them for college and life. In my observations of schools activities and classroom discussions, I repeatedly heard and saw these principles enacted by teachers and students in and out of the classroom.

Generally, I witnessed students and staff acting kindly towards one another and together demonstrated acts of generosity towards the community at large. Students and staff used the word family to describe the school culture and often provided examples of people helping others. Ms. Lopez explained,

> The school feels a lot like …a large family. It is a community where people look after each other and I really like taking the kids to mass. And kind of be a, not just a role model in academia, but also as a role model in everyday life.

Formally, the school did not have an obligatory service learning requirement, but student groups including athletic teams enacted service projects and facilitated peer led service activities.

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Interviews with students reveal that those that felt the kindness of others felt obligated to return the feeling, whether to their fellow Divinity classmate or the greater community.

Divinity High school was often described as a family or brotherhood by various members of the school community. According to the principal, the school rotated one value a year (over the course of four years) to fully immerse the students and faculty in their quest to enact these four principals (Respect, Brotherhood, Social Justice and Being Signs of Faith). During the year that I observed, the value was "Brotherhood" and the school went to great lengths to demonstrate the value in their daily and major activities. LETTERS that spelled "B-R-O-T-H-E-R-H-O-O-D" could be seen on large white butcher paper in every classroom with student signatures sprawled all over the poster. Assemblies reminded the young men of the importance of their brothers, and their responsibility to be a good brother to one another. Class prayers always included special intentions for fellow students and school athletic teams. The reiteration of the importance of brotherhood certainly facilitated a sense of group identity amongst the school community. When I casually asked Edward, a senior organizing the English National Honor Society assembly, what made Divinity High school different from other high schools, he first pointed to the "Brotherhood." He later explained, "It's special. It sucks you in." Moreover, every young man I interviewed used the word "family" or "brotherhood" to describe the school's culture without any prompting from the researcher. An 11th grade transfer student explains

> Well, I think this school is good in the sense that everyone is kind of like brothers, like there is a sense of brotherhood. You could talk to anyone and you know that they're not going to disrespect you in a sense. Yeah, that's kind of like the good thing about school. (Sam, 11th grade)

The critical mass of males on campus also generated a sense of playfulness and the feeling that they could be themselves amongst the male students. In interviews, students explained that the

absence of girls on campus allowed the young men to be just themselves as evidenced by the horseplay and joking in and out of classrooms.

As a Catholic school, Divinity High School adopted a series of religious celebrations and traditions that were altogether very Catholic. While prayers at the beginning of class were not mandatory, all but one teacher I observed led a prayer at the beginning of class. Students were very dogmatic in their reciting of these prayers, as after every time someone said, "St. Jesus of La Salle" the students would respond aloud and in unison, "Pray for us" to which the prayer leader would say, "Live Jesus in our Hearts" and the prayer was concluded by the students' response "forever." Aside from prayers being said in the beginning of class, visual images of crucifixes, crosses, saints, and a variety of other religious art decorated the campus and classrooms.

For many students, Divinity served as their home away from home. Various staff told me about students who arrived as early as five am only to wait on campus for the library or tutoring to begin. According to staff, students from particularly difficult homes or unsafe neighborhoods used Divinity as a second home. In many ways, these extracurricular activities served as buffers for those students who were trying to avoid especially dangerous neighborhoods or even violent homes. For other students, the extracurricular activities allowed them to spend time with peers and an adult with similar interests and develop stronger bonds between members. The campus had various open spaces where students could congregate but also allowed student teams and clubs to utilize various spaces to meet and practice over the weekends and in the evenings without much difficulty. As an observer, I noted the heavy presence of students not only during the school day, but after hours and even in the evening when various sporting events or parent meetings were being held on campus.

In the next section, I detail the organizational mechanism present at each school which facilitated a college going culture, developed social and cultural capital. I compare on the role of various structures that allowed students the opportunity to access resources as well as the outcomes of the student survey, which demonstrate how students reacted to these structures. In particular, I highlight the role of the work study program as well as how the schools treat non-dominant capital.

CHAPTER FIVE

Findings

Embeddedness of Resources in the School Structure

To clarify the ways in which resources were disbursed at each school, I analyzed the organizational structure of each to determine how the school made resources available to students. I began with an analysis of the ideologies and mechanisms at St. Peter and Divinity that served to funnel resources (social and cultural capital) to students. I used survey data to support these findings and identify the purveyors of social capital. I then analyzed the various structures on campus set in place to distribute resources to students. In particular, I examined how a college preparatory program, Campus Ministry Program and extracurricular activities at St. Peter and Divinity distributed resources (capital) to students. I also investigated St. Peter's corporate work study program to understand if and how it provided students with critical forms of capital. In each discussion of these structures, I determined the similar (and different) elements of the structures set in place at each school and highlighted how resources were shared, but how in some cases, these capital did not reach every student.

A "Family" of Institutional Agents at St. Peter High School

My research findings suggest that St. Peter relied heavily on institutional agents to provide students with dominant forms of social and cultural capital. The structures at St. Peter generally allowed students to develop strong relationships with adults and access dominant forms of capital from the adults in a variety of settings: classroom, in extracurricular activities and at work. In this manner, students benefitted from social and informal interaction with the adults on campus and at work, who acted as conduits for social capital.

St. Peter High School benefited from a large staff for a relatively small school. Like Divinity, the staff was divided between the administration that served the families and students directly and the team that worked primarily with Mission and Development. The school clearly profited from having a President, a development director, a corporate work study staff member that also focused on development, as well as a few other staff members supporting these individuals. While the philanthropic efforts of the development team were interesting, my study focused on the staff members who had direct contact with students to best understand how other kinds of resources were shared on campus.

As mentioned earlier, St. Peter had recently become a Jesuit school. In this manner, the school adopted the values and mission of the Society of Jesus which included the Latin phrase *cura personalis* which means "care for the entire person." Even though most students did not know or indicate the school was Jesuit, various staff members did share how their role on campus was influenced by the idea of *cura personalis*. In this manner, St. Peter committed itself to care for each student in the school recognizing each child's unique contributions, gifts and challenges. The principal, a former teacher at a prestigious Jesuit high school nearby, explained

> In Jesuit education, we are about educating the whole person, mind, body and spirit- *cura personalis*. That concept is about students being more than just actors and sitting in your desk at your classroom. They bring with them so much more than that and to be a well-rounded person, who's going to be a man for others, I mean, you have to, there's more to it than just the academic knowledge. So, sports and clubs and, you know, a fine arts or something that they've been really trying to push with the choir and music including, those things are, aren't that usually important [in most public schools]. … School and education far more than what takes place within the walls of the classroom.   (Dr. Jones, principal)

During interviews, the staff members generally invoked the idea of *cura personalis* as a characterization of the role of staff members on campus. At St. Peter, the staff member seemed

to understand theoretically that the schooling experience was more than learning in classrooms, but rather a place in which students should realize their potential. Ms. Lee, a religion teacher explained the approach,

> I think Catholic Schools offer a really holistic approach to education and for me it's not just about what you learn in the classroom but it's like "How are the people treated here?" And do you feel like you're respected? Do you feel like you're worth something? Do you know about what you're gifts are and how to use them?

Ms. Lee highlighted the role of a Catholic school was to support students emotionally and socially, but they were also responsible for developing their social identity.

In practice, *cura personalis* looked like a pedagogy of care, where the adults on campus committed themselves to helping and caring for students (Noddings, 1984, 1992; Valenzuela, 1999). For example, the staff at St. Peter often used the term family to describe the relationships between staff and students. They cited examples of students who had issues at home and therefore needed the staff to look out for them in order to help them. Mr. Villalobos, a religion teacher explicated the role between teachers and student at St. Peter:

> I think it's the idea of it takes a village to raise a child. I think everyone really buys into that, in that mission, the idea that everyone's taking part. …That's the culture here where everyone was looking out for one another – there's communication. And we do our best, I think things work out for the most part, we're not really trying to shape them with education but, you know, as a whole person.   (Mr. Villalobos, religion teacher)

The teachers and staff at St. Peter often spoke to each other about students and checked in with them individually if they thought there was a concern. Additionally, the teachers relied on the Dean as well as other support staff, when students' issues were more serious and required more help than the teacher could provide. For the staff at St. Peter, *cura personalis* evoked a sense of

responsibility in them that required them to concern themselves with the social development of the students. Teachers in particular explained that when students manifested a sign of trouble (especially in the classroom), their response included speaking to the Dean, other staff and the student to determine what problems they may have so they could determine how they could help.

Teachers generally accepted this role and explained how they often felt as if their role was blurred between teacher and some sort of family member (older brother/sister, mom, auntie). In turn, students shared how they felt cared for by staff who would not only help them, but also were people they could turn to if they had a personal issue. Mr. Villalobos offered an example about a student who is exceptionally smart, but whose family life is under strain because of drugs. The student had already come to him to talk, but rather than deal with this alone, he and another teacher checked in with the student to talk to him about it. He explained their approach,

> So, we just better move and talk to him about it. We look out. So we have each other and we really communicate a lot. I feel like a parent even though I'm not. [I consider them] my children and boys. I feel like we do a good job of parenting the kids….Not being a public school…we're able to discipline the boys a little more in a sense, at the same time we're able to show them *cura personalis*. So, we have that flexibility to really be a parent. (Mr. Villalobos, teacher)

The staff at St. Peter defined their role as more than just a teacher, but rather a teacher who genuinely cared for their students' well being, in and out of the classroom. In doing so, most of the staff took this role seriously.

The school staff also used the word "brotherhood" to encourage the young men to assist each other with social or academic support. Campus activities did not usually force students to help one another, but during the Summer SOAR Program for entering 9th grade and transfer students, the school paid the cost of a very expensive ropes course. The students were asked to depend on other students to guide them across a high rise rope as they were blindfolded. During

this fieldtrip, the staff and field guides stressed to the students the importance of being able to work and depend on each other. The school utilized the ropes course to convey to students the importance of working with their fellow students- their newfound "brothers", but stood out as one time event. Mr. Harris, a health teacher later referenced this obligation in his classroom when he said, "It's a brotherhood at St. Peter. Maybe your grade was perfect, but your brother's was not and we are going to work together to help them." Mr. Harris's comment illustrated his perception of "brotherhood" which encouraged students to offer and receive academic support to their peers. Similarly, Coleman (1988) identifies obligations and expectations as key elements of the social capital of a group such that the group is only as resourceful as the camaraderie of its members. However, with the exception of a few classrooms that utilized peers as scaffolds for other students, it was difficult to assess how much peer social capital was being developed within structures at St. Peter. In terms of peer social capital, the school lacked programs that would allow students to assist one another. Instead, the school preached the message of "brotherhood" and encouraged students to help their brothers, but did not have the structures set in place to facilitate it.

In summary, the staff at St. Peter was instrumental to the distribution of dominant forms of capital. The adults on campus utilized various structures such as the college preparatory program, Catholic Ministry, extracurricular activities and the corporate work study program to develop social capital for students with adults.

A Community at Divinity High School

My findings indicated student-teacher relationships as well as student-student relationships were instrumental to the process of resource distribution at Divinity High School. I found that the school placed great value on structures that could facilitate student-teacher and

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peer to peer relationships and in turn supported various school programs to facilitate these relationships. In this manner, students seemed to benefit from a sense of community where both adults and students were agents of social capital.

The Divinity High school leadership was divided between administrators that oversee the day to day school operations and those that direct, organize and plan the school's mission and development. Given their distinct roles, this study focused on the administrators and faculty whose positions gave them the authority to direct resources and attention to students rather than those who spent their time finding resources. Still, it is worth mentioning that Divinity benefitted from six administrators (President, Directors of Development/Admissions/Finance) whose major responsibilities were to increase and improve the school's resources and eight more administrators (e.g. principal, Deans and the Directors of Student Affairs/Religious Life) whose duties included serving as a resource for students and their families and even teaching a class.

The administrators (and teachers) at Divinity were expected to "wear a lot of hats" and serve in a variety of positions to meet the needs of the students. In interviews, multiple staff members discussed the wearing of multiple hats and how the school administration expected this of its faculty but also participated in this practice. At Divinity, it was common for teachers to develop *multistranded* relationships with students in two contexts- the classroom and as an advisor for an extracurricular activity (Stanton-Salazar, 2001). One teacher shared how she feared being fired in her first few years of teaching because she lacked a niche and position in another context on campus. Even though this teacher tutored afterschool and on Saturdays, she was told by the principal that she needed to do more. And she did. The year of the study she had become the advisor for a club/Honor society on campus, coordinated their activities and taught in two departments. All of the other teachers I interviewed and observed in their classrooms held

two or more extracurricular positions on campus. Ms. Lopez illuminated how every member of the staff participated in the school community or "family". She explained,

> There are some who are obviously more involved than others, but I don't think there is anybody who's here just to like slum it or just to get their paycheck. Everybody buys into it …to some degree because they could, pretty much find a teaching job that will pay more elsewhere.

In fact, my interviews with teachers generated a lot of talk about their dual role as a teacher and mentor outside the classroom. Every teacher explained how they fit within the school culture and which students gravitated towards them. For example, Ms. Robina, an English teacher shared,

> The faculty here, you've got such a range. If you can't find someone to relate to then you haven't looked much. We've got your kind of quirky all-sci-fi-all-the-time-teacher. We've got the Mexican mother, you know who will make you all this food. … We've got the brothers who, like Brother Mike, you go up there after school and there are like 30 kids up there… You're expected to watch out for these kids.

The staff at Divinity clearly understood the extra responsibilities they were expected to adhere to. Even their annual review included evaluations based on their role outside the classroom. While some staff suggested that all of these responsibilities could negatively affect their initial responsibility- teaching, they also understood the importance of their roles in these programs because it allowed them to serve as important mentors to their students that could yield positive gains for students.

Still, the wearing of multiple hats did wear down its' administrators and teachers. Observations of school life revealed the constant movement of staff on campus. Administrators would begin their days in their office, run to teach a class and run back to their office where they often had a line of students or parents waiting to speak to them. One administrator explained how she first felt about the multiple roles she was expected to play on campus, "I think I was just overwhelmed at the amount of responsibilities, if you will, that I had and that I was being faced

with." Notwithstanding, this administrator maintained an open door policy for students, families and faculty. She served as a teacher, department chair and was present at every school event I attended.

Similarly, teachers worked long hours before and after school that were noted by the researcher on various occasions. When I asked a religion teacher why he chose to serve as a coach (in addition to serving as a Director of Campus Ministry) especially when it meant he needed to drive students off campus for daily practices to a nearby university, he related the importance of having more sports activities for students who weren't going to play on the big sports teams such as football and basketball. Despite the increased work load, the staff at Divinity worked relentlessly at their multiple positions so that they could provide more resources and opportunities to students and their families.

An analysis of the data also pointed to an emphasis on developing strong bonds between students facilitated by social organizations and structures of the school. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Divinity High School made "brotherhood" a central value of student life on campus. In effect, the leadership carefully organized the school's structure and programs to facilitate peer to peer relationships. A series of assemblies, celebrations, banners and signs around campus as well as gifts (e.g. wristbands with the word "brotherhood") served to remind the students about the importance of looking out for your brother. At first glance, many of the social activities the school gave emphasis to appear to have little effect on students' academic trajectories, and the vast majority of students interviewed did not correlate the "brotherhood" with having any influence on their academic education. But findings reveal that students not only heard and preached about brotherhood, but the students also became resources for each other.

> Our big thing now is brotherhood. [Students] will help their own brothers here. Very discretely, that they're helping them out. A lot of times you'll hear about one of the students that is spending a certain amount of time with another student because the family has a situation or the parents have to go to Mexico or wherever else. So, they're very willing to help each other out and doing it kind of under the radar so that other people don't know. It's, as the kids always say it and I, it truly is a family. Definitely, 'cause like a family, they look out for each other.   (Ms. Lopez, teacher)

Informal relationships provided students with multiple opportunities to assist each other and in fact serve to develop social capital that could affect their academic trajectories. It was not uncommon for staff to share stories of young men helping their friends when they were in need of money, clothes or a place to stay.

I also found that retreats provided students with the forum to encourage their fellow classmates and friends to be a better person and student. Interviews with staff that had attended retreats shared stories of young men using the space to "affirm" one another. Mr. Encino explained their significance:

> A retreat is just… giving them the opportunity to tell their friend … the teachers that are there …"this is what you meant to me." At the first retreat for seniors, the tears were just like [motions tears down face with hands]. "Thank you, I've known you since kindergarten and you'll always be in my life." It's just unbelievable … And the fact that they … say to each other like, "you're a great guy for being this, this and this. But you could have so much more if you would do this." And I mean, I encourage that in my group, you know. 'Cause there are some, some of them that are quiet and they'll come and say, "Come on, you're a great guy, you should, you should get out there, you should do this, you should do that." It's powerful.

Students over and over again shared that they believed there were students on campus that would be their brothers for life. And while this was important, my concern was whether or not students could generate social capital for one another that could also help them in their academic trajectories. While my findings pointed to various school structures that aimed to facilitate social

bonds between students, formal structures in the school facilitated peer to peer social capital that improved the students' academic experience. For instance, the school established a peer to peer tutoring program where the high performing upper classmen are paid to tutor some 90 underclassmen. Ms. Robina shared her perception of the program with me:

> They have to be here at seven am and have an upper classmen tutor which I think is very helpful. It's not [a] teacher standing over them. It's their classmates. .. They meet with the parents. "If you don't do your homework I'm your tutor and I'm going to call your parents and tell them" … It's really awesome. Those seniors and juniors who are tutoring- they have a lot of responsibility. They have like three to four [students]. They're making phone calls at home and everything.

The tutoring program at Divinity exemplified how students could serve as academic resources for other students. In this case, the highest performing students served as a great resource to underclassmen as both a model of academic achievement, but also as a personal tutor committed to improving the students' achievement.

Students' Perceptions and Access to Institutional Agents

Surveys were distributed at both school sites and focused on students' experience and their relationships with others in school in the spring of 2011. Survey data were collected from ninth and eleventh grade students, as well as St. Peter alumni and entered into SPSS to conduct descriptive analyses. Questions from the survey were influenced by the surveys in Ricardo Stanton's Salazar's (2001) and Angela Valenzuela's (1999) work on social capital in secondary schools. The survey also included questions about postsecondary education goals using four point Likert scales that ranged from strongly disagree to strongly agree. The four point Likert scale was used to allow the researcher to organize the answers generally between agree and disagree and to encourage students to give a non-neutral opinion on the questions. The survey also asked demographic information such as mother's education level, race and ethnicity, as well

as students' participation in school activities. As noted in chapter 3, I collected 431 surveys from both schools, which was an overall 82 percent response rate. Specifically, 85 percent of St. Peter and 81 percent of Divinity students responded to the survey.

A review of the data in Table 7 demonstrated that the students at Divinity and St. Peter High School viewed the staff at their school as friendly and informative adults, but they also engaged in more help-seeking behavior in terms of academics. For example, 91 percent of St. Peter and 94 percent of Divinity students indicated they could ask their teachers for academic assistance. However, a critical look at the data reveals that about half of students at St. Peter did not utilize their relationships with adults for personal support. Only 40 percent of students at St. Peter felt they could turn to a teacher and 49 percent of students could go to a counselor or staff member for help with a personal problem, while 54 percent of Divinity students felt they could go to a teacher with a personal problem and 58 percent said the same for counselors. In this regard, compared to their peers at Divinity, the St. Peter students viewed their teachers as helpful individuals when related to academic problems but these numbers dropped dramatically when it was a personal problem. Most students at St. Peter expressed being able to ask teachers and even counselors for help with academic coursework, but a significant number of students interviewed revealed they would not go to staff on campus for personal issues. Interview data suggested that students did not feel comfortable with most teachers, except for Mr. Young and a couple of others who they explained understood them given their similar demographic backgrounds.

Table 7: Social Capital from Teachers and Staff by School (Percent Agree)

Question	Divinity N= 313	St. Peter N= 118
I like my high school.	82	70

There is a real good spirit at my high school.	80	60
Discipline is fair at my high school.	72	54
Students get along well with teachers and staff at this school.	80	73
My teachers are good at helping me solve school-related or academic problems.	83	82
I have a friendly and trusting relationship with a number of teachers.	83	73
The teachers/staff give me the moral support I need to do well in school.	93	90
My teachers give me the academic support I need to do well in school.	94	91
I rely on teachers for advice and guidance on making important school related decisions.	67	61
My teachers are good in helping me solve personal problems.	54	40
My teachers are sensitive to my personal needs.	57	56
I have a friendly and trusting relationship with at least one of the school counselors/school staff.	76	72
I rely on school counselors for advice and guidance in making important school related decisions.	48	60
My school counselors/staff are good as helping me solve school related or academic problems.	76	74
My school counselors/staff are good at helping me solve personal problems.	58	49
I rely on other staff for advice and guidance in making important school related decisions.	52	53

One of the central concerns of this research project and in the educational literature is the effects of segregating a group of low income students from students and families with more resources and in effect depriving them of some form of cultural and social capital. Particularly, I sought to answer if segregating students by socioeconomic status and in effect race/ethnicity could attach a stigma to their educational identity or negatively shape their educational experience. Given the segregation of students with limited resources at St. Peter (and to some

degree Divinity), it was not uncommon for students to label their schools as worse in comparison to other more prestigious private schools in the area. Additionally, segregation had other effects. Students, staff and alumni shared stories of trauma and personal issues that students needed to deal with at home. Some students at St. Peter had experienced issues of homelessness, suicide attempts, and depression, negative experiences that countless young men of color contend with when they live in a poor urban area. Likewise, Divinity students and staff shared with me the similar nature of problems that afflicted their student body. Considering these issues, the low number of students who felt they could turn to their teachers or counselor for problems was troubling.

One might expect that students at St. Peter should have felt more comfortable going to their teacher or counselor since their school was much smaller in comparison to Divinity. But not all students at St. Peter seemed comfortable with *help-seeking behaviors* (Stanton-Salazar, 2001). Help seeking behavior is an important manner in which students (or anyone) can access help or resources from institutional agents. But students I spoke to shared that they appreciated when a teacher would approach them and offer to help. For instance, Michael, a St. Peter student shared why he thought it was important for teachers to engage in something I call *assistance-giving behavior*.

> It's like, it's kinda like a thing where you're surrounded- we're in this community where everyone says that their hand is always, or their door is always open. But they don't give the initiative. They don't say, "Oh, we're always here when things go wrong. ... I really haven't experience that initially. But for someone to actually pull me aside, out of their own time and make me talk to them. That's, that's something big, that's something. (Michael, 11th grader, St. Peter)

Michael highlighted an important point for anyone working with historically underserved communities and especially underrepresented minority youth. In his estimation, it was simply not

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enough to tell students that you were there for them and that they could depend on you for support. He shared with me how much better he felt when Ms. Graham, the Dean, brought him into her office to talk to him about how he was transitioning to the school. Michael explained that it made all the difference to know that she took time from her busy schedule to check on him. In this case, Ms. Graham demonstrated assistance giving behavior. When dealing with communities that have been historically marginalized, authority figures must participate in *assistance-giving behavior* so that over time, students and their families could feel confident enough to engage in *help-seeking behaviors*.

Furthermore, school climate questions revealed stark differences between campuses such that 80 percent of students at Divinity believed that their school had a positive spirit on campus, whereas only 60 percent of St. Peter students did. While almost three fourths of Divinity students believed the discipline was fair at their school site, only 54 percent of students at St. Peter could say the same of their school site. These differences pushed me to examine the school culture of each campus and interrogate how student perceived institutional agents on their campuses and if this could help me understand students' *help-seeking behaviors*.

As noted, the staff at St. Peter felt a responsibility towards students' well-being, but some expressed frustration with students as well as deficit oriented perceptions. For example, when I spoke with one teacher about her students she shared how much the kids still needed remedial skills. To add, she spoke about one student in particular, "I mean he's a bright kid, but his parents don't speak English," signaling her negative perception of the parents' families. Some staff poked fun at parents who consistently brought their sons food for lunch indicating that this mom was "babying" her son. Deficit-oriented perceptions of students and their families were

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often revealed out of earshot of students when teachers and staff were frustrated, but served to remind that negative perceptions can influence the relationship between students and teachers.

Similarly, staff at St. Peter conveyed willingness to help students, but enacted this assistance on their terms. In other words, students could expect to be helped if they adhered to the rules of the school and classroom. For the teacher who felt like a parent, their disciplinary approach often appeared harsh and seemed to limit the relationship that students could develop with various staff members. For example, students revealed that they felt watched by adults at all times- and they were. Some staff would preface their concern with a glance at the students' uniform and appearance. As a result, some students shared how they changed the way they spoke, dressed and acted when adults were around. Other students expressed feelings of frustration with staff that policed them about things they did not think were that serious, such as their hair length and styles. The delicate relationship between adults and students at St. Peter seemed to mediate the process in which students asked for help and in effect could access some resources. Furthermore, the staff had to contend with tension as they established structures and norms for students, while making sure they did not negatively affect students' emotional and academic identities.

In a similar way, what I saw at each school and heard during interviews at Divinity demonstrated that while students were friendly with adults on campus, this did not translate into *help-seeking behavior* (Stanton-Salazar, 2001). Students shared that at times, their school felt very strict and many said they did not think their peers who attended other schools would want to enroll. In fact, some students shared feeling as if some teachers had it out for them. And my observations in classrooms revealed certain teachers continually picking on students who they had already labeled as failures or a waste of time. At Divinity, these teachers shared that they

preferred to have these students sleep in class or have them sent to the office, so they would not

have to deal with them. The following is an excerpt from a field note of an English class at

Divinity High School.

The teacher reprimands Cody as he makes his way to the computer that Richard just
left. I can see that Cody is logging onto the computer when the teacher walks over and
yells "get a book." The screen has a basketball player, which looks to be the wallpaper
for his network profile page. She tells him he should not be looking at basketball stuff-
"you should already be on your source" she continues to yell. Cody explains he was
logging on to the computer and his wallpaper is up. "It took you 30 minutes to log on?"
the teacher exclaims as she stand over him and he sits quietly in his computer chair.
Cody retorts, "I was on my background." She yells at him again, and the students begin
to say "It's alright Cody, you don't have to cry." "Don't cry Cody," yells another student
and who throws some papers in the air towards him. Students continue to say to Cody,
"Hey Cody, hey Cody." Meanwhile, the teacher finds a book for Cody, walks over,
hands the book to him, and says "Do something." And the class laughs.
                                                                                    (Field note, 02/11/11)

Teachers like these were not the norm, but their interactions with students could have lasting

effects not only for the student involved, but for the rest of the class. Students seemed to be

clearly aware of who they could turn to for support (academic or personal) based on their

observations of teachers in classrooms.

Even though very small numbers of Divinity and St. Peter staff had made it difficult for

students to develop a potentially beneficial relationship with them (social capital), the students

across both campuses benefitted from having a set of caring adults on campus that served as

more than institutional agents. These teachers emerged from the data as *empowerment agents*

because of their purposeful work with the students who needed the most help- the students who

were most at risk of being marginalized (Stanton-Salazar, 2010). Adults with knowledge of the

lived experiences of students and non-dominant capital facilitated stronger connections between

student and adult/teacher/coach/mentor when they shared the most traits (race, gender and

socioeconomic status). These adults were also conscious of the structural inequity that afflicted the young men of color and communicated these injustices to the young men. More importantly, they shared strategies and resources with the most marginalized students in an effort to combat these injustices.

At Divinity, I witnessed and heard from students about Brother Mike as a role model and mentor that many students identified with. His work in the La Sallian youth group aimed to make students aware of their responsibility to work towards justice and students responded to not to his words- but instead by his actions. During an interview with Angel, he explained how Brother Mike lobbied for him to get financial aid after Angel shared his single mother could no longer afford the school. Angel told me that his mom had enrolled him at Divinity because he had been getting into too many fights on the streets and at school. She was worried that he would fall victim to the street life that all too often engulfs young men of color. Recognizing the importance of Divinity and what it had already done for Angel, Brother Mike reassured Angel that he would do everything he could to ensure that he remained at Divinity. Brother Mike understood that Divinity was more than simply a school for Angel. Divinity would serve as catalyst for social mobility for Angel, as it had done for so many other students from working class and immigrant homes and Brother Mike made sure that the school supported Angel.

Empowerment agents are critical at urban Catholic schools because these adults readily understand the inequities that can afflict students and readily offer them the strategies and resources to help them work towards solving these issues. At St. Peter, I saw Mr. Young consistently work with the students that the rest of the school often regarded as troublemakers or low achievers. When the school decided that the all the eleventh graders would apply for a scholarship and that the English teachers would help them all write essays, the other English

teachers preferred to work with the high performing students and Mr. Young selected the students who needed the most help and who also needed the most confidence. Mr. Young explained that he already taught most of these students and felt like he could really help them. Some days later, I overheard two students relate how cool it was that Mr. Young selected them for a scholarship. Horacio mentioned that he had never been selected for anything before and he had put in a lot of effort into his essay. In this manner, I witnessed how Mr. Young's decision to work with the students who were not the "excellent" students made a transformational change in self esteem of students that were often marginalized from these academic recognitions.

Given the fact that both Brother Mike and Mr. Young were men of color who went to schools similar if not the same as their students, they were better positioned to relate to students through a shared language, heritage and school experience. Almost every student I interviewed shared how they admired and related to these two teachers. For the students who struggled to adapt to the school, especially at St. Peter given the cultural norms of the school and workplace, Mr. Young provided students with much needed mentorship, guidance and assistance with academic help. In fact, Evan and Marquis, who both struggled with adjusting to St. Peter's campus and work life, indicated to me in their interviews that they would not be at St. Peter without the support of Mr. Young. Evan in particular explained that Mr. Young understood where he was coming from and did not judge him. As an observer in his classroom, I saw that students really appreciated listening to him relate what they would need to do to succeed in school in spite of the contextual factors that often plague young men of color. He also shared stories of his youth that mirrored the issues the young men dealt with and helped students by providing strategies to overcome these obstacles.

Each school benefitted from a group of empowerment agents. Divinity was unique in that benefitted from having multiple teachers that were alumnus of the school, who also shared a common background, and a desire to provide the most marginalized students with extra support. Given the communities they served, one would assume that there would be more staff that understood the social context of the young men's lives and who could use that knowledge to build even stronger relationships in an effort to support them- but this was not the case.

If a little more than half of Divinity students perceived that they could engage in emotional help seeking behaviors from adults, but that less than half of students at St. Peter could say the same, then it seemed appropriate to look beyond these relationships for sources of social capital at each site. As noted in the literature, vertical ties between people in different levels of a hierarchy are weak (e.g. student to teacher) and horizontal ties between people at the same level within a hierarchy (e.g. peer to peer) are stronger, especially if the individuals come from similar backgrounds (Granovetter, 1973; Lin, 2001). Therefore, I examined the relationships between students and their families and students and their peers at each campus to determine if the clustering of students from one socioeconomic group would negatively affect the students' development of pro-academic and pro-social norms and social capital.

A review of the questions related to family and peers demonstrated that students at both schools relied heavily on the support of their family and friends. The overwhelming majority of both student bodies expressed receiving moral support from family (Table 8), which each school seemed to capitalize on with the parental workshops aimed at college preparation and parent volunteer opportunities at social events. The students I interviewed at Divinity all expressed that their parents loved the school (mothers in particular). At St. Peter, students often shared that their parents liked the school, and I often heard and saw mothers call the school and attend events.

Table 8: Social Capital from Family and Friends by School (Percent Agree)

Question	Divinity N= 313	St. Peter N= 118
My family gives me the moral support I need to do well in school.	95	91
My friends at this school give me the moral support I need to do well in school.	83	95
My friends at this school give me the academic support I need to do well in school.	73	68
My other friends give me the academic support I need to do well in school.	70	57

In terms of peer support, 73 percent of students at Divinity reported drawing on peer support in academics in comparison to 68 percent of St. Peter students. The students at Divinity most likely benefitted from formal peer support groups on campus that supported students achievement such as the tutoring program as well as the football buddy system described later in this chapter. Interestingly, only 57 percent of students at St. Peter reported turning to other friends (outside of schools) for academic support compared to 70 percent of students at Divinity. These findings suggest that the St. Peter students were living and experiencing neighborhoods with fewer resources than the students at Divinity, which influenced the kinds of support their peers (outside of school) could offer. As a result, the St. Peter students turned to their school peers when they needed moral support to persist in school.

Accordingly, survey data indicated that students at St. Peter relied mostly (95 percent) on their peers from St. Peter for moral support more than anybody else. In other words, students at St. Peter felt like they could depend on their peers for emotional supports. Students at St. Peter shared that the religious retreats and class time served as a forum to develop their friendships. But that still did not account for why students at St. Peter reported overwhelmingly that their

peers provided moral support. I maintain that the students at St. Peter went through such a unique and rigorous experience that their peers were simply their best source of support, which seemed to be underutilized by the staff at St. Peter.

College Preparatory Programs

A College Going Culture at St. Peter High School

St. Peter promised a college preparatory program for all of its students and in turn established multiple structures on campus to facilitate a college going culture. In particular, the school offered college preparatory classes, a college counseling program a series of college oriented activities and throughout each of these, the staff engaged in something I call, *college-going discourse*. The school used each of these forums: classrooms, the college counseling office and activities as well as off campus activities to proclaim not just the importance of college, but rather used similar language that assumed all students would go to college. For example, the following is an excerpt from Mr. Young's English III classroom where he utilized college-going discourse to establish high expectations for an assignment.

Mr. Young goes over the importance of citations and uses the overhead to demonstrate various examples of citations. "I guarantee you that the first thing that you will be asked to do in college is write a paper. And you will need to know how to cite sources. And you can get in trouble for plagiarism if you don't do it correctly. You can get kicked out for that. That is one of the most common reasons. (Field note, 1/26/11)

During an interview with me, Mr. Young maintained that all of his students were going to college but he also shared this expectation in his everyday language with students. Mr. Young utilized a college-going discourse to not only remind students of their future plans, but to raise the expectations of the quality of work he assigned by labeling it as an assignment the students would see in college. The staff collectively engaged in this college-going discourse in formal and

informal spaces on campus to seamlessly create a college going culture that students were not only exposed to but also participated in.

Every student at St. Peter enrolled in college preparatory classes that placed him on a college going track. The students benefitted from college preparatory curriculum that satisfied not only graduation requirements but also the application requirements of the University of California and California State University systems. Every year, students were advised on which classes to take for the following year by the Dean or a college counselor. A review of student records indicated that all students took the following classes:

Table 9: Typical Class Schedule for Freshmen at St. Peter High School

Semester 1	Semester 2
Corporate Work Study Freshman	Corporate Work Study Freshman
English IA	English IB
Introduction to Catholicism	Hebrew Scriptures
Algebra IA	Algebra IB
Writing A	Writing B
Introduction to Computers	Physical Education
Physical Science A	Physical Science B

Table 10: Typical Class Schedule for Juniors at St. Peter High School

Semester 1	Semester 2
Corporate Work Study Junior Year	Corporate Work Study Junior Year
US History A	US History B
Ethics	Ethics and Social Justice
Algebra IIA	Algebra IIB
Chemistry A	Chemistry B

Span IIA	Span IIB NS
English IIIA	English IIIB

St. Peter high school committed itself to providing college preparatory courses for all of its students which included a number of AP courses, a Senior Seminar as well as a few other electives that challenged students to think critically. The school was also able to maintain small class sizes which ranged from 15 to 25 and the teacher to class ration is 12:1.

Weekly visits to English 9th and 11th grade classrooms revealed a rigorous classroom experience for students. The teachers in these classrooms provided challenging learning activities that utilized a mix of teacher and student-centered approaches. At the 9th grade level, the instruction often required students to think critically about the literature they were reading and discuss it in class. Ms. Lack, the 9th grade teacher emphasized student group work where students were offered the chance to discuss amongst the peers. For example, the following is a field note from a visit to her class:

Students are working on a similes and metaphors assignment. Ms. Lack is walking around the room assisting students with the analysis of a poem. The students are rewriting the poem and working in pairs. They are creating one poem that uses similes and metaphors similar to the poem "The Snow arrives after long silence." All students are engaged. They are asking Ms. Lack questions. They need her help and she is consistent with all groups taking turns to help them. After Jaime and Dylan are finished, she reviews their poem and certifies it is acceptable. She then asks Jaime and Dylan to help the other students with their poems. She reminds the class, "They are really smart just like you."   (Field note, 1/26/11)

In Ms Lack's classroom, the students were constantly engaged during assignments. She did not teach an honors class, so she maintained the same level of expectations for all of her students. I never witnessed students sleeping in her class or any other obvious forms of disengagement. She

too utilized a college-going discourse to remind students that the work was difficult but that this would prepare them for college.

Similarly, the 11th grade teachers also engaged in challenging assignments and discussions but utilized student centered strategies sparingly. Nevertheless, the instructors also utilized a college-going discourse to demonstrate how their assignments would help the students once they got to college. For instance, in Ms. Gallagher's class, she structured her writing assignments and review sessions based on college assignments.

"We're going to have a review session like a college review session," explains Ms. Gallagher. She describes how review sessions operate at the collegiate level. She also tells the class that in a review session with a college professor, they may only be allowed access to ask a limited number of questions, so they need to ask the most important. Ms. Gallagher describes the contents of the exam: short answer; multiple choice; true and false (correct the false); matching; identification and significance and finally two mini essays that need to 11 sentences each. After the students groans die down, she mentions that as seniors they will have to write the five paragraph essay.
                                                            (Field note, 12/08/2010)

During this review sessions, Ms. Gallagher's classroom norms demonstrate her commitment to preparing her students for college. She provided similarly difficult assignments for her regular and her Honors class, which Mr. Young, the other 11th grade teacher, used too. In sum, the English department provided its students with academically rigorous lessons that prepared them for college.

Even though the teachers at St. Peter maintained an academically challenging curriculum, my observations in the classroom revealed a pattern of some students who disengaged in the process. While this did not happen in every classroom, there were multiple incidents when some students demonstrated disengagement in the classroom. For example, in the aforementioned classroom event, only five students participated in the class and one student was falling asleep.

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Interview data revealed that teachers held different opinions about their students, which I believe affected their expectations of them. During my field work, I checked in with Ms. Gallagher multiple times to see which class I should visit. Her comments often made a distinction between the Honors class and the "regular" class. My experience working in schools told me that teachers often regard their students in honors and regular classes as different. But what remained important was how Ms. Gallagher constructed this difference. When I asked Ms. Gallagher about her students and if they were on grade level, she explained the different kinds of students in her class.

> I suspect that in a lot of cases our honors kids, not the top, top honors kids but the general honors kids are probably like reading and writing where a lot of regular college prep students would be, I think. I mean discussion wise they got the ideas, they're quick to understand. But when it comes to skills and the ones who have been English language learners they're a little bit lower than that.

Ms. Gallagher's response indicated that she perceived the reading and writing skills of her "general honors kids" as being typical of students in a college preparatory school. But she also indicated that some of her students had lower skill levels, which included English Learners, and in effect *those* students were at a lower level than regular college preparatory students. Other teachers at St. Peter also indicated to me that they suspected some students were English learners and that this adversely affected their academic work. While there may have been students that were not on grade level, the supposition that the below grade level students were English learners was a typical prejudicial evaluation of students based on her assumption that they were even English Learners[12]. Perhaps unknowingly, these teachers made assumptions about Latino students being English learners and in effect held different expectations for them. I included

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[12] St. Peter does not test or label students as English learners.

these data to portray how teachers' perceptions of students' ability can mediate their expectations and in effect create different experiences for students in the classroom.

St. Peter also provided students with a tutorial period at the end of every class day. The students were given this free period so they would continue to work on assignments or use it to visit their teachers and receive extra help. The tutorial period was designed for students to use it as a form of office hours where they could make appointments to meet with teachers and get extra help. In this manner, the school used the tutorial period as another mechanism to orient the students to college life. Most students however stayed in their seventh period classroom and worked on whatever the teacher wanted them to do, which varied from review sessions to independent work. However, the students who had GPA's of 3.5 or higher were designated members of the Talon Club and during their tutorial period they were allowed to leave their classroom and go to the library. I visited the Talon Club during the tutorial period in the library a number of times and on every visit witnessed the same thing. Students worked on homework, studied for tests and kept a minimum level of noise. The students also engaged in some non-academic behavior such as drawing, playing games and simple talking with their friends, but they also had the liberty of meeting with any teacher they wanted to as long as they told the class supervisor. In effect, the tutorial period for the Talon Club Members mimicked the college experience whereas the students in the regular tutorial periods had limited opportunity to engage in the kind of decision-making where they could make critical decisions independent of an adult.

In sum, St. Peter offered all of its students a college preparatory curriculum and the general expectation was that all students would go to college. In English classrooms, teachers engaged in a college-going discourse that underscored the expectation that all students would go to college. However, despite the fact that the classes were designed to hold similar expectations

of all students- not all students were treated similarly in the classroom. Students in some English classes consistently disengaged in classroom discussions and teachers did not systematically push these students to engage in the classroom lesson. In effect, teachers subtly demonstrated uneven expectations for students who they deemed lower skilled or English learners. Similarly, while St. Peter provided its students with a college like experience through their tutorial periods, only the high achieving students were granted the liberty to make decisions about how they used their free time that could help them create a sense of discipline which is vital for any college student.

Aside from the college preparatory curriculum, St. Peter also provided a series of workshops, assemblies, and parent workshops to educate the students and their families about college and scholarships. At the core of St. Peter's mission was college preparation for all of its students. Dr. Jones described the how the campus facilitated a college going culture,

> From day one and even before day one, you know, we were talking about, to students that they will be going to college. You know, you see the acceptance letters in the hallway, college sweat shirts or t-shirt Fridays once a month, investing in two full time people in college guidance.

For certain, St. Peter designed a college counseling program that provided students with a variety of activities that promoted college, whose central hub was in the college guidance office. Week after week, I noted that a series of university representatives came from a variety of colleges to speak to the students and made sure to connect with students even after the workshop. The college guidance office also provided a great deal of information about colleges, field trips and maintained an open door policy so students could go in the office and work on personal essays, homework and other school work. College pennants and literature decorated the walls of the college guidance office, where students could sit on the couch or work computers or at a

conference table set up in the middle of the room. On the door of the college guidance office, I often saw sign-up sheets for students to attend college weekend visits and applications for summer or extracurricular activities. While these trips were only for students who applied or signed up, the college guidance counselors tried to find out what students were interested in and find them opportunities to participate in. For example, the following is a student who shared how he found out about a pre-law program at a local law school.

> Ms. Sharp, she came one day. She said "Oh, there's this program at Loyola Law School. You must have a GPA of 3.0 or higher." So she went to Italian club and she said, "If anyone is interested in law, does know about law and wants to know more about it, they can join the program. Just get the application from me." And so I went – I got the application from her and I filled it out and – it was really cool. I was like "Wow!" (Carlos 9th grader)

Carlos shared how he and a couple of upper classmen were also attending the pre-law program and they all really enjoyed it. He explained how he got to meet other students from other schools as well as law students. But Carlos was not alone. Many students told me about summer programs, trips, and excursions during the year that they heard about through the college guidance office. These trips, while not directly related to college, exposed students to new places and most likely helped the students on their college applications and served as a form of cultural capital. Even though these activities were limited to some students, all students went on yearly trips to colleges beginning in the summer before they started the school year. During the summer bridge program for ninth graders and transfers, students visited a local university and spoke to admissions counselors and students about life at a university. In all of these events, the staff member engaged in what I call *college-going discourse* that assumed students would attend college. Towards that end, they spoke to students as if they were already college bound, rather

than trying to encourage them to think about college. Furthermore, teachers and work staff used

a college-going discourse to share valuable information that could prepare students for college.

The staff at St. Peter utilized a *college-going discourse* that was evident at three levels-

public spaces, private conversations, and in text. *College-going discourse* was purposeful in

public spaces: staff utilized it during general assemblies in the multipurpose room, parent

workshops, and announcements over the PA or a teacher speaking in class. In these public

forums, the staff purposefully spoke about topics related to college going behaviors and

expectations and tailored the messages to all students. The staff often used a lecture format to

remind students (or parents) that they would indeed go to college and they needed to be aware of

some important factors such as grades, improving their writing skills or participating in enough

extracurricular activities to demonstrate to a college they would be well rounded. Their focus

was not on convincing anyone on the merits of college, but rather the assumption was that all

students would be prepared to go to college. During St. Peter's Open House, Ms. Santos

described her expectations for students in her native speakers' Spanish class to parents. She

explained,

Las tareas son muy largas para preparar los estudiantes para la Universidad. Al final del ano, sus hijos van a tener la aptitud para pasar los exámenes. El año pasado solo un niño no lo pasó. Este viernes van a tomar el examen. (Field Note, 9/24/2010)
[Translation: The homework assignments are very long in order to prepare students for college. At the end of the year, your sons will be able to pass the tests. Last year, only one child did not pass. This Friday, the students will take a test.]

Ms. Santos used a *college-going discourse* with parents to indicate that her expectations were

that their children, "sus hijos" would be able to pass the Advanced Placement exam in Spanish,

which along with the long homework she demanded would prepare her students for college. The

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use of *college-going discourse* also influenced the student activities the school created for students. For instance, at St. Peter, every senior participated in the National Commitment Ceremony, as does every other senior at a Cristo Rey School. The National Commitment Ceremony is inspired by the National Commitment Day in sports where high school seniors commit to play for a university. The ceremony was streamed live over the internet so family, corporate work advisors and alumni could watch and some actually attended the memorable ceremony. At St. Peter, the seniors kept their college choice a secret until the commitment ceremony. On this day, before their peers and school staff, the students announced- one by one where they will attend college (including community college) which is subsequently lauded by the entire school. In many ways, the commitment ceremony allowed students to publicly engage in the *college-going discourse* of the school, where they now become the role models for their peers because they have publicly committed to college.

The school also used various forms of literature to remind students that they would be going to college. In this manner, the staff posted text around the school that indexed a *college-going discourse*. For example, the hallways near the college guidance office were full of posters for college information meetings that students should attend. The school also provided various texts in public spaces that allowed for students to see alumni experiences in college and that college is a viable option. Near the work study offices, the hallways often had pictures and letters from St. Peter alumni that shared how they were doing in college and how their St. Peter experience helped them succeed in college (Appendix H). In classrooms, teachers also had college literature and pictures of former students and often referenced these alumni when speaking with students about college. Around the multipurpose room, the hallways were decorated from floor to ceiling with college acceptance letters for the seniors. The staff members

took great pride in sharing these documents around the school, and students likewise respected these forms of text as they were never vandalized.

The staff also engaged in a *college-going discourse* with students in private conversations where students were able to privately discuss their questions and concerns about college with staff, and even some with their colleagues at work. The staff's use of a *college-going discourse* allowed students to hear individually and in group settings that they too were expected to go to college and thus always needed to work on their schoolwork. Survey data revealed that overwhelmingly, 97 percent of students believed that they and their close friends would be going to college. Even the students whom I interviewed, who shared they were lower performing, had teachers tell them they needed to do better in class to get ready for college. Ms. Nichols, the college counselor explained her unique role as a college counselor at St. Peter.

> I just think that the reason I'm able to do my job here is that, I wouldn't be able to take this and replicate it somewhere else. …I don't think I'd be able to go to a public school and …do the same thing. Number one because you can't tell public school kids that they're going to go to college. Sad to say that, know what I mean? 'Cause every public school kid is not going to go to college. But you can insist that these kids here can go to college, you know, kind of act like a, I don't want to say I'm a mom. Even though, I have been called a mom a lot.
> (Ms. Nichols college guidance counselor)

Ms. Nichols appreciated being able to engage in a college-going discourse with the St. Peter students. She highlighted that it was easier to counsel a student into college if you could assume the child was going to go to college and that she was able to capitalize on the strong familial relationships she has established with students. Her high expectations for students were evident and cited as a source of inspiration from many students who said that they appreciated being believed in. Maurice, a student with very low grades and who had been released from three jobs shared with me a poem (see Appendix I) that described how much he "Don't belong here on

earth." The poem clearly related how Maurice had trouble living up to the norms set forth by St. Peter and how difficult the transition had been for him. Still, Maurice made it clear that he was college bound. I asked Maurice to explain how he decided to change for the better. He offered that he could no longer stand being a disappointment to his teachers and Ms. Nichols, in particular, who he felt were no longer going to give him another chance. More than anything, he wanted to achieve his dreams of being an entrepreneur and felt that he needed to do well in school to get there.

For some of these students, college was maybe an option before enrolling, and now the staff at St. Peter affirmed that college was in fact the expectation. Jared, a student who had left St. Peter but came back his 11th grade year explained how the counselors preached the same message to students about going to college but tailored the message depending on the student. He explained,

> College guidance counselors are really supportive. They tell you what you need to do like if you're not on top of your stuff, they'll come in there and they'll tell you. They'll schedule like something you want to achieve [during] our break or lunch or something. They'll tell you, "You're messing up. You need to hop on it if you're going to go to college. I believe like they adjust to who it is. If it was like a quite soft spoken kid, they'll probably say it like in a cool kind of gentle way. But if it's like another kind of kid, they say, "Stop F-ing up!"   (Jared, 11th grader)

For the students at St. Peter, the college-going discourse enabled staff, students and families to not only agree that the student would be going to college, but this shared expectation was filtered through a common language. They used choice words that manifested a belief that all students would go to college. Students explained that they heard they would be going to college since the first moment they walked onto the St. Peter campus and continued to hear it and see it until they graduated.

In effect the *college-going discourse* emphasized to everyone in the school community that students would go to college. The school provided one-on-one support to ensure that students did not just hear they were college bound- but that in reality they would be college ready. St. Peter also designed a college counseling program that provided students support for all their years in high school. English teachers were asked to improve the writing skill of student so they could perform at the collegiate level. Teachers were also asked to assist students with application essays for scholarships and college applications as well as write as many recommendations as they could. All students were divided and assigned to an English teacher, so that every junior and senior had an English teacher to review their work and be an extra resource.

Additionally, the principal, Dr. Jones reiterated that the school believed strongly that the students needed a great deal of support to get them college ready and in turn hired two full time college counselors. In this manner, each student had a counselor that knew him personally. The counselors provided individual attention to students by calling them in to meet at least once a year for the underclassmen, and multiple times for the seniors. During these meetings, the counselors worked to learn as much as they could about their students to best provide them with the support they needed to become college eligible and ready to engage in the college application process. For example, Ms. Nichols, one of the college counselors shared with me how convincing students that they would get into college was a large part of her counseling duties. She explained,

> And a lot of the kids think they're in a worse academic position than what they are 'cause they don't know what you need to do. So, a lot of them are like, "oh, I'm not gonna be able to get in. I already know, I'm just going to go to a JC [junior college]." And I'm like, "just make JC the last option." You know what I mean. "You don't know that that's the only place you can get in to. Let's wait. Well, let's see what we can do first." And so, to kind of turn back that mentality around. I

mean, don't get me wrong, I think JCs are great but I think for our students, it may be like a little bit because it's so hard for them, it will be so hard for them to maneuver through the crowd there. First, they're used to coming to a place like this where it's extremely small and supportive and [a JC] may not necessarily do that.

The college counselors worked tirelessly to help all of her students find a college that would not only accept them but that they would thrive in. Ms. Nichol's discouraging of community colleges to her students revealed her interest in finding a suitable college that would help students do well. Furthermore, Ms. Nichols held high expectations for all of her students and did not treat certain students with more care simply because they had a higher GPA. Instead, she understood that her students who struggled at St. Peter were also college bound, but that they needed to find a school that would support them in a small school environment such as St. Peter. While she admitted that her seniors did receive more of her time, she explained it was because of the multiple questions they often had about scholarship and college applications they needed to fill out. She revealed that while she did not try to do everything for her seniors, she did given them her cell phone so they could text her questions- and she would reply even if she was at home or not working. She clarified,

So, I don't look at it and say, "ugh," because it's my break, I'm not going to respond. It's like "Ok, I'm going to go to a computer. You email me what you're working on." You know what I mean? It's like, you know, just, like a little pocket counselor, I guess, somebody who's kinda, you know, always there to … support them in some major [way], cause sometimes they feel down on themselves. They don't feel like they can do things by themselves. (Ms. Nichols, college counselor)

Ms. Nichols also engaged in a college-going discourse that encouraged students to see themselves as students who would go to college. Ms. Nichols's efforts demonstrated how the college counseling program was more than the college activities they provided. Her focus on individual students and their needs facilitated a college going identity for students who had

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previously struggled with creating an academic identity. St. Peter's college-going discourse elevated the norms of the school and staff served as institutional agents to students through their assistance with college preparation and holding students to the expectation they would go to college. In this manner, Ms. Nichols and the staff at St. Peter developed social capital for students, which was critical for the students at St. Peter whose parents lacked the knowledge about college application process.

The College Preparatory Program at Divinity High School

As a college preparatory environment, Divinity High School provided all of its students a college preparatory academic program. Towards this end, students had access to college preparatory classes as well as a number of honors and AP classes, as well as academic and college advisement. All students were afforded the opportunity to take these classes which would satisfy requirements for the University of California, California State University and National Collegiate Athletic Association. A review of student data reflected that a typical class schedule for a freshman at Divinity High school looked like the following:

Table 11: Typical class schedule for freshmen at Divinity High School

Semester 1	Semester 2
Hebrew Scriptures	Catholic Christianity
English I	English IB
Genre Literature	Speech
Algebra IA	Algebra IB
Spanish IA Speakers	Life Science
Computer App/Rob	Span IB Speakers
Physical Education/Health	Theatre Art

Table 12: Typical Class Schedule for Junior at Divinity High School

Semester 1	Semester 2
English IIIA	English IIIB
US History A	US History B
Christian Justice	Sacraments
Algebra IIA	Algebra IIB
Chemistry A	Chemistry B
Spanish IIA Non native speaker	Span IIB Non native Speaker
Fitness/Sports/Conditioning	Fitness/Sports/Conditioning

Generally, students at Divinity experienced a college preparatory curriculum that was aimed at moving them towards a 4 year college or university. Class sizes ranged from 25 to 35 and the teacher to student ratio was 16 to 1, which, similar to St. Peter, facilitated students and teacher relationships.

As with most large high schools, Divinity offered two types of classes: the honors/AP classes and regular education courses for students in 9th to 12th grade. Observations of English classrooms revealed that there was an unequal rigor in these two types of classes. Interviews with teachers also demonstrated that they felt there were two kinds of students- the high achievers who were college bound and those who weren't. I contend that despite Divinity's characterization of providing a universal college preparatory curriculum, an elite group of students who enrolled in the Honors classes benefitted from rigorous instruction and an inherent support system from faculty that expected more from these students.

Weekly observations in English classes for 11th graders revealed a clear difference in rigor between regular and AP English classes. These differences ranged in teaching pedagogy, student behavior and engagement as well as the way a teacher perceived the types of students in these two distinct classes. Visits to English III classrooms illuminated teachers' reliance on direct instruction and a lack of group work. Teacher led literature discussions engaged a limited

number of students and provided students little opportunity to engage meaningfully with the literature. In some cases, students were seen with their heads on the desk without receiving any reprisal from the teacher. Vocabulary instruction in English III classes consisted of teachers identifying words for students and reviewing their meaning. In contrast, visits to the AP English class revealed a student centered approach to instruction that required students to be prepared for class, teach the class and engage in the literature. The following is an excerpt from a field note from an AP English class.

Three Latino students are presenting the poem, "The Tide Rises" by Henry Longfellow. One student is reading from a powerpoint quietly, while a couple of other students in the class ask the group for a handout. The other group members announce that the handouts are coming and Mr. Encino is outside the room making copies. The class asks the students to speak louder. The group finishes reading their interpretation of the poem and click to a picture of a sun setting or rising.   Their teacher interjects and asks the students to explain the meaning of "ethos" and students respond. The group asks students to relate the picture to the word ethos and student share it makes them feel tranquil. The group continues to ask students to explain terms from the poem and relate them to images on the powerpoint such as pathos, curlew, hasten, efface and hostler.   (Field note, 02/04/11)

These differences were not only observed by me, but they were part of the teacher discourse around the kinds of students and classes they taught. For instance, when I asked one English teacher if classes were *tracked* she explained, "She says that they don't like to use that word, but that it happens over time as the students who need honors and AP will be segmented into the same classes." While tracking might be helpful for the few students enrolled in the honors classes, research indicates it has adverse effects on the rest of the student body (Oakes, 1985a; Oakes & Saunders, 2008). Similarly, the students in Mr. Encino's class benefitted from rigorous instruction and high expectations. Indicative of this, I observed Mr. Encino repeatedly calling parents when his AP students did not turn in their work and made students come in on the

weekends for enrichment and AP test preparation, but I never saw teachers holding their "regular" students to these academic standards.

In contrast, students in regular classes had a difficult time accessing rigorous instruction because teachers' low expectations of students affected their pedagogy and practice. For example, the following excerpt from a field note captures how Ms. Grange described one of her "regular" classes as they were about to head in after the break.

She welcomed me to observe the class but tells me immediately that this is an "unruly" class and that this class will be loud. She describes to me how *this* class is seriously a talking class and that they can get very loud. She tells me that there are four students who "live to get on my nerves" and that she has resorted to send them out "to the plant worker because that means less paperwork for me." She offers that they "work miracles here" because they get students two years below grade level in reading and "these are the students who don't have reading role models at home or people who have gone to college" but we get them into a Cal State [University]. For the kids who want to do something, they make it happen. We get kids into Yale and Stanford, but those are the exception."   (Field note, 12/1/10)

Various teachers also acknowledged that students were separated into different types of classes and that students performed according to the typical characteristics associated with the "regular" or "AP/Honors" class distinction. However, my observations of teacher and student interactions at Divinity showed that teachers' beliefs about students' abilities influenced their expectations (or lack thereof) of students and their families ["these are the students who don't have reading role models at home or people who have gone to college"]. In Ms. Grange's case, she regularly allowed certain students to disengage from her class (as demonstrated by students putting their heads on the desk for the whole period) because they were either about to fail or already failing class. When I asked her about these students, she believed that these students did not care and as a result they were not going to put forth any effort. Interviews with students and teachers echoed that a number of students certainly failed their classes, and there was little

teachers could do about it. Unfortunately, the presence of students who had decided to mentally check out of class, negatively affected the norms of the classroom. As a student in both AP and regular classes, Lewis's reflections about his classes and teachers helped me understand the kind of expectations students in regular or "normal" classes were exposed to. He related,

> Sometimes they put too much emphasis on the lower half. And also classes are too slow sometimes. They take too much emphasis to correct people. Not in an academic way but in a, more in a behavioral way….In *normal* classes, it's more of an emphasis on discipline because there are discipline issues in the class.
>
> (Lewis, 11th grade student)

Lewis argued that the school should focus more on the students who were doing well such as offering more AP classes and classes should challenge students more. He shared with me that he often felt that some (one-third) of his teachers did not take his questions seriously and backed away from his intellectual curiosity. Interestingly, Lewis seemed acutely aware and appreciative of student-centered inquiry approaches to teaching and wanted his teachers to do this in all of his classes, even the "normal" classes. In his opinion, the students would eventually rise to the occasion if the teachers engaged them in more intellectual debates and rigorous work.

Review of students' records at the 11th grade level demonstrated that students who had access to rigorous and student centered instruction were limited. For example, only 36 students (23 percent) were enrolled in the AP English course at the junior grade level. Upon closer analysis of these students' grades, the AP students earned no less than a B on their 1st semester transcripts which was not surprising given that these students were regarded as successful and smart students by their teachers and were privy to student centered instruction. In contrast, a review of all 11th grade students' grades demonstrates that a quarter of students received a grade of D+ or below, all of whom coincidentally were enrolled in English III. Considering there were

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only 122 students in regular English III, then the percentage of students receiving poor grades (D+ or below) rose to 32 percent.

Even though Divinity promised students and their families that all students would receive access to a quality college preparatory curriculum, in practice, students in regular coursework experienced a dearth of student-centered instruction and teacher's high expectations, while the students in AP benefitted from teacher high expectations and quality instruction. Students in regular classes often complained to me that teachers focused too much on disciplining the few students who were disengaged and not enough on lesson activities for the students who were already committed to doing the work. In fact, I observed that these students were often so quiet in class and it could be easy for teachers to lose sight of them and their interest in the material.

Even though students in the honors and AP classes benefitted from high teacher expectations and constructivist instruction, extra resources were allocated towards those students who were struggling and earning a low GPA. A morning tutoring program before school aimed to support the school's most vulnerable students- those with a 2.0 GPA or below. Peer tutors provided the support to their fellow classmates to ensure that they improved their grades and to "give them a push on the back that they need in order for them to get on track, in order to get into college" described student, Lewis, an 11th grader. However the kind of resources that were aimed at these students came in the form of remediation and a focus on discipline. The tutoring program was a clear asset to the school as it not only assisted the lowest performing students academically but it also had social outcomes. Peer tutors certainly enriched the experiences of students and fortified the bonds between "brothers." Still, the tutoring program could not take the place of student-centered instruction and high teacher expectations that was often reserved for the honors and AP students.

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Generally, Divinity High School provided a series of resources to their students and families in the area of college guidance. In particular, the school provided students with academic counseling, college oriented assemblies, a college guidance office, workshops and tutorials for the SAT/ACT. The collection of resources is meant to support all students towards their college endeavors, but as in most schools, the distribution and activation of these resources varied across student groups.

At Divinity High School, all students had a different counselor for each grade level. As noted earlier, these grade level counselors also served as teachers. Each counselor received two periods to "counsel" students, but was still responsible for teaching classes. In general, the counselors sought to counsel students who were struggling (academically or socially). Mr. Encino shared that his colleagues knew to inform him if they saw a student struggling and particularly if they were in the 9th or 10th grade. Those students would be then recommended to the peer tutoring program. The teacher/counselor role also allowed students to develop *multistranded* relationships with their teacher/counselor that could facilitate interactions with the counselor during a non scheduled counselor meeting (Stanton-Salazar 2001). Indicative of this, one student shared with me how he was able to ask his freshman year counselor some questions related to academics and life trajectories during a non scheduled meeting. He shared,

Researcher: And what do you talk to him [counselor] about?

Miguel: With him? I haven't really talked to him, I just asked him questions about, like what's a good, great GPA for the, for like where I wanna go, or where I'd be, try to end in life.

Researcher: Did you make a meeting with him or did he make a meeting with you?

Miguel: I really just saw him in my class after school and went to go talk to him. It really wasn't my idea, I just saw him.

In this case, Miguel was able to seek advice from his freshman counselor mainly because the counselor was also his teacher. He highlights how this wasn't really *his* idea, but rather it just happened because he was there afterschool. Miguel also serves as an important example of a student who was ready and willing to seek assistance and/or guidance from his teacher/counselor, rather than wait for his counselor to make an appointment with him. Students are more likely to enact help-seeking with adults on campus when they have already developed a positive relationship with the adult (Stanton-Salazar, 2011).

While Miguel was comfortable with the act of *help-seeking*, research demonstrates that there are various institutional limitations and prejudice that can prompt students to limit their help seeking towards *institutional agents.* Indicative of this, interview data yielded a very different picture of counseling for other students. Only two of the eight 9th grade students I interviewed had actually met and sought advice from their counselor. In both cases, the students were able to speak about academics and their post secondary plans. However, the other students I interviewed either did not know who the 9th grade counselor was or only knew them by name but had not actually checked in with them. Darnell, a 9th grader, rationalized that he did not need to meet with his counselor because he was doing well in school. He explained, "Usually, the counselors are for people with bad grades and so, they try to help them figure out ways to get their grades up. Since I have decent grades, I don't need to seek counseling." Even though Divinity aimed to lessen the tension between counselor and students by utilizing a teacher as a grade level counselor, there were many limitations to this type of set up. The teacher who also wore the "hat" of 9th grade counselor was limited in his time and resources, given there was only one of him and 158 students and he also was responsible for teaching four classes. Furthermore, this sort of *multistranded* relationship relied on students initiating the help-seeking if they were

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students who were performing well. In effect, students came to understand that meeting with your teacher was in fact a negative experience arranged for only those students who were struggling thereby limiting the chance of students initiating *help-seeking (Stanton-Salazar 2011)*.

Generally, the students at Divinity experienced limited opportunities to seek advice or assistance from counselors. Survey data indicated that half of students at Divinity High School had sought advice from counselors. In interviews, students in the 11th grade seemed to know who their counselor was but still reported not having met with them one on one or having elicited advice from them. I interrogated students about why they had not actively sought to speak to their counselor and determined that students either viewed the counseling system as confusing or not helpful. Lewis indicated that he still felt counselors only focused on students who were performing inadequately (as they did in 9th grade) but also felt he needed help with college planning. He shared

> Freshman year I met with my counselor once and that's how I remember it. Cause I don't know, I really don't know, I've been here 2 years and I really don't know the system of Counseling. I think it's more for, like I said, people who are like border line and down, who are 2.5 and below. Like they get a yellow slip. I'd like to know what college is like. I'm interested. I need to know like background information 'cause I can't do it all myself.   (Lewis, 11th grade)

Like many other first generation college-going students, Lewis wanted to go to college but lacked the information to fully understand what that application process looked like or what college planning looked like before senior year. Similarly, Antonio, an 11th grade transfer student was also concerned with the counseling system at Divinity. He thoughtfully compared the counselor set up at his previous high school with Divinity's.

> At my old school, it was like – there were four counselors for each grade level and they were strictly counselors. They weren't like, teacher as well. Here, that's the way it is. They don't really like call you in to see how you're doing and

stuff like that because they're too busy dealing with their classes.

(Antonio, 11th grade)

To clarify, Antonio attended school in other state and it was ranked as one of the best public schools in the country, which is not typical of most public schools in the nation. According to the California Department of Education, the ratio of college counselor to students in most California public schools is 945 to 1 and nationally, it's 445 to 1. Still, Antonio, whose parents had also not gone to college, suggested the school hire full time counselors to support the students in their college aspirations. As a scholar-athlete and star of the football team, he was eager to hear about what kinds of colleges he should apply to. He, like many other students, did not fault the teacher/counselor, but understood that they were very busy and if they were going to deal with students- it was the struggling students. Individual attention for collegiate planning was just not an option for these students, who very much desired it.

Interviews with students also revealed that even though students may have met with counselors, the quality of this meeting was often not as fruitful as students may have wanted. Andy, an 11th grader, described how he received information in a group setting to discuss class schedules. He explained,

The other thing is that there are registrations like classes yesterday. They don't really give you a choice so [the counselor] said, "You're going to take Religion, you're going to take English." Those are all fine but what I did not like it when he said, "Your first elective has to be Math." They made us choose Statistics.

(Andy, 11th grader)

Andy later explained to me that he had already taken four years of math by the time he was a junior and did not want to take another math class but he felt like he could not talk to anyone about it. His counselor just told the entire class to pick the same classes. Andy admitted to me that he knew he had to meet with his counselor about college especially because his father asked

him to do so. When I asked Andy when he met with the counselor for this kind of advice, he

explained,

> Only when [the counselor] talks to us in class or like when they had us in a meeting at the gym which was supposed to be for our teachers' classes. That's about it. Other than that, like one-on-one time? …My dad always tells me, "Talk to your counselor." … It will benefit you to learn what scholarship opportunities they have because my dad always tells me that, "We're not going to be able to pay for your college." That's another reason why he wants me to have good grades. (Andy, 11th grader)

Even though students had equal access to counselors on campus, there are still issues with the

counseling model they have employed. Andy served an example of a student performing well

(3.64 GPA) that knew he had to meet with his counselor, but didn't know when or where to

actively seek their assistance. Like the majority of students at Divinity, Andy's parents had not

gone to college and he could have benefitted from a more structured college counseling approach

that emphasized more than just coursework. While the *multistranded* approach could be useful

for forging relationship, the using of teachers as counselors seems to have weakened the

emphasis on individual college guidance for students not in the 12th grade. As noted, the various

elements about applying to college such as financial aid were simply not explicit talking points

when students met with counselors. Students in 11th grade in particular, shared that their

meetings with counselors were primarily focused on course schedule planning and not college.

Divinity High School also provided information to parents about the college preparation

process in the form of yearly grade level meeting/workshops where parents (sometimes

accompanied with students). I attended the parent workshop for English speaking parents of

11th graders, given that they also held a meeting for Spanish speaking parents at the exact same

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time. The meeting provided parents with a cursory view of the resources the school would

provide students as well as the various kinds of college requirements that exist.

The man passing out transcripts stands in front of the room and introduces himself as
Derek Bryan, Academic Advisor. He continues with a prayer that asks God to help the
parents and everyone else make the best decision for college preparation for their sons.
The crowd in chorus replies, "Pray for Us." He explains what is in the packet for the
parents. He tells them that there being there is important now because if they start in
the summer between junior and senior year- this would be too late. He stressed the
importance of Junior year grades.   (Field note, 11/04/2010)

The college guidance workshop served to orient the parents with the steps towards applying to a

four year college which comprised of admissions tests, application process, choosing

colleges/universities, searching for college funds and preparation for senior year. The academic

advisor spoke about the many options the students have when they apply to college and in

particular emphasized the types of requirements specific schools such as the University of

California or Cal State University systems required versus those of the NCAA. While not all

parents attended the meeting, there were at least 50 families that attended the workshop early in

the school year.

A Comparison of College -Going Cultures at St. Peter and Divinity HS

Given the level of resources placed into developing a college going culture at St. Peter

and the egalitarian structure of the college preparatory program at Divinity, I expected a majority

of students at both schools to have college aspirations. A comparison of students' aspirations at

Divinity High School and St. Peter High School revealed that students at both schools certainly

maintained college going goals (Table 13). Overwhelming majorities at both schools (97

percent) indicated that they planned to go to college. Accordingly, students interviewed shared

not only their desire to go to college, but many already knew what colleges they wanted to go to.

Of all the students interviewed, only one student from each campus expressed not being sure about college, but still included it as a viable option. With respect to college going goals, a small difference between students at Divinity and St. Peter focused on students' beliefs about their peers (not close friends). 89 percent of students at Divinity viewed their peers as college going, while only 82 percent of St. Peter students believed this of their peers.

Table 13- Divinity and St. Peter Survey Questions- Student College Goals (Percent Agree)

Question	Divinity N= 313	St. Peter N= 118
I plan to go to college.	97	97
My close friends plan to go to college.	98	97
I think most of my classmates will go to college.	89	82

I asked students from both schools during interviews about their postsecondary plans as well as those of their peers. Students responded that all of their peers say they want to go to college, but clarified that there were students who were very unhappy at school, failing on purpose and most likely would not go to college. In general, the post secondary goals of students at both campuses did not appear to be affected by the segregation of students. However, students at St. Peter consistently shared that they had more friends in public schools who did not share their college going goals. They also were acutely aware that they experienced a *college-going discourse*, whereas their peers from public school had not even met their counselors or taken the same types of course they were. I asked Ivan to explain if his friends in public school shared his college going goals and he responded,

> No because it's different, they go to public school. That's about it, it's really
> different. The whole campus life is different. You have more freedom in public
> school than private school. Especially if you don't want to do this, you don't want

> to do that. I have a lot of friends that are like, in Spanish they call it [unintelligible] and they would not want to go college.   (Ivan, 9ᵗʰ grader St. Peter HS)

While the literature indicates that segregating students can negatively impact the school experience for underrepresented minority youth, the experience of Latino and African American youth in these urban Catholic schools suggested that college going aspirations are not affected. Students at both Divinity and St. Peter shared a desire to go to college, and students at St. Peter were exposed to a *college-going discourse*. St. Peter students also shared how they informally supported each other to persist in school and move on to college. I asked a St. Peter student if his peers at St. Peter wanted to go to college and he responded,

> That's my assumption. Things may change from now until graduation. My friends would mention like, "I'm going to college" and I encourage them to do the same thing. I don't wanna leave and then come back here still in the same situation. That's not, that's not the reason why I stay in high school. That's not me living a happy life. I see someone struggling, it's like, "come on, you gotta pick it up." If you need help and stuff and so we help.   (Michael, 11ᵗʰ grader St. Peter HS)

Michael offered a realistic assessment of his peers where he noted that they certainly want to go to college, but that this goal can get sidetracked in high school. What is most notable about Michael's comments however, is his support of his peers' post secondary educational goals. I heard from multiple students that they assumed that the overwhelming majority of students would go to college and that they worked to support each other in this endeavor.   As noted earlier, the bonds between students at both Catholic schools were very strong and seemed to develop a form of peer social capital (Stanton-Salazar, 2004). In this manner, the students held their peers to pro academic norms to reinforce their college going aspirations.

As a result of the college going preparatory programs at both schools, the majority of students from Divinity and St. Peter were accepted into four year colleges and universities. In

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particular, close to 80 percent of Divinity students would continue to four year universities, while 70 percent of St. Peter students went on to four year colleges. All students reported to the school that they would continue their postsecondary education, but college counselors cautioned that this was not always the case and the school needed to keep better track of students once they left high school. Nevertheless, 80 and 70 percent of college acceptance rates is a laudable achievement for two schools dedicated to serving underrepresented minority youth.

Campus Ministry Programs

Campus Ministry at St. Peter High School

The religion department at St. Peter was often regarded as the most cohesive because the Director of Campus Ministry as well as the religion teachers met regularly to discuss their coursework and students, as well as to plan liturgies and club activities. Campus Ministry coordinated a great deal of programs such as religion curriculum; retreats; Christian service hours and other opportunities to serve; a club and a series of liturgies on campus. They often met during their prep periods and were able to align their instruction with each other. Their faculty also had the most planning periods. The department also benefitted from extra volunteers (either religious priests in training or the Jesuit Volunteer Corps). Together the religious department worked to offer the students multiple opportunities for students to explore their spirituality and learn about Catholicism.

As mentioned earlier, the Campus Ministry program at St. Peter High School was guided by the mantra, "*cura personalis*." In this manner, the Catholic ministry department worked diligently to provide a cohesive religious program that emphasized a holistic approach to

education where the social needs of students were met as well as their academic. Ms. Lee, a religion teacher explained why the St. Peter students needed this kind of education. She offered,

> Like they're not going to pay attention to my class if they just watched somebody get shot right in front of them whether it was a year ago and they haven't talked about it. Or if their brother is smoking crack every night when they go because they don't know how deal with things. Or it's something more immediate like they don't have food on the table. There are things that these students are dealing with and need to be addressed. So, I think it does beg for like a holistic approach.
>
> (Ms. Lee, religion teacher)

For the staff at St. Peter, the religion classes and program offered the school a forum in which to address the personal lives of students. The department developed activities that would provide "opportunities for personal and spiritual growth and development (school website)." In this manner, the religion program was supposed to help students deal with any issues that arise in their life. Dr. Jones explained,

Dr. Jones: It's, you know, being able to help students grow spiritually and form a relationship with God and to instill in them that they are loved and that they are special and unique. Those things can only have…positive effects on all aspects, like including academics. You know, motivation is certainly a big issue with our students and I think that the, those things, those lessons can help in the motivation piece, you know, the academic association of schools and colleges, their, their key focus now is removing barriers and I think that part of the religious education and spiritual dimension of the school helps remove some barriers from learning for our students.

Researcher: What kind of barriers?

Dr. Jones: A negative self image, perhaps. Believing that they're less than and therefore not worth it. Dealing with a difficult family situation, knowing that you can rely on God that you're not alone in it, that God is there, those types of things.

In my interviews with staff, each explained the fundamental role of the religion program. The campus ministry department provided a combination of activities that focused on students' individual growth, establishing bonds between students and providing students the opportunity to

help others (but not necessarily their fellow students). With respect to these two goals, my findings suggest that the school was able to establish bonds between students, but struggled to help students (that were not already religious) deepen their spirituality.

For example, religion teachers started their classes with a prayer. During these prayers, the religion teacher often led the prayer or provided students with a prayer book so they could select a prayer. For example, the following was an excerpt from a typical beginning of class.

Ms. Lee tells the student to settle and quiet down. She starts, "Both feet flat on the ground." She has a student start the prayer. He is tall and stands in the middle of the room and reads, "Take a moment to be aware of God's presence. What are you most thankful for this past day?" Music is playing the students are mostly with their heads down. As the minutes pass, the students move less, close their eyes, only one student moves his head, another his right foot, another his hands. "How do you want to live your life tomorrow so you can full participate in God's presence?"   (Field note12/02/10)

The class prayer, which simulated a reflection, was common at the beginning of not only religion classes, but other classes too. Observation data revealed that students often took a moment to settle down, but engaged in the practice of prayer or reflection. During interviews, students did not opine about the reflections, but indicated that it was something they did with regularity so they just did it. As noted earlier, these prayers often allowed students to pray for each others, but students did not admit to reflecting during these times.

Students at St. Peter also took classes focused on Bible Studies, Catholicism, Social Justice and World Religions. In these classes students learned about Catholic scripture, history and engaged in a conversation about what it all meant. Eric, a 9th grader explained how the religion class helped him understand the bible and his religion.

> They're explaining it more thoroughly, so they're going like deeper, they have a deeper meaning of the stories. So…for the Moses story, it was like, "oh God sent Moses to the Israelites" and right now, it's "oh God sent Moses to free the slave because, you know, there's this and that". We get to have discussions. We used

> to have debates, we haven't had one recently but we had a debate about God and how he was, how he was divine and human. And so, we had the class separated into, we had a group of divine and a group of human. And we just kinda debated and we used to buy or see, why was he human, why was he divine. (Eric, 9th grader)

For Eric, the religion class offered him a space to better understand Catholicism. He enjoyed the debates and critical discussions the teacher facilitated because it forced them to think about Catholicism in an academic manner. The 9th and 11th grade classes at St. Peter encouraged students to think critically about religious history, but students indicated (and demonstrated) often that if they were not Catholic, they did not really engage or take the class seriously (as noted by the multiple times students did not speak in class or were off task). Ms. Lee admitted the religion department needed to work in this area of making religion relevant to students' lives. She offered,

> I think our challenge here is to get them to appreciate the academic part of being here and being college prep and all of that and then trying to get them to see that they are on … a faith journey and we want to support them in that, in terms of integrating the two. I think that would be the next step…I would love to have the opportunity to engage those two more but I feel like we're still just trying to like get them … to have some sure footing in either or both and then we can talk about them together. You have glimpses of that I think in my Theology classes but in terms of like a systematic integration of those things, no; not yet. Not yet. Yet, I think is the key word.

 Ms. Lee was candid about her department needing to provide students with an opportunity to develop their faith and make it a meaningful part of their life. As a product of Catholic schools, she felt that this was an important task that the department would work towards.

Interview data with students revealed that students generally did not see the value in their religion class, which was evidenced by their answer of "nothing" when I asked what they learned in religion class. Over 75 percent of St. Peter students had gone to Catholic elementary school,

and those that I interviewed felt like they had already learned about religion in their prior religion classes. And for the students who were not Catholic, particularly the African American students who identified ad non-Catholic, they expressed that religion class was a waste of time. I asked students if they had insights as to the differences between religion courses, thinking perhaps it was a content issue. Eric, one of the few students who spoke with great detail about religious coursework offered,

> Freshman year, we learned more about the Bible itself and what it was and basic religious history that we should know. Then sophomore year, it got really intense. We started like– Mr. Cancino is an incredible teacher. We questioned the Bible every day, he would ask us questions. I'm not really sure, but it was an incredible experience because he's young and he's really dedicated to the church right now and everything, but he used to have girlfriends, he used to be heartbroken, he was a cross country runner. So he can all relate to it and he gave us – you could ask kids in my class, and I can see he was really good at it, like he'd make us write essays that would ask questions about life. … This year, it calmed down a little bit. It's like now we're learning about how a person should treat another person and how our whole society should act to portray the image of God and all of that.   (Eric, 11th grader)

For Eric, the religion class that stood out the most for him was the class in which the instructor applied the religion to his own personal experiences and modeled how faith entered his life. In this manner, students were able to benefit from these discussions that were relevant to their own faith journey. Eric's point is supported by the literature on Sociocultural learning theories and culturally relevant pedagogy that indicates students learn better when their prior knowledge and cultural experiences are effectively integrated into classroom (Dallavis, 2008; Howard, 2010).

In fact, students had a difficult time articulating to me how their religion teachers made religion relevant to their lives. There were some teachers who tried to integrate the lived experiences of students into class, such as Mr. Villalobos. He explained how he taught theology:

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"How can you see the life through the lenses of your faith? This is my faith. This is for the most part how people, you know, how Christians see their faith. How do you see your life?" While I did witness some student discussions about religious doctrine and their own lives, these opportunities were not the norm. My observations in religion classes also revealed an absence of opportunity for students to share and explore their experience with faith in the 9th and 11th grade religion courses, which was linked to student disengagement. When I asked campus ministry staff about this, I was told that the department tried not to ask students to do this too much because students often highlighted tragic issues in their communities and at home. This suspicion was true as evidenced by the junior retreat that year (which I explain next), but also pointed to the need for a forum in which students could explore how faith can help them navigate their own lives and communities facilitated by an adult with strong facilitation skills.

The campus ministry program also organized spiritual retreats, assemblies and liturgies for students. Students were required to attend yearly spiritual retreats as well as attend every service or religious activity. Interviews with students and staff illuminate the importance of the religious retreats for the students. In particular, the retreats offered students a space in which they could forge bonds with their peers. For example,

> "It was a good experience. I mean, we had it here. And so everyone came in the morning, and then they gave us name tags with Pokemon figures on them, and we're like "What's this all about?" And then we found out that according to your sticker, that's the room that you would stay in. And so we played a lot of games. And so that helped us interact more with each other. We had discussions, reflections, and we were divided into groups according to our Pokemon, and we would go and do group projects. We actually did a play, or like, a little skit about a – about how people are fighting or there's a conflict and how to resolve it to show brotherhood. And so that was really good. And then we spent the night here. We watched a movie and then we spent the night here. We slept in classrooms and everyone was like, bonding, having fun. It was like a little sleepover. And then in the morning we had a mass or prayer service and that was really good. It was just a wonderful experience, yeah. (Carlos 9th grader).

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Carlos clearly related the power of the retreats to establish peer bonds and create a sense of brotherhood among students. For the 9th graders, it made sense that their retreat focuses on "brotherhood" and creating a forum in which students could find commonalities amongst each other. The students benefitted from being in a non-academic space where they could learn about their peers and hopefully develop friendships. Furthermore, the retreats allowed students who already had bonded a space to share their worries, frustrations and experiences. The school also relied on the JEDIS (Jesuit Educated Disciples in Service), students who had been selected by faculty to help plan and lead retreats. At the retreats, the students are called to share their life's journey and struggles with other students. In doing so, they create a space where students can candidly speak about their own experiences and provide a sense of emotional support for their peers. Ms. Lee explained how the religion teachers were not ready for the kinds of topics they heard at the 11th grade retreat this past year. She explained,

> I think a good example was …the junior retreat….We had an activity where all the class…had a talking piece. Like you go around and you share like what's in your heart, what's on your mind and all of this. I mean it was like verbal diarrhea, for lack of a better way to put it. These boys; we have at least five who talked about, thinking about or tried to commit suicide. …Kids opened themselves about their parents who were heroin addicts and kids talk about being sexually abused when they were kids. It was like the floodgates. So, we heard that and those of us who are on the retreat were seriously disturbed- like the adults. We could not leave this like an open wound and we needed to do something and we needed to respond to them. So, we had a meeting and we all talked about it and we decided that we'd like have a part two of the retreat here on campus one afternoon. And that was really healthy; that kind of ended it on a positive note. But we all divvied up the students and we said like, "Hey, I'm close to this student" and we identified a long list of students that we are concerned about and we want to follow up with them. We went like one by one; have one at lunch for all the students and referred some of them for counseling. We figured out that

some of them were just like in the moment. They felt really moved to share but they're really okay. (Ms. Lee, religion teacher)

Interestingly, Ms. Lee later highlighted how well the religion department mobilized to check in with students after the retreat, but did not elaborate on why the students chose to speak so candidly at the retreat. As mentioned earlier, religion class might have served as a space for students to explore their faith in these moments of crisis. Nevertheless, the retreat offered students a place to share their feelings and experiences, albeit sometimes tragic. However, the St. Peter staff quickly used their relationships with students to check in with each of them, to ensure that all students received the help they needed. In effect, the retreats allowed students to admit if they had serious issues, and the staff in turn offered support and other resources for those students and families who needed it. In this manner, the staff served as institutional agents and developed social capital for the students.

In addition to the activities and classes that facilitated students' individual reflection, the Campus Ministry Program also coordinated activities that required students to help others. For example, every semester, students were expected to engage in 40 hours of community service which made up 10 percent of their religion grade. To ensure that all students participated and completed their hours, the Christian Service Director monitored the community service students needed to complete. Students engaged in a variety of service projects such as the school sponsored service field trips to the Union Rescue Mission and the St. Francis Center located in Downtown or with Urban Compass, the afterschool tutoring program that provided tutoring for the elementary school students next door to St. Peter. In this manner, St. Peter provided students multiple opportunities to engage in volunteer activities and service, which is a form of cultural

capital often associated with middle class white communities (DiMaggio, 1982; Putnam, 2000; Strayhorn, 2010).

Given the school's mission- "a man for others," it emphasized the importance of the service and teachers asked students to engage in a discussion about what they learned from the experience. I observed students during their reflections about the Christian service hours they performed. The students shared how they tutored, volunteered at their local church, Sunday school, immersion trips to the border and Washington, DC that were coordinated by the school. Students often pointed to how impressed they were with adults they met during their volunteering, whom demonstrated commitment though their service in churches and agencies. However there was little mention of how they benefited from the experience or if they became aware of issues of injustice that plagued their communities, with the exception of the students who were already committed to working on service on their own.

Students who were part of other service organizations and the club- Verb in Action raised awareness of injustice through monthly liturgies and assemblies. I attended four liturgies throughout the year at St. Peter and found that each one tried to raise awareness to the school community about an injustice in the world. Similar to Divinity, St. Peter also invited Fr. Mike to speak to the school about the over representation of young men of color in prison and specifically the injustice of sentences of life without parole for children. The school also heard from a young man named Johnny who had been recently released from a juvenile detention center. Given the somber topic, the students were so quiet one could hear a pin drop in the auditorium. Later, in an English classroom I overheard a student say, "Man I almost cried, and that's the first time since like 11 years". Even though it appeared that many students were moved by these liturgies, there was an absence of a formal discussion with students after the

liturgy. As an extension of campus ministry, the 10 to 15 students who participated in the club, Verb in Action, focused on raising awareness of social justice issues. In this manner, the club members engaged in discussions with campus ministry teachers and directors to develop creative ways in which to raise awareness for issues such as homelessness, immigration and the school to prison pipeline. Evan, a member of the club explained the purpose of the club,

> Our main thing is informing the school of world issues. In the past, we've done human trafficking. We worked with the blood drive, recruiting volunteers to donate blood and we take some time to get those students and take them over to wherever they're going to get their blood taken, which is usually a truck in the parking lot. We do fundraisers for diseases like the Leukemia and Pennies for Peace. Taking on the idea for men for others that this school has brought into our minds.   (Evan, 11th grader)

For the students in the club, their main goal was demonstrate how to be a man for others through their activities. In this manner, they raised awareness and incited reflection amongst the students. For example, the students built a life size jail cell and placed it on campus so students could enter and reflect on the gifts in their own life. Even though the liturgies and the club Verb in Action exposed the students to injustices, there was a lack of critical engagement with all students about these issues or an effort as a school to engage students in a discussion about injustices.

The religious activities on campus allowed both staff and students to serve as agents of awareness for issues of injustice. Staff primarily served as institutional agents that helped students when they had emotional and spiritual needs and coordinated activities for students to access dominant forms of capital. Students served as emotional forms of support for each other and worked together to establish a strong peer network.

Catholic Ministry at Divinity High School

As a Catholic high school, Divinity High School's Catholic Ministry provided students with a religion program that students experienced in and out of the classroom. While religious classes and activities did not seem to be related to the academic and college preparatory goals of the school, they certainly defined the school's objectives in relation to students' social development. An investigation of the school's religious program demonstrated how the school placed integral resources in these non academic structures. More importantly, an analysis of their religious programs also revealed which students access these resources and which students experience difficulty fully benefitting from these resources.

Students were required to take religion courses all four years at Divinity High School. The classes were taught by a mix of the La Sallian Brothers and lay people. Given that the Brothers were obligated to serve the school through teaching, the school benefitted from the Brothers' service to the school that did not require the school to financially compensate them as much as they would a lay teacher. Furthermore, the presence of having the Brothers on campus allowed the students to have extra adults on campus that modeled a spiritual and service-oriented lifestyle. Ms. Lopez, a lay teacher, related the Brothers' influence:

> And I think also what's good is having the Christian brothers. I think, you know, we're one of the schools that has more brothers on campus and I think having them as a role model and having them, having, you know, their presence here is very…it makes it good. I think we are very fortunate. The kids are kind of awe struck by them at the beginning, then they realize, they're like normal. And they're like, kinda cool. And I think that there's a, there's always the level of just having a male model is always important. (Ms. Lopez, teacher)

In many ways, I observed what Ms. Lopez opined about the Brothers' effect on campus. All 9th grade religion classes were taught by Brothers and the students acted in very obvious respectful ways towards them such as quickly settling down or taking seriously the reflections and prayer

initiated by the Brothers. The Brothers provided examples from their own life and how they have struggled but continuously try to live a moral and just life. Brother Mike for example, often asked students to think about themselves and how God fit into their lives, if at all. Early in the year, I observed him lead a class discussion where students shared examples of when they felt God was present in their lives. Students appeared comfortable sharing their personal beliefs with their peers. For example, students spoke about a variety of moments where they "felt" God such as: during the Entrance Exam to Divinity High school, when they were accepted to DHS, "when a car ran over me," every morning and "when the bullet missed me." During this same group activity, students also reflected on what they think God is represented in and shared how they see God through their various family members and the Brothers- especially Brother Mike. While I expected a bunch of high school boys to laugh at the statements about Brother Mike, instead I was shocked to hear the young men describe how they could see God in the good deeds that Brother Mike does and "cause he's wonderful" (Field Note, Nov. 22, 2010). Students' behavior in and around the Brothers indicated they had a deep level of respect for them and seemed to result in elevating the behavioral norms at the school. During interviews with students, I found that that vast majority of students were Catholic and these students indicated their deep level of respect for the Brothers, but this was not limited to Catholic students alone. All students in the Brother's classrooms acted respectfully and engaged.

Observations of religion classes at the 9th and 11th grade levels also made obvious that these classes provided students multiple opportunities for reflection. Religion courses ranged in topic from traditional religious classes like Hebrew Scriptures and Catholic Christianity to electives classes such as Christina Morality and Christian Justice. In every class I visited, students were asked to critically look at themselves, their peers and families and/or society in

relation to god and the spiritual world. Students in Brother Greg's class seemed a bit scared of

him at first, but after a couple of months, they seemed to ease around him, which led to longer

discussions in class. For example, the following is a description of a typical class activity in

Brother Greg's class.

> Brother Paul asked the class "what does your name mean?" The room is quiet
> and it appears the students have trouble with this question. Br. Paul says that
> when someone calls out your name- what do they think of? What are you like?
> He picks on a student in the front of the room and says, Ryan- what does your
> name mean? Are you playful? Mischievous? Full of energy?
> (Field note, January 13, 2011)

In general, the religion classes asked students to think about who they were in relation to others

and God, but also ignited their intellectual curiosity. Religion classes were more relaxed in

nature and students could often be heard asking questions about tangentially related topics. For

example, after students have discussed their own names, a student asked "why the term *Father* is

a good name for God?" Rather than dismissing the question, Brother Greg explained how the

name "Father" could be used to describe a father who is either a drunk, abusive, lazy or one that

is protective, hard working and provides. He redirected the question back to the students and

asked them to consider how they wanted people to perceive their names. Throughout my visits to

religion classes, I often witnessed students engaged in conversations about spirituality,

philosophy and teachers generally able sustain their interests.

Although religion classes emphasized self reflection and discussions with the teacher and

peers, the students at Divinity still perceived the religion classes as not important. Interviews

with students indicated that students liked the courses but they believed they were learning very

little in these courses. I suspect that this may be in large part due to the fact that 75 percent of

students had attended Catholic elementary school and may have felt like they knew the content

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already. However, I did note that a small number of students wanted to debate the Bible or book, and being ridiculed from other students who wanted them to stop with the intellectual banter. For example, in Mr. Johnson's religion class I observed a debate between Lewis and Christian as they discussed the meaning of the following passage in the Bible. Lewis was adamant that it did not make sense since it asked people to help themselves first before others. As others joined the discussion against Lewis, another student yelled at him, "Shut up. Go to MIT. You're taking it too literally!" Rather than create tension, students began to laugh and joke that round one of the fight had ended. Noting the unruliness of the class and Lewis's dominant role in the conversation, Mr. Johnson chided "It's ridiculous. I don't want you to analyze this scientifically. (Field note, March 8, 2011)" In Mr. Johnson's 11th grade class, students confided in me that the class was a joke and they had already figured out how to get an A without doing much work. Lewis explicated he felt that his teacher did not want to engage with them intellectually. Ironically, the students were also enrolled in other AP courses and seemed to identify their religion course as their one period "off." While Mr. Johnson would not characterize his class as a joke, he did share with me that he tried to make class work simple for students, but all too often he felt students did not take it seriously. Similarly, religion teachers (not the Brothers) shared how they students did not take the religion course very sincerely and as a result they felt like they should not expect their students to do as much in their courses. Ms. Lopez explained both the possibilities and limitations of her religion courses.

> But, but in religion… I have them do lots of reflections- "apply this to your life". And I'm not that tough on my religion students because it's not easy. It's not a major requirement. But I'm really tough on my Algebra II kids. And they can do a lot of work. But my religion classes aren't that hard, but because of that I get to know them better and I have them do a lot of reflections. And I guess, I like reading what they have to say and learning about them. One kid this morning

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was saying, they have written something about how meals are important in term of families. Talking about thrifty dinners and I always get the big piece of chicken on his birthday... I did kind of make the choice to make the class not all that difficult because they kind of need one class that's not as demanding as their AP classes and their Chemistry classes.   (Ms. Lopez, teacher)

For Ms. Lopez, her religion classes were a place where she could get to know students in a less academic environment. She made a conscious decision to make the assignments relatable to students' lives so that students would easily participate. In her religion class, she was able to hear about their lives, their opinions and slowly develop stronger relationships with her students. Her decision to not make the religion class difficult like her math classes indicates Ms. Lopez's willingness to modify her classes so that she could develop *multistranded* relationships with students. Furthermore, the religion assignments at Divinity High School capitalized on the sociocultural experiences of students which allowed students to share their questions about faith in relation to their lives.

Aside from requiring students to participate in religion classes their four years at Divinity, the school also required students to participate in a variety of activities with an emphasis on religion such as liturgies, assemblies or retreats. Throughout the year, I noted there was a monthly Mass or prayer service complemented by additional occasional assemblies. According to the website:

Leadership requires students to be servants to their 'Phantom Brothers', teachers, staff, and the community. In Campus Ministry, leaders cultivate their God given talents by working in positions such as Peer Ministry, Liturgy, Music, Altar Servers, and Eucharistic Minister.

Generally, liturgies or assemblies took place during the school day, which required religious student leaders to work hard before a liturgy. Coincidentally, I occasionally ran into students who were out of class because they were busy preparing for that day's assembly or Mass. The

Campus Ministry Director and the Assistant Director of Campus Ministry who also served as teachers in the religion department coordinated the school's religious events, but they often worked in tandem with students. During one of my classroom observation visits, Sean, an 11th grader, explained that he was asked to write the prayer recitations for the Mass by the Assistant Director of Campus Ministry, so he would be excused from his next class until he finished. He seemed proud that he was selected to do so, but was also annoyed that he had not been told earlier. Sean did not want to miss class that day, but he did reiterate that it was a very big responsibility to write these recitations. The planning and emphasis for these liturgies/assemblies underscored the commitment the school had for providing its students a religious academic experience.

Additionally, various student groups on campus as well as their advisers were encouraged to organize a prayer liturgies/mass or assembly. For example, I attended a Social Justice Assembly sponsored by the La Sallian Youth Group. When I entered the gymnasium, I could hear a pin drop it was so quiet. The entire school was present in the gymnasium and students were sitting everywhere from the floors to the risers. An 11th grade student, Oscar, was in the front of the podium and was leading the school in a reflection. He read the following questions from the powerpoint:

- How have I experienced brotherhood this year?
- What have I done to create a Brotherhood environment?
- What more can we as a school community do, to create a brotherhood among us?   (Fieldnote, February 9, 2011)

After students were asked to reflect, two students shared their experience when they visited a Juvenile Detention Center. They spoke about the male, mostly Latino and African American youth they met and how these youth were facing life without parole. Later, the students

welcomed Father Mike Kelly and Kevin, a youth that had been recently facing a life without parole sentence. Both discussed the huge injustice of our present juvenile detention system, where young men of color were punished so harshly for making mistakes- the same mistakes that were often forgiven if you were white. There were no words to describe the spirit in the gym that day. Seven hundred students were eerily silent. I could almost feel the collective sense of sorrow surround us as we heard the harsh reality for a child who is sentenced to life without parole. I imagined every person must have felt deep sympathy if not empathy for Kevin and the other "brothers" who were facing similar sentences of life without parole as youth. The liturgy ended with prayers for these young men, and in a moment of true spirit, all of the Divinity students (seniors and juniors) sitting on the floor of the gymnasium extended their arms and held each other's hands as they prayed for a more just world. A world where no child would be sentenced to life without parole.

Although some religious retreats were not mandatory, they were highly encouraged and students were excused from absences if they participated. Student retreats were spaces where young men forged their relationships as "brothers" as they often provided the space for the young men to share intimate details of their all too often difficult lives. A couple of teachers I interviewed admitted that they felt the school allowed too many assemblies and liturgies that took away from student class time. Together the planning of these liturgies, assemblies and retreats allowed students to work alongside teachers and other peers and develop their leadership and organization skills.

In contrast to the level of commitment it took on the part of some students and staff to organize these assemblies and liturgies, they required very little from the rest of the students- except that they sit quietly and listen. I visited a number of liturgies and assemblies, both that

took place in the school day and in the evening. Families were often invited to celebrate with the students at these evening liturgies. I witnessed many parents and extended family attending these liturgies and evening ceremonies, which created a sense of community amongst students and their families. Rites of passage, such as a Junior Ring Ceremony, merged the traditional practice of 11th graders receiving their high school class ring with a prayer service. At this service in particular, multi generations of families accompanied students and filled up the gymnasium. Like most special occasions, parents were eager to take pictures and students beamed with pride as they received their rings. These kinds of liturgies served to lessen the space between school and parents or the *intergenerational closure* (Coleman & Hoffer, 1987). Indicative of this, every student I interviewed said that their parents loved the school. When I asked why and how did they knew this, various students explained that their parents had been invited to campus for multiple events/assemblies and on these occasions parents felt like they were treated with respect. Some offered examples of the social events their parents attended with other parents. Unlike the experience of most minority and immigrant parents in public schools who experience low levels of intergenerational closure , the parents of Divinity High School were treated with respect (even if teachers held deficit views as noted earlier).

In addition, the religion program at Divinity High School also included the La Sallian Youth Group (LSYG). The club provided students the opportunity to participate in service projects, activities and advocacy in the name of social justice. The LSYG also gave students the time to get to know the few teachers who often volunteered to take students on service trips, as well as work alongside like minded peers committed to improving the world. Brother Mike, the adviser of the LSYG explained that he had worked hard to expand the kinds of activities the LSYG offered and felt like the club was critical at the Catholic school. As a young Mexican-

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American male, who had also attended Divinity as a youth, Brother Mike easily took on the role of spiritual older brother for many of the students in the club. Every Tuesday he and Ms. Meza organized a sandwich making operation where as many as 30 students worked on an assembly line to make hundreds of lunches for Midnight Mission. He also worked with Ms. Lopez to take students to the Women's Shelter and coordinated a student delegation trip to World Youth Day in Spain, a religious youth international conference. He not only taught about social justice, but the club became a mechanism for students acquisition of *cultural capital* in the form of cultural activities often associated with the dominant class such as volunteerism, international trips and *non-dominant* forms such as advocacy against elements of US political and legal structures and resistance capital. After having visited his classroom multiple times, it became clear that he had also purposefully maintained an open door policy during break and lunch. His classroom during lunch time became a hub for many students in which they socialized but also met to organize service events. I often observed older students leading service projects and working with younger students. An interview with John, a 9th grader revealed that he had some trouble making friends at first. But once e joined the LSYG, he met a group of older more mature students that really respected and helped him. LSYG not only served as a resource for those wanting to volunteer, but it created the kind of environment where pro-social norms and peer social capital developed.

.   Overall, the campus ministry department at Divinity High School capitalized on the social relationships and cultural experiences of students, which allowed students to share their questions about faith in relation to their lives. The liturgies, coursework and activities encouraged students to think critically about faith and how it can impact their lives. In this manner, the religion courses and activities at Divinity used culturally relevant pedagogy to

engage students in their faith journey, but also benefitted from the La Sallian Brothers who served as role models to students.

<center>*Extracurricular Activities*</center>

Extracurricular Activities at St. Peter High School

Given the relative small size of the student body, St. Peter High School's extracurricular activities were smaller in number compared to Divinity. Structurally, the school was limited in offering students the opportunities to develop their "gifts" outside the classroom, which was in contrast to the idea of "*cura personalis.*" Members of the school community and the students agreed that the school lacked a variety of opportunities for students to develop their interests and gifts. The consensus across campus indicated that the activities were important to student life, but that it was difficult to find the time and students willing to participate consistently. To clarify, the work schedule seriously impeded the regularity in which students could participate in clubs and sports. Students worked (and were off campus) one day a week and sometimes two. In this way, whatever day a club or a sport tried to have a meeting or an event- a substantial portion of the school was absent- at work. Students also worked until 4 pm and did not arrive to campus until after 5 pm. This meant students on a sports team often had a hard time making it to a game or meet, unless the coach had negotiated evening games. Students and alumni shared stories about changing on the bus and literally running onto the field for a game, or coaches driving around town to pick up student from work to make a game across town. Additionally, the regular school day started early- 7:30 am and ended after 3 pm. Students expressed being exhausted and too busy with homework to stay for practice. Various teachers expressed the daily reminders to students and disappointments they felt when students would not show up for practice.

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Still, the sports program aimed to provide the students with the opportunity to play high school sports. St. Peter offered six teams: cross country, football, basketball, baseball, soccer and track but basketball and soccer were known as the most popular. The school also hired an Athletic Director and most of the coaches were also staff members. The lack of resources for the sports program at St. Peter indicated the school's shift towards an academic focus, rather than a sports oriented culture[13]. The focus was not to win games but rather to provide students with the opportunity to play sports amongst peers. The principal Dr. Jones believed that the school's focus could no longer support a winning-at-all costs sports culture. He explained,

> When I talk, interview coaches for …athletics or you know, sometimes the head football coach or whatever… I always meet with them and I give them the Grad at grad [description] and said, "more than the sports success, know that you're teaching them, you need to be teaching them these things."
>
> (Dr. Jones, Principal)

For the new administration at St. Peter, the sports program offered students the chance to socialize and actually play a sport. Aside from that, they lacked a clear sense of goals and guidelines for the coaches and students participating on the teams. Instead, they emphasized that the sports program should not be too high of a priority for the school.

The students at St. Peter I spoke to loved sports. Every young man talked about being on a team or wanting to be on a team. Data from the interviews reveals the young men's love for sports but mostly because they felt supported by their peers. Students shared multiple stories

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[13] In prior years, St. Peter High School was known as an athletic powerhouse (Lopez 2003). They participated successfully in a series of CIF championships in basketball, football and track, from the years 1969- 2006 (school website), but that legacy is over. The shift in focus has also been an issue with alumni who wanted to see the school continue to value the sports program and eventually led to the school's alumni association's public dissent of the new administration and Cristo Rey (K. Miller. 6/11/2009. "'St. Peter': Black Institution or Done?" "*City name*" *Sentinel*.)

about how playing on a team helped their sense of belonging in school. In particular, 9th graders felt like sports allowed them to develop bonds with their peers.

> I came here and I knew nobody. I was just walking the corridors, like silent, like "Oh, hi! How's it going?" But then once I came to football, the coach, one of the coaches for football, he did PE at my other school. And so he also told me about [St. Peter], and so he told me to come out for football spring break outs and stuff. So I came out and then I met the players and – so I was kinda learning – I was building a bond with them in football and then like pre-season and then school started and then I started making more friends. And then once the real football season, I kind of bonded, like it was the greatest bond of all because I already knew all of them, I was already them and I was comfortable talking to them. I'm new to the school, so they really helped me. They welcomed me into the school.
>
> (Carlos, 9th grader)

The students who participated on a sports team talked about how much they liked playing with other students and feeling like they had a group of peers that looked out for them. David, a 9th grader talked about the first day he tried out for the football team. He described,

> They told me to try for the football team. And I was like, "nah" you know, "I don't think I can do it," this and that. And they were like "yeah, come on, let's do it." So I tried out and my first day, I wasn't like, like so, I couldn't go along with the routines cause it was kinda hard for me cause it was my first day. A lot of Freshman, they were like pushing and yelling, come on we're gonna run with you or we'll do this and do laps with you. And you know, they had my back, they were like helping me prepare for football.   (David, 9th grader)

For the students at St. Peter, sports offered them not only a chance to play, but connected them with a network of friends who cared about them. In fact, every student (with the exception of one) talked about playing on a team or wanting to. However, half of the students I spoke to could not play because they were ineligible because their grades were too low. Students who earned GPA's below a 2.0 could not participate in any capacity on sports teams. David was one such student. He explained how hard it was for him to tell the football players that he could not play

with them because he was ineligible, but that he improved his grades so that he could play football. Eventually, David got off the ineligible list, but by that time the season was over- and he had missed out on the team experience. Still, David worked hard to be able to play on the team, but also added that he would have felt more connected to the school and his peers had he been able to play.

Results from this study point to a common experience that was positive for the students who played on sports teams. However, the ineligibility rule that prohibited students from participating on a team due to low grades affected not only students' individual experience, but the school culture as well. Staff and students shared how the school lacked a sense of school spirit or school pride. The Dean of Students shared,

> I think I, we are set up to where many of our sports don't happen. The only sports that happen on campus is soccer and basketball. And that kind of, you know, those are two sports that start in December, so, you already kind of have been going to the school and not participating in sports. …I think the most powerful reason is that we've had it set up to where, if you have below 2.0, you can't participate in extracurricular activities so there's no buy in. The only place that does not apply is going to an athletic game. So you can't play in it but you can go to it. But there's no buy in for any of the other activities that we have, that they might have found their niche in, right? … We don't have a lot of school spirit because of our own policy and I just went to a region, a meeting for my region with other deans and we're the only, and St. Mary's, we're the only school that has a rule where you can't participate in an extracurricular activity.
>
> <div align="right">(Ms. Graham, Dean)</div>

The students at St. Peter seemed to like their school, but many desired more from the sports program. Some expressed that the school's training room and equipment could be improved while others wished they could just start improving their game and win. I asked students a lot about sports because over time I was made aware of its critical importance in the life of young

men, and perhaps more so in the lives of young men of color. I interrogated students about what playing on a sports team did or could do for them. And for all these students, a sport was a hub for developing bonds with their peers, where students often supported each other. For some, team mates helped each other in their sport techniques on the weekends and afterschool. And for others, sports teams connected students to a network of peers that wanted the best for them. Maurice shared,

> Yeah, like if … you want your teammate to succeed as much as you do because most likely you need their help. For instance, I have friends that always fail class and stuff. I fail class too, and like, Derrick, he's a junior. He's quarterback from the football team, he's always giving words of wisdom, stuff like that, So, he's always telling me, you need to do what you gotta do, so you get on the field, I know you want to play and all that. Yeah so, yeah like people that just tell me or remind me what I'm here for Stuff like that and so what I'm trying to do.
>
> (Maurice, 11th grader)

Students and staff shared how a few student athletes on campus became role models to other students who were having trouble adjusting to life at St. Peter. In this case, Maurice was not even on the team, but Derrick still went out of his way to encourage Maurice to improve his grades and focus on school, so he could eventually play on the team. But this was not a structured support, rather it depended on having a really caring football star that looked out for others not on the team. In sum, the sports program at St. Peter offered some students a network of peers that facilitated students' sense of belonging at school, but the school's ineligibility policy served to limit the number of students who could benefit from a strong peer network.

St. Peter also provided students with the opportunity to participate in eight clubs and organizations on campus. The activities ranged in topic from ethnic oriented clubs (Black and Latino Student Unions) to Game Design, Drumline, Film and Journalism, as well as an Associated Student Government and the Student Ambassadors Club. St. Peter staff voiced the

importance of extracurricular activities on campus, but also recognized various issues with implementing a strong student activity program. Mr. Villalobos, the Choir Director explained,

> I think the school offers a lot of extra-curricular activities. ...I think the school is very focused on their mission which is getting the boys to college and get them to graduate, long term goal. I think the extra-curricular, the clubs, the sports everything like that serve as sort of a way for the kids, to essentially relax. … So, I think they serve their purpose. There's the occasional, the scheduling conflicts that we've seen. We're trying to get the same kids at lunch or after school. They see that, that's a little difficult that I think aside from that the kids really enjoy these activities because its something different. It's not focus on the scholastics so much.   (Mr. Villalobos, religion teacher)

Given the limited time students had to meet (because of work schedules), staff explained that it was difficult to see students consistently for a club. Ms. Gallagher shared that the seniors who worked on the Prom mostly "flaked" and did not show up to help her with fundraising and planning activities. Furthermore, Mr. Villalobos pointed to a trend that I noticed too, the same students often joined multiple clubs, so a critical number of students still did not participate in these extracurricular activities. The school principal, Dr. Jones encouraged students to start a club if they thought the student body could benefit from the club. He explained to students, "get a couple of your friends who are interested in it, come to me, we'll find a teacher, we'll start that club." David for example, tried to start a Bike Club to increase his engagement in school. He mobilized students and an adviser, but the club was short lived because of a lack of student engagement and a busy adviser. In fact, most staff already committed themselves to an activity so it was difficult for students to find a staff member that could commit themselves to a new club.

Despite similar patterns of participation between Divinity and St. Peter in extracurricular activities, the type of participation students engaged in looked different. I observed club

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meetings at St. Peter and noticed how little the students did with respect to actual planning without teacher or staff assistance. The students often struggled to come up with plans for their activities without teacher or staff prompting. I saw advisers leading the clubs and groups, while students offered ideas and showed up to a fundraising event. In this manner, the clubs reinforced the kind of social capital development that was consistent at St. Peter, where institutional agents were key in helping students organize and plan activities. While some students demonstrated leaderships skills and were probably adept at directing a club and its activities- this was not the norm on campus.

My observations at St. Peter indicated that the Associate Student Body (ASB) Government did not coordinate activities for the school as a whole, but focused more on class events such as Prom. The ASB Government was made up of various offices such as President and his Cabinet, along with class representatives. Interestingly, the President was appointed by staff, while the rest of the positions students voted on. During an interview I was surprised to hear that an eleventh grader, Evan, was appointed over a senior to be the Associated Student Body President. When I asked him if it was awkward since that is a position often held by a senior, he explained that the staff probably thought he was capable of doing it because he had been involved in student government since freshman year. Evan made it a point to include that he learned from the upper classmen about how student government worked. However, when I asked him what meetings were like now, he said he never met with the seniors, and that he only met with juniors because of the work schedule. Given the work schedule, all students could not be present on the same day, so students in the ASB began to meet by class level. In this manner, member of student government missed out on the cultural capital of working on a fully developed student government where peers learned critical skills from one another: decision

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making, planning, fundraising, negotiation, and leadership. Ms. Gallagher and Ms. Graham who both worked with student government expressed that they needed to work on developing leadership amongst students and would need to revamp the student government.

Survey data revealed that the majority of students (80 percent) participated in extracurricular activities. Many students (46 percent) participated in one or two clubs, while 34 percent participated in three to six activities. According to survey data, only 70 percent of students liked the school and only 46 percent of students believed there was a good school spirit on campus. For such a small school, the impact of 20 percent of students not feeling connected to an extracurricular activity or having an authentic experience to be a school leader most likely negatively affected the general school spirit of the school.

In sum, the extracurricular activities at St. Peter offered students a chance to engage in an activity they enjoyed and work with an adviser. The student body benefitted from sports and activities, but schedule conflicts and a lack of school pride often left students with a lack of school spirit. Students also lacked opportunities to develop important leaderships skills such as planning, fundraising, implementation and assessment often associated with strong student organizations.

Extracurricular Activities at Divinity High School

Divinity High School utilized extracurricular activities as a mechanism to ensure students had a space to develop relationships with their peers and other staff. Staff members articulated in agreement that the role of student life was central to the success of the students at Divinity. They articulated goals for students that were not only academic, but social as well, and identified school clubs and teams as important vehicles to increase student engagement and school pride.

Being an all male school, Divinity High School placed a great deal of resources in their sports program. Rather than positioning the athletic teams as an extracurricular activity, the school managed a great deal of resources in an effort to establish a reputable sports program. The following is a list of the sports teams offered and the number of staff working with each team.

Table 14: Divinity High School Sports Program

Sport	Number of Staff
Baseball	1
Basketball	3
Cross Country	2
Football	4
Golf	1
Soccer	3
Swimming	1
Tennis	1
Track and Field	2
Volleyball	2
Water Polo	1

The amount of resources Divinity high school placed on their sports program was evident in both the number of staff members (21) as well as the number of sports teams (11) they provided. Unlike most public high schools and even other Catholic schools in the area, Divinity had a substantial sports program. Indicative of this, there were 450 students participating in CIF sports. The school also demonstrated their commitment to the sports program with the physical resources the sports program utilized. For example, the high school boasted of a new basketball gymnasium as well as a beautiful new football stadium, as a result of the strong alumni monetary support for these sports. The recruitment of student athletes from other schools also underscored the importance the school placed on the sports program. I spoke with students on various teams that shared how they were recruited to come to the school and were offered scholarships to do so.

While the football and basketball sports teams certainly benefitted the most from the school's resources (e.g. number of staff and school grounds), there were other teams that did not receive similar amounts of resources. The school lacked a pool on campus so all of the water sports (water polo and swimming) were forced to travel off campus to a local university for practice. But the school had a collection of vans and even a bus to transport students to practice sites.

Despite the unequal distribution of resources amongst the school sports teams, the students I interviewed conveyed a sense of pride in the sports they participated in. Half of the students that I interviewed participated on a sports team and explained that anyone could try out and play on some team if they really wanted to. Students on cross country, track and soccer teams, as well as football and basketball shared they were often invited to sports competitions both nearby and out of state, which they loved. Staff explained that the school had made a purposeful decision to provide an array of teams, so that students who wanted an opportunity to play would get to do so. As a result, more than half of all students participated in sports and the culture of the school seemed very sports oriented as stated by the faculty and those students who were not members of a sports team. As the Director of Student Activities and a teacher, Ms. Robina, spoke candidly about the role of sports at the school. She explained

> We know given the population that we take, a lot of our kids are …not going to go college and do well in academics. So for some of those kids, what keeps them in school is playing a sport. It's the one thing they can be good at.

Perhaps unknowingly Ms. Robina, as well as others, demonstrated low expectations for some students, but she also underscored how sports served as a mechanism for student self esteem and engagement for the young men on their campus.

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Furthermore, the staff at Divinity often utilized the sports program to inculcate similar core values the school espoused such as school spirit and brotherhood. For example, Daniel, a 9th grader shared how his cross country coach made sure they kept their grades up and participated in school activities. He related his coach's decision:

> They just try to get [us] really active and so, we had the walkathon a few weeks ago. And we were going to Vegas the same weekend and the coaches said, you know, if you don't participate in the walk, you can't go. So, everyone who went to Vegas had to participate in the walkathon. (Daniel, 9th grade)

Recognizing that some of the student athletes had been recruited to attend the school, the coaches of "big" sports teams seemed incline to ensure that their student athletes did not receive any special recognition. In order to do so, coaches adopted various strategies to build solidarity and peer support on athletic teams. For instance, the football team adopted a peer buddy program where upper classmen were paired with underclassmen on the team. The coach skillfully paired students who were usually as opposite as possible, in an effort for students to get to know other students. Samuel, a 9th grader football player, shared how his team mates had taken care of him, and in particular his peer mentor. He explained,

> Because I'm a football player, one of my mentors, he showed me all of the classes and the students and the teachers. That's why I know the teachers. Now like when I first came, he got my schedule, showed me around, showed me the books that I need to have and if I didn't have any, he'd let me borrow it. So that's the reason why I opened up- because of the brotherhood.

Samuel was clear that he felt the support of his peers on the football team and this had a positive effect on his schooling experience.

> When I first came, I wasn't feeling anything. I didn't like anybody. It took me a little time. Well it took me time to change myself, to change my attitude. … I was scared and I didn't want to open up. So that was probably one of the reasons

> when I opened up- I felt the brotherhood. I felt the love from my fellow brothers, from the teachers. (Samuel, 9th grader)

Samuel's experience with the football team was not unique. I interviewed several students who shared how they too felt supported by their teammates both academically and socially. For African American students in particular, they related feelings of anxiety when they first started school and the team because they were not sure how the rest of the team and schoolmates would treat them. Overall, the student athletes I interviewed indicated how their "brothers" on their teams made them feel like they had a family at school and helped them acclimate and engage in school.

In addition to the well developed sports programs, the school provided students with various opportunities to participate in clubs and activities. The administration stressed the importance of students being part of extracurricular activities. Ms. Finley, Dean of students explained,

> I think it's important. It's part of school life. It's important to balance academics and extra-curricular and it also looks good on the transcript and then it's good to, to teach our kids, to teach them to be well-rounded because I don't think colleges just want you to focus on just being a straight A student.

> (Ms. Finley, Dean of Students)

The school had seven clubs, but they also had four honor societies that provided a forum for students to coordinate activities of service and fun on campus. The Student Activities Director indicated that she often arrived very early to meet with student government and was expected to attend all their activities that often took place over the weekend and afterschool. The school also had an Academic Decathlon team as well as a student newspaper. The school's theatre department offered students elective coursework and also provided students with the opportunity

to perform in two performances a year. The school also benefitted from a TV station not only was student run, but provided daily programming for the school. By default, the teachers stood at the forefront of extracurricular program, given that the principal expected teachers to participate and advise extracurricular activities.

In many ways, these extracurricular activities served as buffers for those students who were trying to avoid especially dangerous neighborhoods or even violent homes. For other students, the extracurricular activities allowed them to spend time with peers and an adult with similar interests and develop stronger bonds between members. The campus had various open spaces where students could congregate but also allowed student teams and clubs to utilize various spaces to meet and practice over the weekends and in the evenings without much difficulty. As an observer, I noted the heavy presence of students not only during the school day, but after hours and even in the evening when various sporting events or parent meetings were being held on campus.

At Divinity, the staff shared with me that they had tried diligently to offer students a wide array of clubs that mirrored every student's interests. Additionally, these clubs and teachers had the added charge to of organizing festivals, field trips, events, and dances for the entire student body and in some cases these events facilitated parental involvement on campus. For example, traditional celebrations, such as the Junior Ring Ceremony, infused the Catholic Mass and the Spanish language, and were celebrated in the evenings to encourage a familial presence. I was struck by the balance of student life at Divinity. For example, students were exposed to classic Shakespearean plays, but they were also exposed to theatrical presentations rooted in Latino culture and history. In an attempt to emphasize and celebrate academics, the school created a math festival where various clubs and math classes organized festival to celebrate Pi Day, much

like they did to celebrate the ethnic cultures and sporting events earlier in the year. While some teachers playfully joked there were too many activities on the campus, they each reiterated that these events served an important function on campus. The range of student activities allowed young men to express their interests, whether academic, cultural, social and/or athletic, which facilitated a multicultural academic identity. In that manner, the school's inclusion of non-dominant culture created a bridge for students and families to participate and play a role in the life and culture of the school.

Despite their efforts to create an inclusive and multicultural community on campus, interviews revealed that specific non-dominant culture remained unseen on campus. Students that were not Catholic pointed to a lack of variety with the types of religious services that were celebrated on campus. Students who were Christian and African American in particular, felt like religious celebrations could have made a better attempt to include the view points of Christians in their ways of celebrating, especially through music at liturgies. Additionally, the students at Divinity might not have been exposed to dominant cultural capital the way their peers at St. Peter experienced working in corporate settings.

Still, the extracurricular program was integral to student life at Divinity and the majority of students participated in these programs. According to student surveys, 84 percent of 9th and 11th graders participated in an extracurricular activity, which was slightly higher than the 80 percent at St. Peter. In particular, 49 percent of students participated in one to two clubs, whereas 33 percent of students participated in three or more clubs. 43 percent of Divinity students spent a limited amount of time in extracurricular activities (0 to 4 hours in extracurricular) while 34 percent reported spending between five and fourteen hours in extracurricular activities. In contrast, the students at St. Peter spent less time at extracurricular

activities, where 54 percent of students spent 0-4 hours of time and only 24 percent of students spent between five and fourteen hours at extracurricular activities. Given their work schedules, it was not uncommon to hear from St. Peter students that they would have liked to spend more time on sports or an activity. Since Divinity students seemed to benefit from extracurricular activities by developing social capital, cultural capital and non-dominant capital, I examined the corporate work study closely to assess if the St. Peter students traded these opportunities for the opportunities afforded in the work study program.

Corporate Work Study Program at St. Peter High School

All students at St. Peter also participated in the corporate work study program, which required a number of staff, resources and effort to fully realize. The school had four full time people (some were Jesuit volunteers which offset the expense) who served as the liaison between the corporate work sponsors and the school/student (See Appendix J for a list of corporate work sites). The school also had two more staff whose responsibilities included not only development, but also increasing corporate sponsors and maintaining these relationships. The monies, donations and accounts brought forth by the efforts of these staff member collected physical resources for the students such as weight room equipment donated by a celebrity or the landing of a lucrative account with a top notch law firm. The corporate work study staff shared how business men and women were often excited to participate in a work study program designed to assist low income youth. However, they also shared that at times some corporations could not follow through on a partnership with St. Peter because their company was not allowed to work or fund a Catholic institution. Most recently, the school had lost some corporate partnerships due to the corporations' economic troubles. In other cases, the school lost accounts when students were

not productive enough at work and the company did not feel as if they could afford to maintain the partnership. Still, the corporate work study leaderships persisted in an effort to gain and maintain their corporate work study partnerships. Towards that end, the school staff worked much like a Public Relations machine, in that they informed the corporations of the many successes and needs of the student body. For instance, the school designed a promotional video to share with such individuals and had a number of students that were prepared to talk to new agencies. St. Peter had been on various television news reports (English and Spanish), newspaper articles and blogs, and had gained the attention of various city leaders who often just showed up to see what was happening at the school. One of the major events the school sponsored was a luncheon to honor the corporate work supervisors and work colleagues where the staff and students honored their supervisors and work colleagues.

In order to prepare the student for this level of commitment and work, the school developed a multifaceted corporate work study program that supported the students in various areas of work life. The work study program consisted of various components: the Summer SOAR program; yearly corporate work study classes; the work site; and work study events. The various work study activities taught students a lot about the work place, allowed them to practice what they learned and develop relationships with other adults. For the students, the corporate work study journey began with the summer bridge program held during the summer before the students begin their freshman year. All new students were required to take a class during the summer, as well as every semester of their high school career that was called work study. During the year, the classes were independent study and students simply needed to turn in assignments that were related to work habits, such as resume building, letter writing, etc. Also, throughout the

year, the school coordinated events where work supervisors were invited to campus for a luncheon, or staff from school were invited to see students present at work.

The St. Peter Summer SOAR Program had two major goals: 1) orient the students to the academic and social demands of school and work and 2) assess the qualities and skills of the incoming students. The summer program enforced disciplinary measures to orient the students to the social norms of both attending St. Peter and working in a white collar office environment. Three staff members, Ms. Cardeiro- the corporate work study Director, Ms. Fine- Program Assistant and Ms. Graham- the Dean unapologetically served as disciplinarians and the enforcers of rules of the school. They also received help from other teachers on campus or priests volunteering their time. During every session the staff made repeated statements about the rules of the school and work and how they expect students to respond. They reminded students to look attentive, take notes but overall behave- and if they didn't, the threat of a detention was declared and enforced. In an effort to have students acquire pro-social norms and enact the school's behavioral norms, the staff prized students with tickets when they encouraged peers to behave appropriately or "act right". Then students could later exchange their tickets at the end of the summer program for school gear and prizes.

In many ways, the summer program offered students a glimpse into what the school year would be like, whereas if student misbehaved or did not complete assignments- they were issued Saturday detentions, a demerit, and/or homework JUGs, but if they didn't they could expect to be rewarded. The school established consequences to ensure students acted according to established norms. In the following excerpt, Ms. Cardeiro explained the policy on work absences.

You are required to pay $50 when this [absence] happens unless they [your parents] provide a doctor's note or an obituary program. Aww that's cold (mimicking a boys voice). You know what's cold? That we have parents who say someone died to not pay

the fee." …The reason we've lost two companies in one year is because you kids are not reliable. 'We can't depend on them' they say to me.　　(Field note 07/13/10)

The absence from work policy seemed extreme, but Ms. Cardeiro explained to students that these policies were created to instill a better work ethic and make them more responsible. At the same time, Ms. Cardeiro made students aware that their actions at work (or absences in this case) had consequences on the whole school. It was unclear of the students understood their responsibility to do well at work for the sake of the school's reputation, but student did tell me they knew they had a responsibility to the worksite because they paid for their tuition.

The summer program also provided students access to cultural norms in workplace settings. The summer workshops reflected the school's emphasis on teaching students skills needed in most professional office environments, immersing them in the cultural norms of a corporate work setting, as well as providing students the opportunity to practice these behaviors according to these newly learned norms. In essence, the workshops were either skill based or worked to orient students to the cultural capital that is often associated with corporate work culture and the dominant work culture (Table 15).

Table 15: St. Peter Summer SOAR Program Workshops

Workshop (Work skills)	Workshop (Dominant Cultural Capital)
Note-Taking	Dress Code
Filing	Impress/Expect
Labor laws	Direction/Time
Interview/Resume	Interpersonal Communication
Public Speaking	Asking for Help
Office Machines	Banking on Your Future
Resume/Profile	Interviewing

Mock Interviews	Phone Etiquette
Office Safety	Developing Work Ethic

For example, the following is an excerpt from a field note from a class on lesson on "boundaries"

in the work place that took place during the Interpersonal Communication workshop.

Father Robert is talking about boundaries with a smaller group of students in the library. He is an older white man, with white hair and is wearing the standard priest garb of black pants and shirt with the white collar. Fr. Robert asks them what is allowed and not allowed at home. One student shares that "I cannot call my mom by her first name, Rhonda" and the group agrees with head nods. The students speak casually at their tables. Fr. Robert describes to them that they may find themselves waiting for the elevator or standing in line at Panda Express next to a co-worker. He asks two students, Eduardo and Terrell to engage in a conversation about something they would talk about with a co-worker. As the boys stand and face each other, Eduardo says, "whatsup?" And the priest immediately chimes in and says this is not appropriate there. Terrell exclaims, "this is the work place!" The boys try the exchange again, and Eduardo quietly starts again. He changes it to "hey" and the priest still says it's too informal. Fr. Robert tells them to say "Hi" "How are you?" The priest also asks Terrell to stand at a certain distance and he physically shows them how to stand a couple of feet apart. The pair rehearsed this in front of the group a couple more times. Finally Eduardo and Terrell re-enact it, and this time Terrell says, "Hey whatsup?" and is immediately received with "ohs!" by the group and is told to do it again by Father Robert. He says, "Hey how are you?" And Father Robert suggests "Hi how are you?" instead and lets them sit down.   (Field note 07/14/10)

The amount of information given to students during the summer program was most likely

overwhelming. Students had to learn how to take notes, build a resume, check in with a

supervisor and prepare for that meeting, as well as learn how to introduce themselves and answer

phones. For some students, this was an easy task, while most of the young men giggled and shied

away from practicing in front of their peers. By the end of the workshop, students had created

resumes, participated in mock interviews, attended a job fair and participated in real life work

interviews with at least four corporate work supervisors. On the last day of the summer program,

students seemed excited to meet their potential work supervisors. I watched multiple students

practice their "pitch" where they described their skills and goals. During the interview day, it was amazing to watch how the 14 year olds had become adept at typically dominant forms of corporate culture (cultural capital) such as the firm hand shake along with a straight look into someone's eyes, as well as speaking with confidence about their skills and goals while explaining how this made them a good candidate for a job. Then corporate work supervisors selected their top picks and submitted these to Ms. Cardeiro. While not every work site received their first pick, Ms. Cardeiro worked with her team to select students for job placements where she (based on her experience) felt they would make a good fit.

After the job fair, the students were given notification of their worksite and once the school year started, all students were required to work. Each student was required to work five days a month to help pay for most if not all of their tuition. The students worked seven to eight hour work days depending on how their work site was to the campus. Students arrived to campus by 7:30 am and boarded buses or vans where school staff drove them to their worksite (or a nearby location). The students worked in a variety of offices that ranged from law office, real estate agencies, corporations, small business and non-profit agencies. Most often, students remained at the same job throughout their four years, but this depended on the whether or not the student was hired back each year and if the corporation remained a school partner. Most corporations had a group of four students working for them and so one day a week, there was always a St. Peter student at the workplace. Student explained that if they remained at their work site long enough and if they worked hard enough, they could be promoted to tasks that required more responsibility. But each job placement differed and students' responsibilities ranged from filing, making copies, organizing and delivering mail to creating and updating spreadsheets, research, or working on an independent project. For the students that were successful at work,

they shared that their work sites asked them to work during the summer and winter breaks for actual money (not tuition).

Each student also had a corporate work study program staff person that checked in with their company and reviewed the student evaluations by the supervisor. According to the school documents, the work study program provided

Students with crucial hands-on, white collar work experience… As a result of working in the business environment, students acquire desirable job experience and marketable skills, develop a network of business contacts, and gain exposure to a variety of career opportunities. In addition, our students have demonstrated a strong work ethic that leads to increased self-esteem.   (School Website)

The work experience varied for the students at St. Peter and offered different opportunities for each. Each student was placed with one work supervisor who often acted as a liaison between the student and the rest of the office. In most cases, the supervisor was someone in Human Resources from the sponsoring company, but the students worked in a variety of office departments such as the mail room, filing room, guest services, etc. The staff indicated that most of the work supervisors were women or women of color. Student generally shared that they learned a great deal from their work experience, but not all students developed strong relationships with their work supervisors.   My observation of students at work and interviews with work supervisors reveals that about half of the placements facilitated a learning environment where students engaged in work projects that stimulated their thinking. For these students, the relationship between their colleagues and work supervisor resembled one of a mentorship or internship. For example, at a visit to a local university I met with a work supervisor named Colleen, who shared the kind of work experience she created for her student worker Alexis, a 9th grader.

Colleen explained that [Alexis] always had different jobs. She worked in Technical services, but the work she had him do was everything from packing gift bags; conduct research on products (audio technology); creation and updates of spreadsheets; some filing; and work with students and faculty in the Student Innovation Center (SIC) and Faculty Innovation Center (FIC). She said that even when she is not there, she left him notes with things to do and he always follows through. ... She said Alexis does well in all of these and she has tried to keep the activities exciting and different. She also highlighted some of his more creative work such as the creation of an electronic survey (and data analysis) as well as a video for the SIC and FIC, which is on the university website. Colleen explained, "He's part of the family" and that Alexis does "what we don't have time to do but wished we did" and "I love having someone there to bounce ideas off of."   (Field note, 03/16/2011)

 Colleen's work for Alexis reflected her deep respect for students. Her commitment to make his responsibilities varied and interesting was commendable. When I spoke with Alexis about his job, he expressed how much he liked working and that his boss, Colleen was a wonderful mentor. Not only did she take the time to talk to him about college and his goals, but her husband got to know Alexis given their affinity with soccer. In this manner, Colleen and other work supervisors developed social capital and imparted cultural capital for the students that worked with them.

        Given the central role of the corporate work study program at St. Peter, I also thought it was imperative to closely examine the work experience and its potential to offer students social capital. The data in Table 16 indicate that 65 percent of students utilize the adults at their work site for school related decisions, which was similar to the number reported for teachers (61 percent). After speaking to students and corporate work study advisers, it seemed that for many students, the work placement gave them access to another group of adults that emphasized pro-academic and pro- social norms. For the students ready and able to engage in help seeking behavior, the adults they met through the work study program often served at best as a mentor

and at least as another adult interested in the students' academic progress. As evidenced by the rate of students (82 percent) that had a friendly and trusting relationship with at least one work supervisor, which was more than students reported for their teachers (73 percent). 53 percent of students reported that their work supervisor or colleagues were also good at helping them solve personal problems, while only 40 percent of students said the same of their teachers. Interviews with work supervisors revealed that these adults seemed to be extremely interested in the well being of the students as described in the previous chapter and were well positioned to develop social capital for students.

Table 16: St. Peter High School Work Study Survey Questions (Percent Agree)

Question	St. Peter N= 118
I rely on my work supervisor or other work adult colleagues for advice and guidance in making school related decisions.	65
My work supervisor or other work adult colleagues are sensitive to my needs.	74
My work supervisor or other work adult colleagues are good in helping me solve work related problems.	89
My work supervisor or other work adult colleagues are good at helping me personal problems.	53
I have a friendly and trusting relationship with at least one of my supervisors and/or adult work colleague.	82
I have learned a lot at my corporate work study site.	91
I like the corporate work study program.	89

But as noted earlier, a critical number of students seemed to disengage from the help seeking behavior that is required to activate the potential of social capital. Similar to the trend at the school site, 53 percent of students reported being able to turn to their work supervisor for help with a personal problem which was similar to the reporting rate of St. Peter students who felt they could turn to their teachers for personal assistance (56 percent). Even though it is not

customary for adults to turn to work colleagues for personal support, youth working in adult

work environments are more likely to experience personal issues at work that would require

them to turn to someone to help them deal with it (as I will discuss later). In summary, the

corporate work study program offered students the opportunity another source of social capital

for most students.

In addition to the social capital developed at the work study site, I was interested in

whether or not students obtained access to dominant forms of cultural capital in the workplace.

During interviews, students shared a lot about their work sites in terms of what they did for work

and who they worked with. In many cases, students seemed eager and excited to be working in

the corporate work setting, which was different than any of them had ever experienced. In an

interview, Sergio described what the corporate work study program meant to him.

> The experience is wonderful. Being able to, to go and see this place, I'm talking
> about the Corporate America and experience it firsthand. People talk about
> corporate America so much that they actually don't get to see how people
> interact with each other and just experience before actually working there.
> Having someone as your supervisor, has both limitations as you're working and
> the professional environment which always changes me and matures me.
> (Sergio, 11th grader, St. Peter HS)

When I spoke with students about their experience at work, many quickly offered that they had

to adapt to the norms of the work space and white collar work culture. As Sergio emphasized,

the opportunity to work in an environment that was vastly different than their own life offered

students clarity about the cultural norms that dominated corporate America. And yet, the

opportunity to work in these spaces also required students to adapt to these cultural norms; the

students in effect were asked to be cultural straddlers (Carter, 2005) . When I asked Sergio if he

had to change anything about himself when he went to work he offered,

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> The way I carried myself. My posture sometimes, it was a problem my freshman year- as well as my professionalism. Basically the way I carry myself and how I get myself throughout the day. Like, I'm a jerk for singing. Once I got in trouble for sleeping.

The students at St. Peter certainly gained cultural insight into dominant cultural norms that are required when they go to work in a corporate work setting. Students shared that they learned some of this during the summer program, but that the majority of their learning and adapting was learned on the job. And sometimes, the learning experience was not very pleasant as Sergio revealed when he explained how he had been disciplined at work for singing aloud. Still, students seemed appreciative of the opportunity and highlighted that they learned a great deal at work which included both work skills as well as cultural norms in a corporate work setting such as saying hello to everyone in the hall when you walked by. Furthermore, the cultural expectations imposed on students seemed to be enforced by trustworthy individuals, since 82 percent of students reported that they had a trusting relationship with someone at work. As noted earlier, many of the students informed me that they started working in mailrooms or with the office support staff and as a result worked alongside younger individuals and people of color. As Nan Lin suggests, social capital is easier facilitated when the relationship is established between two individuals with similar backgrounds, and for the young men working at sites that were mostly white- those with individuals that looked and sounded like them made it easy to transition into the workplace (2001). In this manner, the corporate work study program served as a bridge to dominant forms of cultural capital, and work supervisors and colleagues served a critical role in providing social scaffolds for students in their adapting to a corporate work culture.

Even though the students at St. Peter generally indicated they appreciated the work experience, they also described experiences that were difficult for them to manage. Students

shared similar issues at work with colleagues who tried to take advantage of them given they were in a weaker position of power given their age. Students also highlighted that they had to rapidly learn the dominant cultural norms of the workplace or face being reprimanded for an indiscretion. Students revealed a feeling of impotence when these issues at work arose because they did not want to get in trouble by St. Peter staff or make trouble at work since the work site paid for their tuition. Students voiced an awareness of the fact that they were in a position of inferiority at work in multiple ways, but they emphasized that their coworkers and work supervisor served as cultural navigators (Stanton Salazar 2010) and in some cases even advocated for them at work. Other students expressed a comfort with being at the work place and reiterated that their families had already taught them to code switch and be cultural straddlers so in effect they relied on their own sense of navigational capital (Carter, 2005; Yosso, 2005) .

Other work sites offered students a range of skills that most entry level college interns would be assigned. The freshmen had more basic duties, and most upperclassmen would receive more responsibility if they performed well at work. My observations of other work sites revealed that some students had work responsibilities that required less creativity and more tedious work. In some cases, students enjoyed speaking with the other workers in the mail room or the filing room. For these students, the other young men and young women in these offices (who were also usually women and men of color) assuaged the tension of being in a foreign environment. The students indicated that over time they forged great bonds with their coworkers and learned how to culturally navigate the professional work environment.

For some students, being at work meant they had to act a certain way and they could not "be themselves." To remedy this issue, students who worked in downtown had created a

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tradition of eating lunch together in the same place in a cafeteria below one of the high rises. For

these students, lunchtime with their peers was a time to relax, which they needed.

Michael also shared that he and his friends all have lunch in the building adjacent to where we were standing on the lower level. … Michael explained, "Now when we're at lunch. That's where we can be. Let loose. Speak in slang. When my advisor is around- I always look around."   (Field note, 1/19/11)

The students at St. Peter were well aware of the way they had to act at work. In some cases, the

watchful eye of the supervisor impeded students feeling comfortable at work. However, for the

lucky students who worked close enough to each other that they could eat lunch together, the

peer support they received at lunch was enough to get them through the long day. Incidentally,

the strict work environment seemed to prompt the students to create their own form of peer

support group, which mirrored much of the peer social capital students developed on campus.

Still, not every work experience was positive and engaging. At times, I heard from

students that they felt alone at work and sometimes had nothing to do. One student shared that he

would simply close the door to the office he sat in and watch tv! Work supervisors also shared

their concern over certain types of students who needed to work on their attitude. During a visit

to a ritzy law office in downtown, a work supervisor called a meeting to discuss a problem

student worker whom she could not get through to.

Marie stressed that she wanted to work with him. She wanted him to benefit from what she considered a nurturing environment, where she would mentor him. She just wanted him to work on his "demeanor, attitude" and she suspected there were underlying issues.   (Field note 3/27/11)

Marie also indicated that she felt this student should feel lucky and fortunate to work at their

beautiful law office. And it was beautiful. The building was over 100 stories and their office was

beautifully decorated. Clean white marble floors and modern furniture. Despite the

surroundings, the student did not like working there. He shared that he did not feel comfortable there and did not like having to work, but he had not mentioned this to his parents let alone his supervisor. While this situation is unique, it points to the problem of the students feeling powerless with their supervisors who in their eyes pays for their tuition. Survey data reflect that overwhelmingly students felt like they learned a lot from their job. However, only half of students felt like they could talk to their work supervisor for anything else besides work. In this manner, the corporate work study program acted as a social network for about half of students, but the other half seemed to feel as if they were just employees at a job.

And lastly, there was a very small number of students each year who were fired from their jobs. These students had to engage in a temporary housing period when they are fired to gain the skills that may have led to their release from their initial placement. During this time, students were coached about what had gone wrong at the previous site and assisted with identifying and improving those behaviors. In addition they were asked to write reflections based on the book, "The 7 Habits of Highly Successful Teenagers." Eventually they were found new work sites and expected to perform well or risk being expelled from school. While not a goal of the work study program, the fire and rehire process supported students and offered them individual counseling with respect to navigating the workplace, which could later serve as an important form of cultural capital.

Still, to fully understand the impact of the corporate work study program, I utilized the alumni interviews to help me understand what the long term impact s of the work study program. Most the alumni shared similar stories of supervisors and work colleagues who really took an interest in their life. They all seemed to forget the nerves and awkwardness of initial year that many of the current students I spoke to referenced. Instead, the alumni pointed to the advantage

they felt they had when they compared themselves to students in college because they had so much work experience. Some students had earned summer work with the companies they had worked at while others simply kept in contact via email. I should note that all of the alumni I spoke to attended college (2 and 4 year institutions), and the alumni who were not in post secondary schooling refused to speak to me. I probed a younger brother of one of these alumni, as to why he did not want to participate in the interview to which his younger brother replied- "he doesn't like talking about it" which illuminates how the St. Peter experience may not have been as positive for everyone, especially for those who may not have persisted in post secondary schooling. Thus I included data from the alumni survey which included students in four year universities, two year colleges and some not enrolled in school and working.

Survey results also demonstrate that alumni generally benefitted from the work experience such that 69 percent of alumni surveys reported that it was easy to find work given their high school work experience and acquired skills. Additionally, 62 percent of alumni surveyed attributed finding employment as a result of their corporate work study network, indicating the potential for the work study program to be a source of social capital for students in the future. Furthermore, nearly all alumni (99.5 percent) maintained that they had positive relationships with their present work supervisors and colleagues. I spoke with Andre, a St. Peter alumnus who had been attending a prestigious state university, but was on a leave of absence and attending classes at a local community college. During our interview, he shared his passion for wanting to improve the educational landscape for urban youth and had a lot to say about his St. Peter experience. When I asked him about the corporate work study experience, he offered

> And I think in the end, I ended up liking the whole work experience more than the actual school experience. I think because it was like, it was a distraction from everything like if you have like an exam or something coming up or some big

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project, and you go to work and you just, you're focused on all work. And that's basically one thing I took, I was like you just take it one step at a time. Whereas, if you're going to *just* school; that's what you really want to focus on. But then, like you could end—you learned a way you can balance both and I think that's something that was key is that they wanted to show us—what they wanted to teach us, I guess. Because over there —that's what it's all about, just what can you learn and what can we teach you. And I think all those experiences, including the corporate work study was something that taught me like I have learned how to balance things out. (Andre, St. Peter alumnus)

Andre highlighted how the work experience offered the students an escape out of the academic experience and taught students the skill of balancing various aspects of one's life. In many ways, the corporate work study program served as another activity for the students to participate in that simultaneously taught them to balance their time and responsibilities. Another alumnus, shared how vastly different his life trajectory was in comparison to his brother's who did not attend St. Peter. He explained,

"St. Peter" completely changed my life. I came into "St. Peter" with low-self of esteem, I had to attend summer school during my middle school years and in fact I almost had to repeat my 6th and 7th grade year. However, "St. Peter" gave me the opportunity and accepted me. Working at Univision KMEX my freshman year has been an experience I will never forget, thus a life changing experience! I still maintain contact with my supervisor and the main partner of the law-firm I worked in during my last two years at "St. Peter". I graduated at the top of my class and attended UC Berkeley. … My brother who is only a year apart did not attend St. Peter and did not graduate high school. He has been in and out of prison four times in the past year. You would think that because we came from the same house-hold, same parents, family tradition we would both have the same success! Yet, St. Peter has been all the difference! (Luis, St. Peter alumnus)

For the alumnus at St. Peter, there were no questions that the corporate work study experience served to give them an opportunity and skills they would not have received otherwise given their circumstances. And despite the issues the young men had to contend with at first, the alumni I spoke to love their work experience.

In summary, the survey data suggests that students at St. Peter certainly benefitted from the corporate work study program in terms of social capital development. Students were given access to a network of adults that were positioned to give them individual attention as well as positive academic reinforcement. Moreover, students were able to gain knowledge of cultural norms usually associated with the dominant class (corporate America) facilitated by their relationships with work colleagues and supervisors whom they trusted. The work study program also offered students the not only the opportunity to learn about dominant forms of cultural capital but for most a supportive environment in which to implement this new found knowledge. Lacking from this discussion of course was the opportunity for students to talk about the issues they faced at work, which at times impeded their level of engagement at work. While some students forged deep bonds with fellow students to deal with the rigidity of work, others simply had to deal with it. Still, there were tensions between some students who did not enjoy adapting to the cultural norms imposed by work, which I explore in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

Discussion

As I reflected on the data presented, therein lay tension in the ways in which the corporate work study program influenced the academics, extracurricular programs on the St. Peter campus, as well as the students and staff. The corporate work study program was a program that offered students tuition and in effect a Catholic private education, work experience and support towards their college goals, but concomitantly, impacted their opportunities to engage in critical extracurricular activities. The corporate work study program also exposed students to the corporate world and the cultural expectations required of those in the workplace, and in that manner, students had to quickly adapt to the cultural expectations often associated with dominant groups. In this section I build on the aforementioned findings to reveal the complexity that exists between the corporate work study program and its effects non-dominant youth.

To begin, I considered the effects the corporate work study program had on the structure of the school and its programs. The data on St. Peter suggested that the corporate work study program funneled capital (financial, social and cultural) to the students. Without the corporate sponsorship (money), the school could not support the college guidance office and students would never have been exposed to such an intense college-going discourse that was invoked by the institutional agents they met (social capital). In the same manner, the students were exposed to cultural navigators that helped them acclimate to dominant forms of cultural capital at their work settings.

And yet, the work study program at St. Peter made it difficult for the school to organize social activities for students such as club meetings and sports practices because on any given day some students were working away from school. In effect, extracurricular activities were difficult to organize because students were either absent or stopped participating. In fact, Ms. Gallagher used the word "flakes" to describe the students she worked with in student government. As a result, students missed out on the opportunities to develop meaningful and relationships with staff and peers in a non-academic space. Even though the staff worked tirelessly to teach, tutor, advise clubs, plan for activities and be present at said activities, I suspect that students lacked engagement in school activities because work was at the forefront of their responsibilities.

Unfortunately, the lack of a fully developed school activities program often left students wanting more out of their high school experience as evidenced by student interviews and survey data. And more importantly, students missed the opportunity to develop their talents and gifts to become well rounded young men. At Divinity, I witnessed multiple club meetings, activities and assemblies where students completely planned and executed the activity. Given my own experience at a Catholic high school, I know students can coordinate activities, assemblies, dances and services on their own but they have to be taught to do so, which takes time to develop leadership. While St. Peter students still participated in clubs and sports, the level of commitment to these extracurricular activities was not to the level of commitment that I saw at Divinity. In this manner, St. Peter's mission of a well rounded student and "cura personalis" was hindered by the corporate work study program because work became the most important extracurricular activity for students at St. Peter. In contrast, Divinity High School's mission and actions supported students in their quest to fully develop their athletic, artistic, and non academic gifts.

While the work study program shortchanged students from the benefits of extracurricular activities, students benefitted from the work study in two critical ways. The corporate work study program provided students with access to social capital and problem solving skills for those that persisted and completed their four years of schooling. As noted earlier, students developed strong relationships with their corporate work study colleagues and supervisors and in effect gained social capital. Additionally students gained problem solving skills. For example, I was struck by the candor students demonstrated when they shared a story about being reprimanded at work or even being "fired" or let go of a placement. Students admitted that at first these situations were hard to accept, but because their work supervisor or St. Peter staff assured that everyone makes mistakes at work, students learned that these were life lessons that were supposed to elicit change in a behavior. More importantly, students reiterated a common message that these were not personal attacks but rather these indiscretions provided an opportunity for them to learn how to solve the problem. Students who had been fired from work were asked to write an essay about the *7 Habits of Highly Successful Teens* while students who showed signs of difficulty at work were placed on improvement plans that often included a St. Peter staff shadowing them to determine the course of the problems. In turn, adults would serve as important institutional agents that gave students the tools and knowledge to move forward at work and hopefully not commit the same error. Students then spoke about these supposed "failures" as missteps and could communicate how important they were to their development as young men. In speaking with an alumnus, he related being expelled from a university to his being fired from work his first year of high school.

> Well my first year I spent here didn't work out so well, as far as me reaching out to people and getting the help I needed. And so I ended up, you know, getting kicked out and now I have to readmit. So I withdrew and I basically told myself,

well, I'm not—at first it was hard, just like—it's a prestigious school. It's like, basically, it was like my being fired my first year of work. If I can compare it to anything, it was like that. It was like how can I, now I pick myself back up?

For this student, the experience of having failed out of school could have had dire consequences. However, he pointed to the work experience as having given him the skills to persist in the face of failure and move forward in his post secondary education. And for young men of color, who already are at the center of failure in our country's educational system, the possibility of giving them the opportunity to develop their resiliency and problem solving skills could prove invaluable.

Given the emphasis on the corporate work culture at St. Peter, teachers and staff expected students to embody the cultural capital of the corporate work culture all of the time. As noted, students were expected to dress, speak, and behave as if they were in a boardroom as long as they were at school and at work. Alejandro, an alumnus explained

I definitely felt like they wanted you to put on, I guess, you could say, not an act but the impression that this is how a [St. Peter] gentleman carries himself. This is, you know, the type of gentlemen and the type of men we're trying to produce. But at the same time, it takes away from, you know, who else we can be. Who are [students] really like, you know, how are they with their friends, how are they with their families, how are they outside of [St. Peter]?

For the students at St. Peter, the reality of their lives did not include access to a network of individuals in the corporate world, so the work study program presented them with the opportunity to move back and forth between their own lives and the dominant class' work setting. This opportunity afforded students to develop their bicultural skills, where they learned a new set of norms associated with the dominant class while already having mastered the unspoken rules of their own social contexts. In effect, students had become cultural straddlers, where they practiced code-switching between language and cultures, depending on the habitus. Additionally,

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the students at St. Peter gained confidence in speaking with adults and knew how to behave themselves in environments that were not their cultural norms. Indicate of this, when I reflected on the interview times for the Divinity and St. Peter students, I noted that while Divinity students spoke to me on average for 25 minutes, St. Peter students spoke to me on average for 55 minutes, almost double the time of their peers. While I did ask St. Peter a few more questions about the work study program, the St. Peter students did not shy away from talking about themselves, their experiences and expressed a level of confidence reminiscent of most college students.

For some students, the switching came easy. But for half of students I engaged with, they felt uncomfortable when being policed on campus for not embodying the culture associated with corporate world. Some explained to me that their work sites did not require them to be so "corporate" and that the school took the corporate norms too far. Others felt like the corporate norms were suitable for work, but did not want to act like that all of the time, especially at school. Similar to the work Prudence Carter did with non-dominant youth, I found that some students did not want to adopt the norms of the dominant class and in certain moments became cultural resisters (Carter, 2005). Similarly, my data revealed certain students were frustrated with teachers and administration expecting them to act and behave as if they were at work. This tension turned into moments of cultural dissonance in classrooms and served to get in the way of schooling.

For example, in Ms. Gallagher's English classrooms for example, she like other staff on campus engaged in the act of repairing most of her students' non-dominant language when they responded to her questions. The act of repair is common in classroom discourse events such as IRE (initiation- response- evaluation). In most classrooms, teachers often engage in the IRE/F (Initiation, Response and Evaluation/Feedback) language pattern where the teacher asks students

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questions and the expectation is for students to respond with an appropriate answer so the teacher can provide feedback (Cazden, 2001; Mehan, 1979). To demonstrate how these moments of repair unfolded, I analyzed the following excerpt from a field note of the Honors English III classroom as the class discusses the book, *The Great Gatsby*.

Ms. Gallagher asks the students "How does Gatsby's party show "The Good Life?". She tells them to provide supporting details from the story.

Roberto, "They have maids that clean up after the party." Ms. Gallagher responds, "Household staff".

Next, Cory shares his answer. "A lotta food." Ms. Gallagher says, how would we say that? He replies, "An abundance of food [in a mock standard English]." Ms. Gallagher smiles and says, "Oh I like that" as she writes it on the board. Cory smiles to the class and replies, "I knew you would. "   (Fieldnote, 01/13/11)

Ms. Gallagher had begun this discussion by asking students to offer their interpretation of how Gatsby's party represents the "good life." Roberto was the first student to respond with the answer ["they have maids"] to which Ms. Gallagher did not evaluate as right or wrong, but changed it to ["household staff"] when she wrote it on the board. Even though Roberto did not use non standard English in his response, Ms. Gallagher changed his language once she wrote it on the board, signaling her expectation that the students use a more academic English register. In this case, Ms. Gallagher revoiced Roberto's answer with an embedded repair. Interestingly, she challenged Cory to repair his own language, which he does, in a playful voice. Cory's decision to use a higher pitched mock voice when he said "an abundance of food" indicated his annoyance by his teacher's request to change his answer ["how would we say that?] into a more acceptable answer. His having to change his answer seemed prompted by Ms. Gallagher's desire for him to code-switch into a more formal standard English. And despite the fact Cory was capable of doing

so, he clearly was dissatisfied with being asked to code-switch and expressed these feelings to the rest of his peers when he turned around, offered a fake smile to the class and indicated he already knew Ms. Gallagher would like his repaired version of the answer.

Ms. Gallagher's classroom posed an interesting site of inquiry because it demonstrated competing cultures in a classroom. As an English teacher, Ms. Gallagher seemed inclined to remind students to use standard English, while the students seemed content with discussing the content of the book in a language register they were comfortable with. As expected, half of her students complied with her classroom norms and would engage in code switching when she wanted them to use standard English. A review of the data later revealed that certain students were always quiet. These students did not speak when Ms. Gallagher called on them, which seemed unusual when compared to the way the students acted outside the classroom. I suspected that these students' disengagement was in part due to the linguistic norms set forth in the classroom. These classroom norms indexed the linguistic norms set forth by the school in an effort to underscore the importance of linguistic and cultural demands reminiscent of the corporate world.

Overall, it was clear that the corporate work study program offered students social capital and critical life skills. The school's emphasis on the work study program influenced the St. Peter staff to inculcate the norms associated with corporate work culture into the norms of the school. In that manner, students had to develop their bicultural skills which helped them navigate the corporate world and other spaces that privileged the culture of the dominant class. Notwithstanding the positive effects of the work study program on the students and staff, the corporate work study program created difficult and sometimes negative situations for students and staff that were not addressed by the school.

For example, St. Peter students cited their work colleagues as instrumental role models (social capital) that taught them to adapt to the workplace. Ricardo Stanton Salazar recognized the importance of these individuals in the live of non-dominant youth because they serve as cultural agents. Non-dominant youth who have yet to be socialized into different habitus can benefit from a cultural agent that will "guide students through new social situation in a particular cultural sphere" in an effort to allow them to better integrate into a distinct environment (Stanton-Salazar, 2010). However, interviews with some students revealed that some work sites lacked this social capital and as a result the workplace was an alienating experience for them. During an interview, Jared shared how he felt alone at his work site.

Jared: I'm the only person of color in my building, and it's not – there's no Latinos. So there's like nobody I could like – I'm not racist or anything, but I just feel comfortable with my own people. I don't know why I consider Hispanics and Black people kind of the same. I don't know, but I just do. They're all White.

Researcher: How do you get along with your supervisor?

Jared: I actually was moved downstairs in the sales department. I didn't get along with him too well. I understand that it's a corporate world and all that, but I don't like people talking down to me. I don't know. I don't like people talking down to me and that's kind of like frustrating. One day he told me to go upstairs. That was when I got moved downstairs because I didn't have no work to do, and I like to draw. So I could draw. And actually it wasn't a pretty good picture too. Then he saw it and he's like "You're not supposed to be on the internet. You're supposed to be doing work." I'm like "I have no work." So I got moved downstairs. And downstairs is way more boring, like a dungeon. …Its lonely. I can't be myself. I like to be around people. Like smiling and having fun by myself. And at work- that's not me.

My findings point to a trend among students who wanted to espouse their own ways of being in multiple habitus and found it difficult to transition into the behavioral norms of the corporate world. In some ways, these students were cultural resisters and while they could manage to switch between cultures, they simply did not want to all of the time. Jared's experience was not

unique and revealed a critical need at St. Peter. Some job placements left students without a cultural guide to help them ease into the workplace – and for students like Jared, who may have needed more social scaffolds to integrate better into the workplace, this was a very isolating experience. In fact, there were students who were asked to work at the school because they could not maintain a job, and they were supported by staff on campus that helped them acclimate to the work experience, but this was the exception. These students actually cost the school money because they did not have a corporate work study job that would fund their tuition.

Although the corporate work study program offered students at St. Peter exposure to dominant culture and potentially lucrative socioeconomic opportunities, the school and/or the corporate work study supervisors did not support all students equally- nor did they want to. There were some corporate work supervisors who asked St. Peter corporate work study staff to only give them Latino students as student workers citing that these students were easier to work with. The staff at St. Peter that knew about this found this highly problematic but nothing was done about it. The tenuous relationship between corporate work sites and the schools in situations like these points to the power the corporate work study sites maintain over St. Peter and its students given they are financial benefactors of students and the school. Still, the lack of critical response to these work supervisors makes St. Peter complicit in both a dual world of financial reality and racist ideologies that further serve to marginalize African American students labeled as unmanageable in a world where negative stereotype s of African American males already exist.

While some students at St. Peter benefitted from the work experience, the school did not have a mechanism for all students to share their negative experiences at work or provide ongoing support for students who demonstrated difficulty at work. Students were encouraged to speak to

the school corporate work study staff if they felt that something was wrong. Ms. Cardeiro explained what she told students.

> If something looks out of normal, it's out of the ordinary, come to us or go to them [work supervisor]." And know that you're not gonna be in trouble for that. But you have to have concrete examples as to why you want a certain action to take place. Because, you are the young one, you are the teenager and people aren't always, adults aren't always giving you the right of way because of the age that you have. And so, you have to come across, very professional. You have to come across with a sense of accuracy that I'm giving you something that's accurate and here are the facts. And it's affecting my production and I don't want my production to be affected because I want to make sure I don't get in trouble. When the student can articulate then, then power to them 'cause sometimes as an adult, it's hard to do.

Ms. Cardeiro often reminded students, as did other staff, that they could go to them if something was bothering them at work. However, the mechanism assumes that students will engage in help-seeking behavior, which non-dominant youth often find difficult to do. Additionally, the mechanism assumes that students will be able to document the abnormalities they are experiencing and make sense or fit before they decide to go to an adult. For non-dominant youth who have little experience with corporate work culture, determining if something was abnormal may be awkward for the students who were completely unfamiliar with the habitus of a white collar office environment. Administrators at the school shared that even parents who found out about awkward situations at work would call the school and start their statements by saying, "I'm not sure if this is appropriate but…" which serves as a reminder that even the parent had limited exposure to corporate work setting norms.

Additionally, students working in the corporate work study program were exposed to a degree of wealth and privilege that resulted in confusion about social mobility and poverty because they lacked the forum in which to discuss these issues. For example, when I observed

students working in downtown, students shared how they were really impressed by the extreme wealth of the law firms and offices. As an observer, I could recount how luxurious some of these law firms were with marble floors and breathtaking panoramic views of the city. Students recalled feeling nervous their first year, but that their work colleagues often helped them acclimate to a new setting. Still, there were times when the students did not know how to deal with the issues of working in such luxurious workplaces knowing that their own families worked under very different circumstances. The following is an excerpt from a field note of a conversation with a young man that recounted such an experience.

We stood in front of the brick bank building waiting for the bus to pick us up. After a couple of minutes the students and I began to talk about school and work. Then, David told me he wants to go to Georgetown. He said he went on a trip to Washington, DC and he really liked the university. I told him I went there and we shared stories about Georgetown. Afterwards, I asked him what he wants to do after college. David replied, "I'm not sure." I continued and asked him if he wants to be a lawyer, since he is working at a law firm. He remained silent and shook his head to indicate no. He admitted, "I see how much money they make. Like one guy I saw- made like the most at 600 dollars an hour." Looking downwards toward the street, David shared his disbelief at the level of money another person could make, and how sad and angry it made him feel to know that his parents work so hard and would never make money like that. As like he felt he needed to reiterate, David repeated that he did not want to work at a place like this in the future, but that he did want to go to college and get a good career. I ended this part of our conversation by asking if he thinks that college will help him make money and he just looked up at me and smiled.   (Field note, 01/25/11)

David's experience highlights the conflict some of the students felt when they were aware made aware of the wealth the people at their work sites enjoyed. For most students, the lure to work in such places of opulence was simple and they enjoyed the opportunities to make extra money during the summer and winter break. But alumni shared how they felt conflicted about wanting to make enough money to help their own families and still make an impact on their community.

My findings indicate that the work study program served to benefit students in multiple ways, but also made them acutely aware of the racial and socioeconomic issues that plague society. Furthermore, the school did little to encourage talk about these issues and yet every alumni recalled how they struggled with the obviousness of racial and socioeconomic disparities at work. Eduardo, a junior in college explained,

> At the end of the day we – like after you worked there for a few years and you start moving away from your naiveness, we're like "Okay, you know, they put me in the mail room with all the Latinos or in the IT department with the African Americans or whatever," but we didn't really talk about it. It is what it is, so that's why I'm going to college. …Yeah, we didn't talk about. There were a lot of things that are said at other schools that kind of we just knew it was the truth. I mean, in reality, it is what it is. Like we're the dominated individuals in society and we're just like the ones kind of like trying to make it. And we all kinda just knew that.

For Eduardo, the work study was an incredible experience- but that came with a cost of his naiveté. His experience in the work study program offered him an experience that he would never have in his local neighborhood, but also made him aware of the racial inequities that plague Latino and African Americans. According to some staff at St. Peter, the school needed to support their students as they learned about the structural and racial inequities that plagued their communities and common ethnic/racial groups.

I think what I'm most afraid of is that this school is so oblivious to race …as far as the adults here and administration …like the institution of the school, not necessarily the individual people. But we are raising …young men of color and they don't necessarily understand that there's a world out there that is not excited that they're going to be in college or sitting in the classes next to them and so on. …I think that when they leave here, they're unequipped to deal with that. And so, you know, you have, and I don't know if it's necessarily [St. Peter] specifically, I think that it may be a problem across the board because, I mean, we have our Black History and our Latino here, we have our cultural celebrations with them and that's great but at the end of the day, I think they'll be in a situation where these kids are just, they'd come up without that struggle of race or without that- you know, everybody, it looks like they're here. And so, when you have

issues like the "Compton cook-out" or the different issues of race that go on a college campuses. I want them to understand that that is not ok and that they have a voice to speak. But, I think that doesn't just happen, you can't just expect those students to be like that if you've never taught them prior to that. Number one: They should be proud of who they are and number 2: They should not allow anyone to disrespect who they are. And so, I think that we don't do that here.   (Ms. Nichols, College counselor)

A group of staff emerged from the data at St. Peter identified the need for the staff as a whole to take on these issues and help students develop a critical analysis to better deal with the complexities of their schooling, work and home lives. St. Peter seemed to lack a critical number of empowerment agents in schools who could discuss these issues of inequity and in effect prepare the young men of color, to consider why certain groups have been historically marginalized from dominant spaces.

Still, the corporate work study program provided students and St. Peter with an immense amount of resources (including capital) that structured opportunity for low income Latino and African American students. The corporate work sponsorship allowed the school to benefit financially and offer its students a comprehensive college going culture with the resources from the sponsoring companies. This model of education offered students from underserved communities access to dominant forms of cultural capital, and most often offered them social capital in the form of caring adults who provided them the cultural know how of these habitus. Additionally, the experience to work in a structured program with the support of institutional agents on campus and at work offered students the opportunity to develop self confidence as they learned how to work in these corporate settings.

However, social capital expert, Ricardo Stanton-Salazar warns that when schools or programs such as these rely on adults to serve as social capital for students, prejudices remain

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and adults can still alienate some students (1997, 2001). In the case of St. Peter, this was exactly the case, as it became clear that the more the school pushed dominant forms of capital on students at school, a group of students acted as cultural resisters. And given that St. Peter segregated its students, the Latino and African Americans students on campus were the majority. In this manner, the adults on campus attempted to bring a culture onto campus that oftentimes conflicted with students' ways of being, and was frustrating for some students. Without an array of extracurricular activities and sports program and the time to participate in them, a number of students at St. Peter missed out on the social development of their own interests and ways of being that might have affected the level of school sprit on campus. As ideal as the corporate work study program was for most students, the program asked students to adapt and change a lot. And ironically, most of the teachers and staff did not value or accommodate the non-dominant culture of their students, which further alienated these students.

It was my impression that the staff often pointed to the cultural resisters who rebelled and had trouble with adapting to the cultural norms at work as the students that needed the most help, and I would agree. However, I suspect that some staff at St. Peter did not want to place forth much effort with these students, and I maintain it is the school's duty to support these students. If the school was going to require students to become cultural navigators, then they should provide scaffolds for these students the way they would for students who struggled with reading. These students needed extra support from either a work placement on St. Peter's school site where they eased into the workplace or perhaps the consistent guidance from a cultural agent that could relate and guide students into the corporate world.

While the corporate work study program may not appeal to all students, it was my impression that students who did not want to work at a place of employment in high school were the group

that the school could not support. I interviewed one such student, and it was clear that nothing would ever change his mind to agree that working during his high school career. It simply did not make sense to him. And yet, there were students who changed over time. I learned that Jared hated the school and work study program so much his ninth grade year, he left the school. But after one year at his local public school, he reapplied to St. Peter because he knew that the school would help him get to college. And it did.

In many ways, the corporate work study program provided the young men at St. Peter an intense and sometime uncomfortable educational experience, but one that would certainly pay off the future. Similar to the A Better Chance program that offered underrepresented youth the opportunity to attend prestigious boarding schools; the merit of the St. Peter corporate work study program rests in that students would understand (in the long run) that they received a wonderful educational experience (Johnson & Prom, 1983). It is my hope that St. Peter will continue to support the needs of its students, including their cultural resisters, and make adjustments to their practice rather than blame the students for not adapting fast enough.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusion

Summary of Findings

There is a need for schools that can meet the needs of low income and non-dominant youth as well as provide them with a college going curriculum that can prepare them for post secondary success (Oakes, et al., 2000). My dissertation sought to explore how structures within two Catholic schools attempt to disrupt the pattern of failure for urban youth and in particular for young men of color.

In particular, I highlighted the role of a corporate work study program at St. Peter High School to answer research question 1: *What is the role of a corporate work study program in the development of students' academic and social identity? Does the work study experience serve as an important source of social and cultural capital? A college-going identity?* The work study program allowed low-income students from underrepresented backgrounds to attend a private, Catholic school. Without the work study, students would not be able to afford to pay for school let alone benefit from the resources afforded to students in the form of a college going culture, small classroom size and teacher to student ratio. In this manner, the students were able to increase their social capital by having access to a committed and caring faculty and staff that seemed to go above and beyond normal expectations to support their students.

The corporate work study program also garnered social capital for students with their work supervisors and colleagues. Survey data suggested that the students not only learned various skills at work, but they were able to do so because of the strong relationships they built with their work study supervisors and colleagues. The corporate work study program provided

students with an adult or network of adults who served to acclimatize them to the norms of dominant corporate culture, which include obtaining a post secondary education. For the vast majority of St. Peter students, the relationships they built with adults at work allowed them to benefit from (a) role model(s) who helped them acquire the skills to navigate an environment that has historically associated with the norms of the dominant class.

I used data presented in chapters five to answer my research question 2: *How is a college-going culture created in two urban, all male Catholic high schools? What are the processes and characteristics of each school site that facilitate a college preparatory environment?* My findings demonstrate that both of the urban Catholic high schools examined in this study utilized similar structures to establish and sustain a college going culture. Each school built a college going culture through its college preparatory curriculum and a college counseling program that provided a series of college oriented activities. Additionally, each school provided academic support and access to a college counselor: with some varying degree of differentiation. Notably, the students at St. Peter benefitted from staff and corporate work study supervisors that engaged in a *college-going discourse* which emphasized all students would continue their post secondary education.

Underrepresented youth, and especially those without parents who attended college, need scaffolds to help them create a college going identity and receive a high school experience that will adequately prepare them for college. Both schools established a college office that offered information on colleges, but St. Peter offered exposed its students to a series of college educated people and college oriented programs, which served as critical cultural capital as they developed their academic identities. Furthermore, each school promoted a college going culture in the homes of students by providing grade level specific parent workshops aimed at college

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preparation and application processes. These workshops were presented in Spanish at both schools and were often facilitated by staff members that Spanish speaking families felt comfortable approaching.

Research indicates that the non dominant youth and in particular young men of color may suffer at the hands of teachers and counselors that maintain low expectations for them (Allen, et al., 2009b; Valenzuela, 1999). In contrast, the discourse on high-expectations for non-dominant youth has been the cornerstone of many successful schools and programs aimed at disrupting the cycle of underachievement in non-dominant communities (Mehan, et al., 1996). In an effort to disrupt this cycle of academic failure, the staff at St. Peter promoted a college going culture by instituting a discourse of high expectations (e.g. college) on campus and at work. St. Peter staff and students' work supervisors and colleagues engaged in a *college-going discourse* that assumed all students would go to college. The adults on campus and at work shared a similar language about college in which they constantly reminded students that they would all go to college and in particular, the high school work they engaged in would serve to prepare them for their postsecondary education.

Latino and African American male youth are particularly vulnerable to street socialization and alienated from the pro-academic norms on their high school campus (Conchas & Vigil, 2012; Hurd, 2004). Catholic schools benefit from strong social capital whereby students can develop strong relationships with staff and peers through the mechanisms set in place by schools. Towards that end, I utilized chapter five to highlight these school mechanisms and answer research question #3**:** *How do dominant forms of social and cultural capital get shared and distributed at these two urban Catholic high schools? How do students perceive and engage with dominant forms of social and cultural capital? What are the roles of extracurricular*

activities and religious classes in the development of students' academic and social identity? Do these activities serve as an important source of social and cultural capital? A college-going identity? Both Divinity and St. Peter High schools expected that their teachers and staff would take on additional responsibilities which would allow them to develop multi-stranded relationships with students. The two schools shared a common interest in educating the whole person, and pointed to the importance of campus ministry and extra-curricular activities as a forum in which to develop these *multi-stranded relationships* so that teachers and students can develop stronger bonds in an effort to develop pro-social norms. While the adults on campus served as purveyors of social capital, their influence with students resulted in mixed results particularly for students from St. Peter. As noted in chapter five, the students at St. Peter looked to their teacher as helpful with academic issues, but a limited amount of students were able to turn to teachers for personal problems.

My findings demonstrate that the staff at Divinity and St. Peter utilized religious programs and extracurricular activities to develop social capital for students. "Brotherhood" acted as a form of peer social capital at school sites where the young men encouraged each other to engage in pro social and pro academic norms. And in the case of Divinity, the "brotherhood" was strengthened by the structures embedded within extracurricular activities the school created to capitalize on peer social capital. Despite the fact that students at St. Peter saw their peers as the major source of moral support to do well in school, there was an absence of formal structures set in place so students could assist each other.

Within the context of education, Latino and African American students are often subject to educational experiences that undervalue and marginalize non-dominant culture and in effect constructs failure for students who have difficulty acclimating to dominant culture (Carter, 2005;

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Solorzano & Yosso, 2001). Urban Catholic schools have also been found to underutilize the cultural experiences of their students even though it could serve to help students develop a stronger multi dimensional academic identity (Dallavis, 2008). In light of these issues, my findings indicate that Divinity and St. Peter High schools ranged in their acceptance of non-dominant culture. Divinity in particular was able to utilize its extracurricular activities and campus ministry activities on campus to honor and integrate the non-dominant culture of students into the school culture.

The school culture at St. Peter was mitigated the by the corporate work study program which served to marginalize the culture of non-dominant youth. Students were asked to speak, dress, act, and essentially mirror the corporate work culture. While some students already mastered bicultural adeptness, others who did not easily espouse the values and characteristics of the dominant corporate culture were reprimanded for it. The limited number of extracurricular activities, student activities and the watered down sports program contributed to the absence of non-dominant youth culture on campus. There were few spaces where students could position their home life and cultural experiences, with the exception of a couple of religious services and assemblies that were celebrated according to the "Heroes and Holidays Models".

Recommendations for Urban Schools

Given the aforementioned findings, I offer policy recommendations for urban and majority-minority schools. This study determined the importance of a college going culture that not only offers students information and resources, but the importance of a college-going discourse which calls on all staff members to actively use language in public and private spaces to acclimate students to collegiate expectations. If college has become a necessary function of

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social mobility, staffs working with low-income students need to make college more transparent for students so that students can make better choices about which college is best for them

The need for institutional agents has been largely lauded in the educational literature. Still, my study revealed the different kinds of support adults can offer students. In particular, my findings indicate that schools that serve underrepresented youth must ensure that there are enough college counselors in high schools to serve students. It was clear from the study, that even when these counselors are on campus, they need to be supported so that they can provide the adequate assistance to their students. Furthermore, for low-income underrepresented youth, institutional agents (teachers and counselors) will have to move beyond simply "being there" for students, but rather engage in purposeful *assistance giving behavior*. I suggest school leaders assess their staff on the basis of their ability to develop social capital for students, whether through multistranded relationships through extracurricular activities or through *assistance giving behavior*. In a time, where budget cuts plague our schools, we must acknowledge that college counselors and teachers should not be the first to be cut from our schools.

My research also suggested that students in segregated schools can benefit from the social capital of integrated work spaces. While it remains unfeasible to create work study programs across the country, segregated schools can look to innovative programs that could develop social capital at their school sites. For example, at the secondary level, various programs such as Upward Bound and Puente have utilized mentoring programs and internships to develop social capital for students. At the elementary school level, dual language programs have the promise of integrating Latino immigrant communities with other (usually white) families that have higher levels of social capital due to higher levels of learning (Morales & Aldana, 2010). More importantly, dual language programs will allow students from dominant (white) and non-

dominant (Latino) cultural backgrounds to share their cultural capital at school, which as this study indicates is critical for success of historically marginalized groups.

This study also found that urban Catholic schools are in need of educators well trained in culturally relevant pedagogy that will integrate their experiences and non-dominant cultural capital into their teaching. In particular, my findings at Divinity suggest that religion classes and campus ministry program could be utilized to integrate the lived experiences and sociocultural experiences students contend with. If Catholic schools want to facilitate students' spiritual and academic development, they will have to learn, integrate and value the cultural capital of marginalized groups into their pedagogy.

Finally, my findings also suggest that students gain social capital and more importantly, peer social capital though extracurricular activities. In a time of budget cuts, I speculate that extracurricular activities may be the last thing we consider. However, I argue that underrepresented minority youth have the most to lose when these programs are not present. Given the amount of time, effort, dedication and resilience it takes Latino and African-American males to persist in schools, I maintain that schools and Catholic schools in particular, have the moral imperative to construct opportunities for success for students- but not at the expense of their happiness.

<p style="text-align:center">Limitations of the Study</p>

One possible limitation of this study rests upon the claim that Catholic schools (like private schools) select their students and while the school may provide a great academic and social environment- student success is attributed to the type of students that were accepted into these schools in the first place. As Anthony Bryk and colleagues argue- Catholic schools <u>benefit not</u> from extraordinary students, but rather by the social trust facilitated by the voluntary

association these students and their families enter in with the school (Bryk, et al., 1993). In other words, social trust mediates behavioral and academic norms of Catholic schools, such that parents and students who choose to enter the community trust the school to remove students who do not "fit" and follow the norms set forth by the hierarchy. In turn, parents agree to make financial sacrifices and students act according to the social and academic norms of the school, which are also supported by parents. In effect, social trust serves to cement the social capital of a Catholic school, which might be difficult to replicate in public schools but not impossible.

Therefore, this study focused not so much on the student outcomes but intended to understand *how* the each of these very unique Catholic schools operated and met the needs of low-income students and their families. By examining the schools over the course of one year, the study was able to operationalize how the school facilitated social capital and impacted students. While alumni were included to understand the impact of the corporate work study program on students, they were limited in sample and all but one attended 4-year universities. In this manner, the study's generalizability is limited, but Catholic high schools are still worth investigating given their college acceptance rates for low-income and underrepresented students.

My research encourages educational practitioners and leaders to focus more on building connections between students, families and communities so they can work in tandem, rather than at odds. In educational debates today, we are often critical about which system: charter, public or Catholic can best meet the needs of our students. But in a time when young men of color, particularly have paid for this debate with their livelihoods, we must continue to look for answers in successful models of education. This research is not intended to sell the idea of Catholic schools, but rather highlight how two schools are attempting to serve young men of color in a time where the costs have been too great to be a Latino or an African American male student.

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Epilogue

A year after data collection ended, I witnessed the faculty of St. Peter, along with parents and corporate work study supervisors, glow with happiness, when the seniors at St. Peter stood in front of their "brothers" and school community to declare the college they would commit to attend in the fall. Students, dressed in shirt and tie, walked up to the podium one by one, and announced to the world (via a live internet feed) their name, where they worked for the last four years and their commitment to pursue a postsecondary education. Students lauded everyone's commitment to attend college, whether it was a two year or four year school, major university or small liberal arts college. At the end of the ceremony, mothers wept with pride, and exclaimed nothing but praise for the hard work put in by their sons. Work colleagues and school staff applauded and beamed with proud smiles as all of the seniors embraced on the stage revealing the significance of their brotherhood for the last four years. The significance of this event cannot be underestimated, as it served as a major example of what awaits the underclassmen in the room. And I would be insincere if I said I was not crying too. In what is perhaps the most momentous occasion of the day, Jesse's younger brother, now a senior, announced he would attend the same university as his older brother, and I couldn't help but think what a difference a school makes.

Jesse graduated from college this May and I can't describe the intense level of pride a former teacher feels when her students achieve such a major milestone. My pride only increased when I found out he would return to St. Peter as a teacher next year. His presence will most positively impact the school community and I suspect he will quickly become an empowerment agent for his students as others did for him at St Peter.

APPENDICES

Appendix A- Mission Effectiveness for the schools of the Cristo Rey Network

As a member of the Cristo Rey Network, a school:

1. Is explicitly Catholic in mission and enjoys Church approval.
2. Serves only economically disadvantaged students. The school is open to students of various faiths and cultures.
3. Is family centered and plays an active role in the local community.
4. Is accredited by a recognized regional accrediting association. It has a college preparatory curriculum designed for a high level of student engagement in their learning.
5. Requires participation by all students in the work-study program. All students must be 14 years by September 1st.
6. Integrates the learning present in its work program, classroom and extracurricular experiences for the fullest benefit of its student workers.
7. Has an effective administrative and board structure as well as complies with all applicable state and federal laws.
8. Is financially sound and at full enrollment the school is primarily dependent on revenue from the work-study program to meet operating expenses. In addition, the school maintains a comprehensive advancement program to ensure financial stability.
9. Understands, assures, and improves how and how well its students learn and grow.
10. Is an active participant in the collaboration, support, and development of the Cristo Rey Network.

Appendix B- High School Student Survey

DIRECTIONS: Please circle the number that describes your answer best.

1. My teachers give me the moral support I need to do well in school.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

2. My friends at this school give me the moral support I need to do well in school.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

3. My other friends give me the moral support I need to do well in school.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

4. My friends at this school give me the academic support I need to do well in school.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

5. My other friends give me the academic support I need to do well in school.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

6. I rely on my teachers for advice and guidance on making important school related decisions.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

7. I rely on our school counselors for advice and guidance in making important school related decisions.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

8. I rely on other school staff for advice and guidance in making important school related decisions.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

9. My teachers are sensitive to my personal needs.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

10. My teachers are good at helping me solve school-related or academic problems.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

11. My teachers are good in helping me solve personal problems.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

12. My school counselors/staff are good as helping me solve school related or academic problems.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

13. My school counselors are good at helping me solve personal problems.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

14. I have a friendly and trusting relationship with a number of teachers.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

15. I have a friendly and trusting relationship with at least one of the school counselors or school staff.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

16. Students get along well with teachers and staff at this school.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

17. There is a real good school spirit at my high school.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

18. There is a college going culture at my high school.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

19. Discipline is fair at my high school.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

20. I like my high school.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

*Questions 21-26 are only applicable to students in the work study program

21. I rely on my work supervisor or other work adult colleagues for advice and guidance in making school related decisions.
   1   2   3   4

   Strongly   Disagree   Agree   Strongly
   Disagree   Agree

22. My work supervisor or other work adult colleagues are sensitive to my needs.
   1   2   3   4
 Strongly   Disagree   Agree   Strongly
 Disagree   Agree

23. My work supervisor or other work adult colleagues are good in helping me solve work related problems.

   1   2   3   4
 Strongly   Disagree   Agree   Strongly
 Disagree   Agree

24.   My work supervisor or other work adult colleagues are good in at helping me personal problems.
   1   2   3   4

 Strongly   Disagree   Agree   Strongly
 Disagree   Agree

25. I have a friendly and trusting relationship with at least one of my supervisors and/or adult work colleague.
   1   2   3   4

 Strongly   Disagree   Agree   Strongly
 Disagree   Agree

26. I like the corporate work stud y program.
   1   2   3   4

 Strongly   Disagree   Agree   Strongly
 Disagree   Agree

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Appendix C- Student Interview Protocol

Friends at School
1. Tell me about your friends at this school.
   a. Do you have friends that attend other schools? Why or why not?
2. Do you study/do homework with your friends from school? Friends from other schools? Family members?

Experiences at This School
3. How did you hear about this school? What was it like starting as a new student here?
   a. Did your teachers or counselor explain what classes to take?
   b. Did your teacher or advisor explain how you should act at the school? Is this similar to different to how you act with your friends from school? Family? Work?
   c. Did you feel like you had to change any parts of your personality, attitude, speech to attend school here?
   d. Did you make friends easily?
   e. What other kinds of support did you receive?
   f. What else would have been helpful to you?
4. What is your relationship like with other students? Teachers? Staff? Do you feel like you belong to this school community? Are you comfortable as a student here?
5. Is everyone expected to go to college here? If not, why?
6. Tell me about the extracurricular activities you are involved with? How has that experience affected you?
7. What religion classes have you taken? What do you talk about in these classes?
8. Are you involved in any other religious activities, clubs, or service? How has that experience affected you?
9. Are your parents welcomed at this school?
10. Would any of your friends from other schools want to attend this school?
11. Do your teachers/coaches/advisors/ ever bring up issues of race/ethnic groups? Do they talk about less fortunate communities? What do you think they are trying to say?

Experiences in the corporate work study program (CWSP)
12. Where were you placed through the corporate work study program? Was this your first choice? Why or why not?
13. Tell me about your responsibilities at your CWSP job. How has that experience affected you? What are some skills you have learned? Has the experience changed you in any way ?
14. Is there anything that is difficult about being in the corporate work study program?
15. Are there any other ways that the corporate work study program has helped you?
16. Did you feel like you had to change any parts of your personality, attitude, speech to go to work? Why?
17. Have you worked anywhere else beside through the corporate work study program?
   a. Where? What did you do there
   b. How is your work through the work study program similar or different to your other jobs?
   c. What do your supervisors and fellow employees at your job do differently than your other colleagues?

Goals and Aspirations
18. What are your goals for after high school? Do you plan to go to college?
19. How does participating in the CWSP help you reach these goals? How has your Catholic education shaped these goals?
20. Who has helped you define your goals? Do you have any mentors?

Appendix D- School Staff Interview Protocol

1. Tell me your general impression about the school.
2. What is the culture of the school? (ie. College going? Catholic? Jesuit?) Who participates in this culture? Who does not? Why?
3. What is your role at this school? What is your relationship like with students? Teachers? Parents?
4. Tell me about the school sponsored groups, extracurricular activities and outside of the classroom activities provided by the school? What purpose do they serve?
5. Can you identify one to two elements of the school that you believe helps students academically? Socially?
6. Do you speak to students about issues of poverty, inequality? Race? What sort of message re you trying to convey?
7. Do you think a religious (Catholic) school environment has made an impact on the students' academic trajectories? How?
8. If you could name one or two things to improve the school or a specific program, what would they be?

Appendix E- St. Peter HS Alumni Survey

DIRECTIONS: Please circle the number that describes your answer best.

ST. PETER HS EXPERIENCE

1. My teachers at St. Peter gave me the moral support I needed to do well in school.
1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

2. My friends at St. Peter gave me the moral support I needed to do well in school.
1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

3. I relied on my teachers at St. Peter for advice and guidance on making important school related decisions.
1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

4. I relied on our school counselors at St. Peter for advice and guidance in making important school related decisions.
1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

5. I relied on other St. Peter school staff for advice and guidance in making important school related decisions.
1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

6. I relied on my corporate work study program supervisor or other work adult colleagues for advice and guidance in making school related decisions.
1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

7. I still turn to my St. Peter teachers to help me solve school-related or academic problems.
1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

8. I still turn to my St. Peter teachers to help me solve personal problems.
1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

9. I still turn to my St Peter school counselors/staff member to help me solve school related or academic problems or support.
1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

10. I still turn to my St. Peter school counselors/staff member to help me solve personal problems or support.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

11. I still turn to my CWSP supervisor or other work adult colleagues to help me solve work related problems.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

12. I still turn to my CWSP supervisor or other work adult colleagues to help me solve academic related problems.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

13. There is a real good school spirit at St. Peter.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

14. I was part of the college going culture at my St. Peter High School.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

15. Discipline is fair at St. Peter.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

16. I enjoyed my experience at St. Peter.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

17. I learned a lot from the corporate work stud y program.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

COLLEGE EXPERIENCE

18. I like the students at my present college.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

19. It has been easy to make friends at my present college.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

20. I have a network of friends at my present college that I can still rely on for support.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

21. I have a network of friends from St. Peter that I can still rely on for support.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

22. I like the professors at my present college.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

23. The professors care about me at my present college.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

24. I have a friendly and trusting relationship with at least one of my professors.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

25. It has been easy to find work given my set of skills and work experience.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

Alumni Data
Please check which ethnic/racial group you identify with.
__African American
__Asian and/or Pacific Islander
__Latino
__white
__ Mixed Race/Ethnic Group. Please identify which groups on the following line:

_____
__Decline to state
What is the <u>highest level</u> of education your mother has completed?
__Some grade school
__Some high school
__High School Diploma (*Preparatoria*)
__Some College
__ College Graduate
__Graduate School
__ Don't' know or decline to state
What was your GPA in high school? _____
How many extra-curricular activities did you participate in high school? ____
How many hours a week did these activities require? _____

Appendix F- St. Peter High School Alumni Interview Protocol

1. What was it like going to school here? How is it different than previous schools you attended? The same?
   a. Did you make friends easily?
   b. Were you comfortable as a student here?
   c. What other kinds of support did you receive? What adults played a key role in your education?
2. How would you describe the culture of the school? (i.e. college going, Catholic, Jesuit)
3. How did religion classes influence you (if at all)?
4. Are you still involved in any other religious activities, clubs, or service?
5. Were your parents welcomed at this school?
6. Would any of your friends from other schools have wanted to attend St. Peter? Why?
7. Did your teachers/coaches/advisors/ ever bring up issues of race/ethnic groups? Did they talk about less fortunate communities? What do you think they are trying to say?
8. How did being in the CWSP affect you? Did you change at all from participating in the experience? Did you feel like you had to change any parts of your personality, attitude, or speech to go to work? Why?
9. How has your CWSP experience influenced your college experience?
10. Are there any other ways that the corporate work study program affected you?
11. Was there anything that was difficult about being in the corporate work study program?
12. How is your work through the CWSP similar or different to your other jobs?
13. What are your goals for after college? In life?
14. How has St. Peter shaped these goals?
15. What other support do you need to reach these goals?
16. If you could name one or two things to improve this school, what would they be?

Appendix G- St. Peter High School Financial Eligibility Guidelines

FREQUENTLY ASKED QUESTIONS

How do I know if my family's household income meets the financial eligibility requirements of the Cristo Rey Network (CRN)?

1. If the applicant can qualify for the federal reduced or free lunch program offered at many schools; then his family will most likely meet the financial requirements of the Cristo Rey Network.
2. If the household income of the applicant does not exceed $38, 055, the family will meet the financial eligibility requirement of the Cristo Rey Network.

# of people in the household	Maximum Total Family Income
2	$38,055
3	$43,740
4	$58,320
5	$72,900
6	$87,480
7	$102,060

Appendix H- St. Peter High School Alumni Letters to their former teachers

Good Evening Ms. Graham,

So far college life is going great. I am still at SLU and I am involved in many activities, a little too many to be honest. I have made a far better transition from last semester than I expected. During my last semester I had only focused on studying and I did not focus on or develop a healthy social life. This semester I am pledging for a fraternity, I'm in different clubs and I have made a lot of friends outside of my clubs and fraternity. My grades are also better than what I expected. The only downfall to this semester is that I can barely sleep because I have so many other things that I have to complete. For example, one night I may study, get called by a brother of my fraternity to hang out, then get called by a club to participate in a potluck by making food, volunteer at a homelesse shelter and then go to work. It's quite a load that I am dealing with this semester, but I feel like it is making me manage my time better and it is also making me mature a lot.

The teachers who had an impact on me during my time at St. Peter High School were Mr. Gonzales, Ms. Gallagher, Ms. Meyers, Mr. Harold, Ms. Martin and of course Ms. Graham!! These teachers had an impact on me because they prepared me for college-level work. I actually found Ms. Martin's English class and Ms. Graham's Psychology class more difficult than my college-level English and psychology courses. These teachers at St. Peter truly made life in college a bit easier for me because I had an idea of the kind of assignments I would receive in college. Thank you Ms. Graham! I'll visit you guys in May.

KB

****

Hello Mrs. Graham

I just wanted to update on my current status. I currently have a 3.4gpa. I'm making a lot of friends this semester. Also I'm joining the football team. Hopefully I get a starting position. I'm also in the process of writing scholarship essay. I would like to thank Ms. Nichol and Mrs. Sharp for helping with the college process and helping me with my decision on which college I should attend. I would like to thank Mr & Mrs.White for helping me find my passion in math and also visiting me in February. I would also like to thank Mr. Gonzales for teaching his life lessons, they were really beneficial. I've learned to become a better man. Finally I would like to thank you Mrs. Graham, even though we didn't see eye to eye I've learned a lot from psychology class for an example on the first day I sat in the front row by white students, which helped me interact with different races/groups. Your psychology class was really difficult but it taught me to never give up. Everything I've learned from these teachers, I've instilled in my everyday life.

JM

Appendix I- St. Peter High School Student Poem

Past, present, future, of the life of Myself and I

When I look out on the world,
All I can think about is one think
I think about how life's gone for me
How can I make me better than me

Has my life been exciting from birth
Yes it has, I loved it a lot
Until the day I came to verb
Now I feel like I don't belong on earth

I've been in a lot of trouble
Between the past year and now
I wish I could take it all back
But it's too late for all that now

Last semester, I messed in school
Too busy chillin with my homie jay
I really didn't care about class
Now I'll be going to school without summer until graduation day

I need to change my life
But how do I do that
I'm going to get good grades
And ima lay down my hat

There's a lot that I want
How I want my life to be
I'm wanna be an entrepreneur
With a castle over seas

I'm going to make another choice
I'm gonna work hard for me
Because at the end
This man is gonna better than me.

-Maurice, 11th grader at St. Peter High School

Appendix J- St. Peter High School Corporate Partners (2009-2010)

Accounting
Deloitte & Touche LLP
Ernst & Young
Stanislawski and Harrison CPA's

Aerospace
The Aerospace Corporation

Car Dealership
Bob Smith Toyota

Commercial Banking
Bank of the West
BNY Mellon
Broadway Federal Bank
California National Bank
Comerica Bank
Union Bank of California
US Bank
Wells Fargo Home Mortgage

Education
California Science Center
Institute for Creative Technologies, USC
Loyola Law School
Loyola Marymount University
University of Southern California

Engineering/Manufacturing/Sales
Belkin International
Charles Pankow Builders, Ltd.
Herbalife International
Merle Norman Cosmetics
Nike

Entertainment
Sony Pictures Entertainment

Financial Services
Jefferies & Co.
Merrill Lynch
Operating Engineers Fund
Payden & Rygel
Trust Company of the West
Western Asset Management

Healthcare
QueensCare Family Clinics

Insurance
Cooperative of American Physicians, Inc
Keenan & Associates
Sullivan Group

Law
Archer Norris
Bingham McCutchen
Booth, Mitchel, & Strange, LLP
Buchalter Nemer
Carroll, Trotter, Kelly, Franzen & McKenna
Crowell & Moring LLP
Foley & Lardner
Gilbert, Kelly, Crowley & Jennett LLP
Girardi & Keese
Hennigan, Bennett & Dorman
Kegel, Tobin & Truce
Kirkland & Ellis
Latham & Watkins
Locke Lord Bissell Liddell LLP
Morris Polich & Purdy
Munger, Tolles & Olson
O'Melveny & Myers
Robie & Matthai
Sidley Austin LLP
Winston & Strawn

Marketing & Advertising
Creative Channel Services

Publications
Los Angeles Times

Real Estate
Brookfield Properties
CB Richard Ellis
Jones Lang LaSalle
Macerich Co.
Shea Properties
Thomas Properties Group

Transportation Brokerage
The Allen Lund Company

Transportation Engineers
Fehr & Peers

Utilities
Southern California Edison

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