

UC San Diego

UC San Diego Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

Passing Class: Heterophily, Cultural Capital, and Social Class Performativity among Low-Income Students

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/7z80b2sr>

Author

Lee, Priscilla

Publication Date

2019

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA SAN DIEGO

Passing Class:
Heterophily, Cultural Capital, and Social Class Performativity among Low-Income Students

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
Requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in

Sociology

by

Priscilla Lee

Committee in charge:

Professor Bud Mehan, Chair
Professor Paula Levin
Professor Isaac Martin
Professor Kwai Ng
Professor Ana Celia Zentella

2019

Copyright
Priscilla Jin Lee, 2019
All rights reserved.

The dissertation of Priscilla Lee is approved, and it is acceptable
in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically:

Chair

University of California San Diego
2019

DEDICATION

For my parents,
my heroes.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

SIGNATURE PAGE	iii
DEDICATION.....	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	v
LIST OF FIGURES	x
LIST OF TABLES	xi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	xii
VITA.....	xv
ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION.....	xvi
INTRODUCTION, BACKGROUND LITERATURE, AND METHODOLOGY.....	1
BACKGROUND LITERATURE.....	2
METHODOLOGY.....	9
<i>Site Description</i>	9
<i>Data Collection</i>	11
Working with West Bayside High School	11
Student Surveys.....	11
In-depth Interviews.....	12
Preparing Network Maps.....	13
Focus Groups.....	14
<i>Operationalizing Variables</i>	14
Social Class	14
Notes on Categorization	20
<i>Statistical Analysis</i>	31
REFLEXIVITY	32
STRUCTURE OF DISSERTATION.....	33
IN THE AP CLASSROOM: THE IMPACT OF EXPOSURE AND HETEROPHILY ON LOW- INCOME STUDENT EXPECTATIONS AND ACADEMIC EXPERIENCES	36
LOW-INCOME EXPECTATIONS BEFORE ENTERING WEST BAYSIDE HIGH SCHOOL	41
LOW-INCOME STUDENTS IN THE AP CLASSROOM.....	45
<i>Students' Interactions with One Another</i>	53
<i>Students' Interactions with Teachers</i>	64
LOW-INCOME STUDENTS AND RACE.....	71
<i>Asian American Students</i>	71
<i>Latino Students</i>	73
<i>Middle Eastern Students</i>	75
<i>African-American Students</i>	76
<i>Immigration</i>	78
LOW-INCOME SOCIAL CAPITAL.....	82

LOW-INCOME HETEROPHILOUS GROUPS..... 86

Low-Income Students Cultural Capital in Heterophilous Groups in the AP Classroom..... 90

Low-Income Students Cultural Capital in Heterophilous Groups and the AP Teachers..... 94

Low-Income Students in Heterophilous Groups and their Attempts at Passing 98

Low-Income Students in Heterophilous Groups and Withdrawal..... 100

LOW-INCOME STUDENTS WITH BOTH HOMOPHILOUS AND HETEROPHILOUS NETWORKS..... 103

CONCLUSION 105

OUTSIDE THE CLASSROOM: THE IMPACT OF HETEROPHILY ON LOW-INCOME STUDENTS’ EXPERIENCES ON-CAMPUS AND AFTER SCHOOL..... 108

 THE EXPERIENCE OF BEING LOW-INCOME STUDENTS IN A WEALTHY HIGH SCHOOL..... 109

Markers of Social Class: Clothing 115

Markers of Social Class: Car..... 119

Markers of Social Class: Trips/Vacations..... 121

Markers of Social Class: After-School Fun..... 124

Markers of Social Class: Neighborhood..... 128

 LOW-INCOME STUDENTS IN EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES 134

Barriers to Participation: High Cost 140

Barriers to Participation: Lack of Early Opportunities..... 142

Barriers to Participation: Distance 143

Barriers to Participation: Other Responsibilities at Home 145

 Responsibilities at Home: Jobs..... 145

 Responsibilities at Home: Families 148

 LOW-INCOME STUDENTS IN HETEROPHILOUS NETWORKS 151

Low-Income Students in Heterophilous Networks and Markers of Social Class: Clothing..... 152

Low-Income Students in Heterophilous Networks and Markers of Social Class: After-School Activities 155

Low-Income Students in Heterophilous Networks and Markers of Social Class: Neighborhood. 158

Low-Income Students in Heterophilous Networks and their Participation in Extracurricular Activities 159

 CONCLUSION 163

RACE AND CLASS: THE IMPACT OF HETEROPHILY ON LOW-INCOME STUDENTS’ EXPERIENCES OF RACE AND THE ADOPTION OF RACE FRAMES 165

 RACIAL STEREOTYPES AND THEIR INTERSECTION WITH SOCIAL CLASS 166

White Students 166

Asian-American Students 168

African-American Students..... 169

Latino Students..... 172

Treatment of Parents..... 180

 EXPLANATIONS OF RACIALIZED GROUPINGS: WEALTHY STUDENTS 185

Frames Employed by Wealthy Students: No Classism..... 186

Frames Employed by Wealthy Students: Naturalization..... 187

Frames Employed by Wealthy Students: Cultural Racism..... 189

 EXPLANATIONS OF RACIALIZED GROUPINGS: LOW-INCOME STUDENTS..... 191

Frames Employed by Low-Income Students: Classism and an Eliding of Class and Race 192

<i>Frames Employed by Low-Income Students: Naturalization</i>	197
<i>Frames Employed by Low-Income Students: Structure</i>	198
LOW-INCOME STUDENTS IN HETEROPHILOUS NETWORKS AND RACE	202
<i>Low-Income Students in Heterophilous Networks and their Interactions with Administration</i>	202
<i>Low-Income Students in Heterophilous Networks and their Accents</i>	203
<i>Low-Income Students in Heterophilous Networks and their Race Frames</i>	206
No Classism.....	206
Cultural Racism.....	209
Naturalization → Meeting New People	211
Cultural Brokers	214
Withdrawal	217
LOW-INCOME STUDENTS WITH HETEROPHILOUS AND HOMOPHILOUS NETWORKS	220
CONCLUSION	225
SENIOR YEAR AND BEYOND: THE IMPACT OF HETEROPHILY VS. CLASS ON SENIOR EXHIBITIONS, REFLECTIONS, AND COLLEGE-GOING OUTCOMES.....	228
SENIOR EXHIBITIONS.....	230
<i>Senior Exhibitions and Students' Preparation Times</i>	231
<i>Senior Exhibitions and Volunteer Panel</i>	239
<i>Senior Exhibition Results</i>	242
LOW-INCOME STUDENTS AND THEIR SOURCE OF INSPIRATION FOR THE FUTURE.....	247
<i>Source of Inspiration: Wanting to Disprove Stereotypes</i>	247
<i>Source of Inspiration: Family</i>	248
LOW-INCOME STUDENTS AND THEIR THOUGHTS ON WEST BAYSIDE	250
<i>Curriculum/Opportunities Available at West Bayside</i>	251
<i>Safety of West Bayside</i>	252
<i>Students at West Bayside</i>	253
<i>Ease with Cross-Location Encounters</i>	255
LOW-INCOME STUDENTS AND THEIR COLLEGE KNOWLEDGE	259
<i>Capital Knowledge About College Among Low-Income Students in Homophilous Networks</i>	261
<i>Capital Knowledge About College Among Low-Income Students in Heterophilous Networks</i>	264
COLLEGE-GOING DECISIONS.....	266
LOW-INCOME STUDENTS AND THEIR COLLEGE DECISIONS.....	274
<i>Low-Income Students and their Curtailed College Choices</i>	274
<i>Low-Income Students and their Curtailed Choices in College</i>	276
COLLEGE COMPLETION RATES, SIX YEARS LATER	277
CONCLUSION	282
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.....	286
SUMMARY	286
THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS	289
<i>Modifying Bourdieu's Cultural Capital and Reproduction Theory</i>	289
<i>The Importance of Incorporating Network Analysis and Heterophily</i>	292
COMPLICATIONS IN STUDYING HETEROPHILOUS NETWORKS.....	296
<i>Question of Causality</i>	296
<i>Other Explanatory Variables</i>	298
AVENUES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH.....	303

SUGGESTIONS FOR EDUCATORS	304
<i>At the School Level</i>	304
School Programs	304
The Impact of Adult Figures’ Race	305
Translators.....	306
<i>Preparing Faculty and Staff</i>	307
Teachers As Facilitators of New Educational Opportunities	307
Preparation for College	308
Awareness Training for Faculty and Administrators	310
WITH GRATITUDE.....	312
WORKS CITED.....	313
APPENDIX A: ADDITIONAL CHARTS FOR THE DISSERTATION.....	328
TIME OF FIRST EXPOSURE	329
HETEROPHILY OF SCHOOL ACQUAINTANCES	339
SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS.....	345
HETEROPHILY OF CLOSE FRIENDS	348
EXTRA MANN-WHITNEY U TESTS	354
APPENDIX B: SPSS RESULTS.....	358
DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS	358
<i>Immigration, by Socioeconomic Status</i>	358
<i>Language Spoken in Home, by Socioeconomic Status</i>	363
<i>Distance from School, by Socioeconomic Status</i>	368
<i>Parent’s Education, by Socioeconomic Status</i>	373
AP CLASSROOM.....	378
<i>Race</i>	378
ADDITION OF SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS AND RACE LAYERS.....	385
AP/SEMINAR INFORMATION.....	388
AP/SEMINAR FOR LOW-INCOME STUDENTS IN HETEROPHILOUS	390
NETWORKS	390
EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES	395
<i>Clubs/Extracurricular Activities</i>	395
<i>Clubs/Extracurricular Activities: Heterophilous vs Homophilous Groups</i>	396
<i>Sports: Low-Income vs. Wealthy Students</i>	399
<i>Sports for Heterophilous vs Homophilous Groups</i>	401
SENIOR YEAR.....	405
<i>Comparing Students by Socioeconomic Status</i>	405
<i>Comparing Low-Income Students by Network Composition</i>	412
<i>Comparing Low-Income Students in Homophilous Networks to Wealthy Students</i>	420
<i>Comparing Low-Income Students in Heterophilous Networks to Wealthy Students</i>	428
CONCLUSION	436
<i>Pearson Birvariate Correlations for Low-Income Students</i>	436
<i>Spearman’s Rho and Correlations</i>	438
CHI SQUARE TESTS.....	439
<i>Chi Square Test: Close Networks and Early Exposure</i>	439

<i>Chi Square Test: Classroom Networks vs Regular Contact</i>	441
<i>Chi Square Test: Close Networks vs Classroom Networks</i>	443
<i>Chi Square Test: Close Networks vs Contact Networks</i>	445
MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION.....	447
<i>T-test Between Surveyed Senior Class and Interviewed Sample</i>	447
APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW MATERIALS	449

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Background Characteristics, by Socioeconomic Status (n=66)	38
Figure 2. Number of Times Moved, by Socioeconomic Status (n=41).....	39
Figure 3. Low-Income Students' Early Exposure (via Elementary Schools) to Wealthy and/or Racially Different Students, by Race (n=39).....	43
Figure 4. Average Number of AP/Seminar Classes over High School Tenure, by Race/Ethnicity (n=223).....	48
Figure 5. Average Number of AP/Seminar Classes for Each Race/Ethnicity, Controlling for Socioeconomic Status (n=223).....	49
Figure 6. Average Number of AP/Seminar Classes Taken by Low-Income vs. Wealthy Students for Each Racial/Ethnic Category (n=223).....	50
Figure 7. Total Number of AP/Seminar Classes Throughout High School Tenure, All Survey Respondents (n=223).....	52
Figure 8. Average Number of AP/Seminar Courses Throughout High School Tenure, by Socioeconomic Status and Network Composition (n=60).....	88
Figure 9. Composition of Classroom Networks by Composition of Close Friends Networks, for Wealthy Students (n=27).....	89
Figure 10. Composition of Classroom Networks by Composition of Close Friends Networks, for Low- Income Students (n=33)	90
Figure 11. Number of Clubs/Activities Taken by Low-Income Students vs. Wealthy Students (n=222)	135
Figure 12. Total Number of Sports Taken by Low-Income Students vs. Wealthy Students (n=222)...	138
Figure 13. Total Number of Clubs/Activities for Heterophilous vs. Homophilous Networks, by Socioeconomic Status (n=59).....	160
Figure 14. Total Number of Sports for Heterophilous vs. Homophilous Networks, by Socioeconomic Status (n=59)	162
Figure 15. Amount of Time Spent Preparing for Senior Exhibitions, by Socioeconomic Status (N=52)	235
Figure 16. Amount of Time Low-Income Students Spent Preparing for Senior Exhibitions, by Network Composition (N=26)	236
Figure 17. Senior Exhibition Scores on a Scale of 1-6, by Socioeconomic Status (N=50).....	243
Figure 18. Low-Income Students' Senior Exhibition Scores, by Network Composition (N=25)	244
Figure 19. Future College's Selectivity Rating, by Socioeconomic Status (N=60).....	267
Figure 20. Low-Income Students' Future College's Selectivity Rating, by Network Composition (N=33)	270
Figure 21. Students' College Degree Status, Six Years after High School Graduation (N=60).....	278
Figure 22. Low-Income Students' College Degree Status, by Network Composition (N=33)	279

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Demographics of West Bayside High School	10
Table 2: Method for Calculating Exposure Scores and Heterophily Scores	28
Table 3: Student Characteristics and their Exposure/Heterophily Scores	30
Table 4. Mann-Whitney U Test for Group Differences in Total Number of Hours Spent Preparing for Senior Exhibitions	238
Table 5. Mann-Whitney U Test for Group Differences in Senior Exhibition Scores	246
Table 6. College Going Rates for Local School District, Local County, and Local State	269
Table 7. Mann-Whitney U Test for Group Differences in College's Selectivity Rating.....	273
Table 8. Mann-Whitney U Test for Group Differences in College Graduation Outcomes, Six Years Later.....	281
Table 9. Mann-Whitney Test for Differences between Heterophilous and Homophilous Networks for both Wealthy and Low-Income Students, on Various Variables.....	300

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I gratefully acknowledge all those who have offered their support and encouragement throughout graduate school and the dissertation process. First, I thank my advisor, Bud Mehan, for patiently and faithfully meeting with me, for guiding me when I didn't know what I was doing, for making sure I "could eat" via various jobs, and for inspiring me to do work that is close to my heart. You took me on even when you approached retirement and continued to advise me even when you did not have to, and for that I will always be grateful. Thank you for emails checking in on me, and for celebratory meals, for countless invaluable research opportunities, and for encouragement along the way.

Isaac Martin also deserves special thanks as my co-chair: thank you for your valuable insights, for patiently explaining parts of the grad school experience to me, and for being both a great professor to TA for, as well as learn from. You were the first professor I met at UCSD, and I had been touched by your kind gesture of hospitality in treating me to lunch and for graciously accepting my invitation to my committee by letting me know you would be honored to serve in that capacity. *I was honored by the opportunity to work with you.*

Similarly, Kwai Ng, Ana Celia Zentella, Paula Levin, Alan Daly, and Jeff Haydu all deserve special recognition for their hard work and dedication to their discipline. Kwai: it was always wonderful to run into you at the most random places throughout San Diego. Your warm and welcoming smile and kind words of encouragement meant so much to me. Ana Celia: you gave me my first research opportunity, and believed in me in a way I scarce hoped to even believe in for myself. Thank you for your constant, unwavering support, drinks whenever we caught up, and for checking in, even when you were traveling on your many engagements around the world. Thank you, most of all, for viewing me and treating me as a fellow scholar; it modeled a new way of viewing myself. Paula: thank you for your kindness and warmth; your words of affirmation; and for being so quick to come up with solutions and

practical suggestions to my conundrums. I will always appreciate your helpful and willing spirit. Alan: thank you for taking the time to meet with me, even when I was a stranger, to answer my questions about social network analysis. You are the reason I ended up doing ego-centered network analysis. I am also grateful for your words of encouragement to continue and to pursue a path of justice – they meant more than you know. Jeff: thank you for stepping in and helping with my field papers; for your enthusiasm and encouraging words; and your passion for your work. It showed in all you did: teaching, mentoring, and meeting with your students.

The UCSD Sociology Department generously provided some of the funding that made this research possible. To my colleagues in the department – Rebecca Culbert-Franklin, Stephanie Chan, Erin Cech, Raquel Jacob-Almeida, Lisa Nunn, Kelly Nielsen, Kelli Anderson, and more: thank you.

They say it takes a village to raise a child. I believe it also takes a village to raise a grad student. And my village ranks up there with the best of ‘em.

My parents are no exception. I cannot even begin to thank you both enough for the lavish love you’ve shown me. **오빠**: You are a model of goodness, compassion, faithfulness, and sacrificial love. Thank you for shining forth God in all you do. And **엄마**: Thank you for your unwavering support and steadfast love. You are an inspiration to all who know you. And the rest of my family is pretty awesome, too. In particular, I am grateful to Andy Lee for your sarcastic, but much appreciated, humor and grace; Gracie Lee for your patience during the nights I couldn’t play; and Eunice Sandrene for your cheerleading encouragement and support.

Jackie Allen: You have been there for me from the beginning. I cannot imagine this journey without you and your counsel from afar. All of our many, many hours-long conversations meant more to me than you will ever know. Thank you for being gold: an old, dear, and true friend. Rebecca Culbert-Franklin: I love that you were my accountability partner with whom to swap tips, exchange ideas, and “crack the whip.” Thank you for the weekly check-ins and encouraging texts. You are a blessing. Joseph Boyd: I was always guaranteed a laugh and a new fact every time I saw you. Thank

you for your brilliant wit, all those groceries, and your consistent belief in me. You always managed to brighten my days. Julia Dinwiddie: You are a treasure, and I can't imagine this thing without our meandering walks and talks and cries and laughter and all those memories over the years. They always bring a smile to my face.

Ellen Noyes, Sarah Baitzel, Federica Marchesi, Michelle Lande, Annette Lucman: thank you for not just being wonderful roommates, but also an amazing support system. Our long talks and long walks hold a special place in my heart.

And thank you, thank you, thank you to all those who have helped in practical and tangible ways along the way, embodying a *koinonia* that was generous, joyous, and delightful: Joseph Boyd for the "scholarship"; Ellen Davis for the room and utilities; Harinder Chahal and Julia Dinwiddie for weekend trips away; Akin Omigbodun and Katy Carlson for the long walks; the Seelmans for the baby-sitting gig; the Noyes for allowing me to stay in one of their homes, rent-free; and the Changs and the DeLongs for graciously opening up their homes to me as a "writer's retreat"... And the countless people who have touched my life and my heart over the years with their kind words and their sweet gestures of support – whether they were in the form of hand-written notes; home-cooked meals; gift cards; long, long conversations; or more. Every single one of you all have consistently bowled me over with your grace.

And most important of all.

To the One who is able to do exceedingly abundantly above all that I could ever ask or think¹:

Thank You for this marvelous² adventure.³

*"What's next, Papa?"*⁴

¹ Ephesians 3:20, KJV

² Psalm 118:23, ESV

³ Romans 8:15, Message

⁴ Romans 8:14-17, Message

VITA

EDUCATION

- 2019 Doctor of Philosophy, University of California San Diego
- 2005 Master of Arts, Columbia University
- 2004 Bachelor of Arts, James Madison University

RESEARCH INTERESTS

Reproduction of Inequalities (especially class, race, and gender), Sociology of Education, Sociology of Culture

SELECTED RESEARCH AND TEACHING EXPERIENCE

- 2016 – present *Adjunct Professor*, George Mason University
- 2013 – 2014 *Evaluation Research Specialist*, Jacobs Center for Neighborhood Innovation's Diamond Educational Excellence Partnership
- 2008 – 2013 *Data Analyst*, Center for Research on Educational Equity, Assessment, and Teaching Excellence (CREATE), University of California San Diego
- 2007 – present *Research Consultant*, performed data analyses and produced reports and presentations for various organizations
- Summer 2010 *Educational Consultant*, Beza International, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
- 2006 – 2008 *Teaching Assistant and Graduate Reader*, University of California San Diego
- 2004 – 2005 *Graduate Researcher*, Institute for Social and Economic Research and Policy (ISERP), Columbia University
- 2003 – 2004 *Research Assistant*, Harrisonburg Hispanic Services Council, Harrisonburg, VA

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Passing Class:
Heterophily, Cultural Capital, and Social Class Performativity among Low-Income Students

by

Priscilla Lee

Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology

University of California San Diego, 2019

Professor Bud Mehan, Chair

As inequality and segregation increase within the United States, schools are also becoming partitioned off by social class in a way that reflects the spatial segregation of the local neighborhoods they are drawing from. Several states have maintained creative efforts to desegregate schools using

programs to bus in students living further away, but low-income students are arriving only to find they are often minorities in increasingly wealthy spaces. Furthermore, low-income students, though few in number in these primarily wealthy schools, are not a monolithic group, and should not be treated as such. This dissertation uses structural characteristics of their friendship networks – particularly heterophily – as a categorizing device with which to better understand the diversity of the low-income experience for students who are attending wealthy schools.

I combine qualitative methods (in-depth interviews, focus group results) with quantitative ones (surveys, network analysis) to study not only how low-income students' experiences and outcomes might differ from those of their wealthier peers', but also how those experienced by low-income students in *heterophilous* networks might differ from those experienced by low-income students in *homophilous* networks. Over and over again, I find that low-income students in *heterophilous* networks access information (presumably via their diverse networks) that allow them to look like, sound like, and otherwise pass as some of their wealthier friends by incorporating aspects of their peers' cultural capital into their own toolkits, thus demonstrating that social class is more plastic and malleable than previously assumed. Low-income students in *homophilous* networks, meanwhile, are able to develop a class-consciousness that allow them to not only talk more freely about their class injuries and the classism they encounter on campus, but also to think critically about the structural ways class and race play a role in their lived realities. In the end, however, the agency and creativity low-income students exhibited in cultivating and maintaining different network-types, and the consequent information they gleaned and acted upon from those networks, could only take them so far; for bigger decisions that involved a significant financial outlay, social class reasserted itself as a powerful force in limiting and curtailing their choices.

Introduction, Background Literature, and Methodology

Despite sweeping and revolutionary laws mandating the eradication of Jim Crow and segregation of schools in the 1960's and 1970's, new research shows that inequalities have worsened in recent decades (Putnam 2015). Schools, after some initial progress through the end of the twentieth century, are now more segregated than ever (Bischoff and Reardon 2014; Owens 2016; Reardon & Bischoff 2011; Rothstein 2013; Watson 2009). Researchers have long noted that those who are low-income and/or minorities have unequal access to quality healthcare (Balsa et al 2003; Breland-Noble 2004; Bonow, Grant, and Jacobs 2005; Johnston Polacek, Ramos, Ferrer 2007; Kelly et al 2005; Owusu et al. 2005), quality childcare (Clark 2000; Houweling et al. 2007; Stahl, Schober, Spiess 2018), equal housing opportunities (DeSilva 2009; Flippen 2001; Krivo and Kaufman 2004; Matlack and Vigdor 2008), healthy food (Beulac, Kristjansson, and Cummins 2009; Morton and Blanchard 2007; Raja, Ma, and Yadav 2008; Walker, Keane, and Burke 2010), equal employment opportunities (Browne 1999; Huffman and Cohen 2004; McDonald, Lin, Ao 2009; Riach and Rich 2002; Stoll, Raphael, Holzer 2004; Zschirnt and Ruedin 2015), voting opportunities (Bentele and O'Brien 2013; Franko, Kelly, and Witko 2016; Horn 2011; Solt 2010), and other resources. As inequalities worsen, the disparities between the "haves" and the "have-nots" continue to widen.

In the face of these yawning changes, states and school districts have pioneered promising programs that provide students in underperforming schools access to high-quality education in surrounding areas. Yet even after attending new schools, students may end up in

segregated classrooms with subpar resources. Policies such as tracking contribute in structural ways at the institutional level to functionally separate out low-income students and students of color from others in the school, effectively nullifying the desegregation goals of the program (Mehan 1996).

Despite these challenges, low-income students and students of color have utilized unique strategies with which to navigate their school experiences in well-to-do areas, such as affirmative action and moving to more desirable neighborhoods. I focus this dissertation on another such strategy: the formation of social networks. Social network analysis shows that open (as opposed to closed) and diffuse networks provide individuals with access to more information and opportunities, and a handful of students – wittingly or unwittingly – form just such heterophilous networks in their new schools, while others form supportive networks of students similar to themselves (homophilous networks). What were the experiences of low-income students and students of color in wealthy, predominantly Caucasian schools, and how did those experiences vary according to the sorts of networks they were in? What benefits were accrued by different networks, and at what cost to the student? This dissertation utilizes social network analysis, in-depth interviews, surveys, and focus group results to better understand the experiences of low-income students and students of color in an increasingly diverse, and increasingly segregated, country, and highlights both how far we have come, and how far we have yet to go.

BACKGROUND LITERATURE

This project joins the recent turn in inequalities literature by theorizing class as *structurally embedded agency*. While previous conceptions of class have focused on class as an

intractable, “categorical” variable that has always been essentially there (Connell 1987) – albeit in a discursively invisible way for those who believe their society to be classless – new research is now examining class as something that is *performed*. Class is no longer merely an analytical tool, looming outside of, while simultaneously informing and working through, a passive individual, but a material reality that is nevertheless constantly constructed and acted out in everyday interactions.

Drawing on both Marx’s conception of “class” and Weber’s idea of “status”, Bourdieu describes social classes as “cultural status display groups” (Foley 1990), allowing for the examination of different class groups as unique subcultures⁵ (which further subdivide along other axes such as race/ethnicity, gender, and sexuality) that share tastes (Veblen 1973), attitudes (MacLeod 1987; Willis 1977), preferences (Goldthorpe and Hope 1972), parenting styles (Lareau 2003; Lareau 2000), and ideologies of moral worth (Lamont 1999). Bourdieu theorized that the reproduction of class and class inequality in society is attributable to the types of *cultural capital* that parents pass along to their children and the *habitus* – or unconscious dispositions – that structure and reinforce them at the individual level (Bourdieu 1984; Bourdieu 1977; Swartz 1997).

Cultural capital, particularly the American strand of cultural capital, is “distinctive cultural knowledge” that includes skills, manner, norms, dress, style of interaction, and linguistic facility, and are divided up into three different types of cultural capital: embodied cultural capital, objectified cultural capital, and institutionalized cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986). *Embodied* cultural capital refers to the “legitimate” cultural attitudes, preferences,

⁵ I use the term “subculture” here instead of “culture” to avoid conflation with other definitions of “culture”, such as “ethnic culture”, for instance, or the “culture of poverty”.

knowledge, and behaviors that become internalized, incorporated, and then later expressed after socialization (Lamont and Laureau 1988), and this embodied cultural capital is necessary to properly consume and wield *objectified* cultural capital – transmittable goods that often work to physically signal social class standing if someone has the necessary embodied cultural capital to know how to do so. Additionally, *institutionalized* cultural capital refers to the manifestation of academic qualifications in the form of degrees and diplomas. While Bourdieu’s original definition posited “cultural capital” was something that was possessed only by the elite, American theorists have expanded on his work to include the idea that different cultural capitals are owned by different social class groups, with no cultural capital from any one group containing more intrinsic value or worth than another (Mehan 2008).

Habitus, meanwhile, conveys a sense of place, and out-of-place, in a stratified social world, representing an unconscious internalization of one’s place in the world (Dumais 2002). It is this disposition that influences the actions one takes, and can be manifested in a person’s physical demeanor, such as the way a person walks or carries oneself (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; Bourdieu 1977; Swartz 1997). Bourdieu had initially proposed that habitus was something that was inculcated in children at an early age by their families of origin according to their class of origin (Bourdieu 1984; Lareau 2000; Lareau 2003); it was something that was both durable and transformable (DiMaggio 1979). Subsequent theorists have criticized him for an overly deterministic view of habitus, showing that it is instead something that can be modified by institutional arrangements, such as schools (DiMaggio 1979; Horvat and Davis 2011; Mehan and Mussey 2012).

Class and its subcultures have been theorized by their performativity; class subjects are caught in displays of cultural capital that stem from their class’ habitus – in essence, class

works through them in unconscious ways. In this regard, my project will add to the idea of class as performativity by also ethnographically examining how class is performed

How do actors consciously and unconsciously act out class? Specifically, I want to examine how agents choose to maneuver the broader structural realities of class in a field (the school) where class slippage or class breakage have the potential to occur because of its distance from cultural capital's presumed mode of transmission (the family). Instead of assuming that students are passive carriers of class, I intend to examine how students work in agentic ways to perform class, especially if the class that they are performing is different from their class of origin. Previous studies have examined class, and the performativity of class, by interviewing adults (especially men) (Lamont 2000; Ortner 2003; Sennett and Cobb 1972; Kohn 1980; Lamont 1999; Lareau and Horvat 1999), or by examining the relationship between adults and children (Lareau 2003; Lareau 2000), but I intend to go to the youths themselves to observe their performance within the field of a school, a place where youth are not only performative actors unconsciously reinforcing the cultural capital taught (explicitly and implicitly) by their parents, but also agents who are constantly performing class by drawing boundaries, inflicting class injuries, or even actively passing as members of a different social class.

Schools themselves, of course, are not neutral fields, but contested sites that work to reinforce and reproduce inequality. At this mezzo-level, schools are geographically separated in ways that benefit, or hold back, local students depending on the differential amount of resources available in their respective districts (Bowles and Gintis 2002; Wilcox and Moriarty 1976). In addition, schools themselves are structured in a way that allow middle-class students to be "tracked" into college-prep tracks while low-income students get "tracked" into

vocational programs (Oakes; Mehan, Villanueva, Hubbard, Lintz, Okamoto 2006). In this way, courses and extra-curricular activities (or the lack thereof) combine to shape class futures (Bettie 2003). At the micro-level, teachers act as “gatekeepers” or “institutional agents” (Mehan 2008) to further reward students who possess the cultural capital that teachers value by masking this cultural capital as “ability” or “intelligence”, thereby legitimizing the social transmission of privileges (Bourdieu and Passeron 1979 [1964]; DiMaggio 1979; Lamont and Lareau 1988; Sennett and Cobb 1972).

Within these already unequal school settings, students of different class backgrounds arrive with different habitus and cultural capitals from their class of origin and enact class in ways that symbolically draw boundaries between, and around, themselves. While a political language of class is absent in conversations by students who do not yet have the consciousness to be a class-for-itself (Marx 1978), class is very visible indeed to those who are “looking up from below” (Bettie 2003). For these students, class is not merely visible, but also actively commented upon, albeit in a language of “distinction” (Bourdieu 1984) that draws on cues from the everyday world: clothing, shoes, neighborhoods, money, etc. (Ortner 2003). Students may not be familiar enough with Marxist theory to define themselves as working-class, but they are able to readily pick out, and comment upon, the symbols that mark the differences between themselves and a wealthier class. In the vein of Sofia Ortner’s (2003) and Julie Bettie’s (2003) school ethnographies on class, my project will seek to understand the implications of class in the lived realities of high school students by observing students’ *performances* of class. Drawing from their findings regarding students’ vocabularies of class, I will be on the lookout for comments that refer to differences in objects of consumption

(designer brands, sizes of houses, neighborhood locations, etc.) and styles (ways of dressing, etc).

Whereas most studies in high schools have focused on the performativity of students who are solidly located *within* a specific class – by asking students in each class about their expectations for the future (MacLeod 1987; Willis 1977), for instance, or examining boundary-setting experiences (Bettie 2003; Ortner 2003) – I will focus instead on the students who are existing *between* class boundaries. What “hidden injuries” (Sennett 1972) are sustained when low-income students are constantly surrounded by wealthier students who possess a cultural capital and habitus that are rewarded by the school while theirs are not?

For Sennett and Cobb (1972), class injuries (at least, class injuries for adults) are “the feeling of vulnerability in contrasting oneself to others at a higher social level, the buried sense of inadequacy” that affects “those who lose the most by being classified” (1972: 58). They suppose that “brushing against people of a higher class makes you feel... open to shaming” and postulate that “fragmentation and divisions in the self are the arrangements consciousness makes in response to an environment where respect is not forthcoming as a matter of course” (1972: 113, 214). Class injuries are the internal stigmas – “feeling of vulnerability”, “open to shaming” – that contribute to a loss of dignity (Lamont 2000; Lamont 1999; Sennett and Cobb 1972). While it is essential to acknowledge the internal emotional injuries that class can inflict – and indeed, my in-depth interviews will aim to get at precisely these injuries by probing low-income students’ thoughts and feelings of the wealthier class of students – we cannot lose sight of people as agents. Students will undoubtedly suffer class injuries as they interact with other students whose performativity enacts cultural capitals and habitus different from their own. However, some students will work agentially to perform a type of *class passing* in which

students begin to react to “the weight of class, a weight that can be lifted only by the transformation of the self” (Sennett and Cobb 1972). These are the students who are passing. As Bettie describes it, class passing occurs when students choose to perform a class identity that is sometimes not their own (Bettie 2003). This will be especially important in understanding performance because students will no longer be theorized as actors passively and unconsciously acting out their class of origin (performativity), but rather agents actively enacting a different class altogether (performance).

While the idea of passing in terms of race is not a new one (Khanna 2010; Daniel 2002; Williamson 1980; Kennedy 2003), passing has only recently entered into the literature as a phenomenon applicable to class. Both Bettie (2003) and Ortner (2003) had mentioned passing in their new ethnographies, but only briefly; the majority of their books were focused instead on students who were living *within* the boundaries of their class of origin rather than *between*. I will be filling in this gap by focusing on students who are residing across boundaries – low-income students at a wealthy high school – by paying particular attention to the sorts of networks they cultivate; the class injuries they may sustain; and the attempts they may make (successful or unsuccessful) at passing.

I am particularly interested in contrasting low-income students who have opted to stay within networks comprised of other low-income students (by cultivating and maintaining homophilous networks) to low-income students who have chosen to form networks among wealthier students (heterophilous networks). How do the high school experiences of low-income students in heterophilous networks differ from those of their low-income classmates in homophilous networks? Further, Granovetter (1977, 1983) had found that information flowed best among diverse and dispersed networks of weak ties, and subsequent research confirmed it

(Brown, Konrad 2001; Brown and Reingen 1987; Demeo, Ferrara, Fiumara, Provetti 2012; Friedkin 1982; Gans 1974; Granovetter 1977; Granovetter 1983; Levin and Cross 2004; Lin, Ensel, and Vaughn 1981; Liu and Duff 1972; Montgomery 1992; -Salazar 2001). I theorize that it is low-income students in heterophilous networks who are “passing” and receiving more information through their networks than their peers in homophilous networks – but at what cost?

METHODOLOGY

This dissertation draws on the survey results of 223 students in the senior class (which included information on respondent’s participation in clubs, activities, and sports, as well as their race/ethnicity, gender, and zip codes); in-depth interviews and 4 separate ego-centered network maps on 3 different characteristics (race, class, gender) for each of 60 students; data gathered from the administration on AP enrollment for each member of the senior class; and the results of a focus group conducted with students from an AVID (Achievement Via Individual Determination) classroom.

Site Description

West Bayside High School (henceforth, WBHS), is a comprehensive high school for 9th-12th graders in West Bayside, California (a pseudonym). It has been recognized as a California Distinguished School, and has been cited as one of the top high schools in the nation by Newsweek and US News & World Report. According to the California Department of Education’s DataQuest website, West Bayside High School had enrolled 1,598 students during the time I was there, 371 of whom were seniors during the time of our interviews. Of these seniors, 19% of the students are from a socioeconomically disadvantaged background⁶; most of

⁶ The California Department of Education defines a “socioeconomically disadvantaged” student as “a student whose parents both have not received a high school diploma; or, a student who participates in the free or reduced-

these students are bussed in from surrounding areas. Meanwhile, the average household income for West Bayside High School’s zip code (92037), in which the majority of the local students live, is \$153,893, and the median household income is \$96,220 (U.S. Census Bureau’s 2011-2015 American Community Survey).

This is an ideal location for my study because the average incomes in West Bayside place the local residents in a solidly well-to-do background. There will undoubtedly be variations among even these wealthier students, but the greatest differences will be felt by the students who are on the National School Lunch Program (NSLP – those who are eligible for free or reduced-price meals during breakfast and lunch) as they navigate their way among their wealthier peers.

Table 1: Demographics of West Bayside High School

Ethnicity	All Students		Seniors		Socioeconomically Disadvantaged Seniors	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Hispanic or Latino of any race	479	30%	101	27%	58	84%
American Indian or Alaska native, not Hispanic	1	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Asian, not Hispanic	154	10%	30	8%	5	7%
African American, not Hispanic	35	2%	3	1%	1	1%
White, not Hispanic	898	56%	234	63%	5	7%
Two or more races, not Hispanic	30	2%	3	1%	0	0%
Not reported	1	0%	0	0%	0	0%
TOTAL	1598	100%	371	100%	69	100%

* The percentages presented here are percentages of socioeconomically disadvantaged students in the entire senior class

** Data taken from the California Department of Education's 2011-2012 report regarding the then-seniors at West Bayside High School

price lunch program, also known as the National School Lunch Program (NSLP)”. While this definition differs slightly from my definition of a low-income student as someone in the NSLP, I believe the numbers will be very similar.

Data Collection

Working with West Bayside High School

Since all students are required to take an English class during their senior year, I coordinated with high school English teachers to make a short presentation regarding this research project in every senior English class in order to recruit as many students as possible. During the presentation, I introduced my project using an IRB-approved script, distributed information sheets for students to give to their parents, and passed around both a short survey for anyone who was willing to fill them out, as well as adolescent consent forms for anyone who was interested in being interviewed (students who were not yet eighteen years old needed their parents to sign a parent consent form as well).⁷

Data was also gathered from the high school itself. Using student report cards at the school office, I made an Excel spreadsheet listing every senior and the AP/honors classes they had taken throughout their high school career. Using school yearbooks, I also made an Excel spreadsheet of every sport in the school and the students who participated in the sport during the 2010-2011 and 2011-2012 school years.

Student Surveys

The results from the student surveys were manually entered into an Excel spreadsheet. This information includes self-reported data on students' names, gender, race/ethnicity, and zip codes, as well as self-reported data on the clubs, sports, extracurricular activities, and AP courses they took. Student survey data on AP courses was not entered because this had already been gathered from records at the school office. Self-reported data on clubs they had participated in were recorded, except when clubs from the survey did not match clubs from the 2012 yearbook. When this was the case, clubs were looked up in the 2011 and 2010 yearbooks

⁷ These interview materials are included in Appendix C.

as well (which would have corresponded with students' sophomore and junior years, respectively). If I could find the clubs in previous yearbooks, then these clubs were added to the original Excel spreadsheet and were highlighted in a different color to correspond with the year they existed at the school. If the club could not be located at all, then this information was recorded in a column titled, "Notes."

Students' survey information regarding sports was also checked against information gathered from the school's 2012 yearbook; any self-reported survey data that conflicted with information found in the yearbook was noted in a column titled, "Notes". Care was taken to go back through 2010 and 2011 yearbooks to see if students may have been referring to sports participation in a previous year. If such information could be confirmed, then the spreadsheet was corrected and information was entered into another column titled, "Previous Sports"; if not, the note remained in the "Notes" column.

Students' survey information regarding zip codes were also inputted into the Excel spreadsheet, and were used to identify corresponding neighborhood names (using Google maps), and corresponding household incomes (using *The Washington Post's* Zip Code program, which relies on data gathered from the U.S. Census' "American Community Survey") in adjacent columns.

In-depth Interviews

Students were given a deadline by which they needed to return adolescent consent forms if they wanted to be interviewed (students who were under 18 needed to have a parent's signature as well). Because I was most interested in the experience of low-income students, every student who indicated living in a non-Bayside zip code was asked to be interviewed. Of the rest of the students (those who reported a Bayside zip code), every 10th student was

contacted from an alphabetized list of respondents via phone or email (using whatever contact information had been offered on their survey). A few students changed their minds or did not show up for the interview, but the vast majority of the ones who had signed up seemed excited to be interviewed and participated during their scheduled time.

Most interviews took place in or around the cafeteria – which was one of the few unoccupied rooms in a school during the school day – but students who wanted to talk during lunch were occasionally interviewed in classrooms or elsewhere around campus.

Preparing Network Maps

Students were asked about their different social networks during their in-depth interviews. All students had been asked to list their close friendship networks, the networks they rely on for help in school, and the networks of students they hang out with outside of school. Additionally, most students were also asked to include a network of students they talked to inside the classroom. The interviewees were then asked to describe the gender, race, and neighborhood of each friend, and to describe the ties between each friend within the network. These network maps were uploaded in a column-wise data format to an Excel document so that it would be compatible with E-Net for analysis.

When students listed more than five students in any particular network, the first five students on the list were inputted into the Excel file, with a preference for those who were of the same grade and school as the respondent. Friends who were of another grade and/or school were included when the list was otherwise less than five students, and a note was made in the document that these alters were not currently students at the school. While this information was kept and recorded, alters from a different grade or school were not included in any subsequent network analyses. Once or twice, respondents had included a teacher as a “friend”; this was not

included in the data. Since students were given the choice of not listing friends if they had none, there are occasional instances in which networks will have been left intentionally blank.

Focus Groups

Focus groups were conducted by a VEEP teacher who was writing her own report for her Master's degree. She selected low-income students who were participants in the Voluntary Enrollment Exchange Program for at least two years, and both they and their parents gave approval to participate in four discussion forums. Because she had already worked with them for a number of years, and because the students were already familiar with one another through the program, they were able to speak freely and openly about their educational experiences with her. The study was completely voluntary and the students missed their last period class to attend.

These focus groups were transcribed, and the VEEP teacher generously shared the transcriptions with me so I could fold in relevant answers to questions I was interested in into this dissertation.

Operationalizing Variables

Social Class

Settling on a definition of social class, and deciding how to operationalize the term in a way that would allow me to accurately categorize my respondents, was one of the most difficult issues I grappled with. The sociological literature relies on several different interpretations based on definitions coined by some of their foundational theorists.

Marx's conceptualization of "class" (which he had never explicitly defined) as a relational, nominal category was related to the means of production. To him, the historical process would proceed such that all workers – even members of the petite bourgeoisie – would

be absorbed into the proletariat class and would foment a revolution that would be distinct from all the revolutions preceding it in that it would be, not a minority movement for a minority, but “a self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority” (Marx 1964). These workers would come to realize their exploitation and join together into a class that would overturn their oppressors – the bourgeoisie. For Marx, society would become two disparate classes: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

Not all theorists of society have shared this view. Where Marx saw two, discrete categories, Weber saw strata that would divide itself into a further gradation (Giddens 1973; Weber 1975; Parkin 1979). Weber’s version of class was less deterministic than Marx’s (Aron 1999) and left room for movement between classes (Giddens 1973), and though they both believed in relational, nominal categories of class, Weber’s social classes included categories such as the manual working class, petit bourgeoisie, propertyless white collar, and those privileged with education and property (Giddens 1973). Weber was more interested in life chances, mobility, and the instrumental rationality underlying social interaction than Marx, who was concerned with exploitation; while Weber might agree that a class might be exploited, he also thought they exploited other groups in other situations (Wright 2002). Weber believed an individual’s class situation was determined by his market situation (Wright 2002), and that class was the basis for communal action (Weber 1946), but whereas Weber thought those interests were subjective (and up to each person), Marx felt they were objective (Wright 2002). Weber also thought that class antagonisms in market situations would be the most bitter between those who directly participated against each other, such as within one’s own class; when class conflicts did occur, it would be over class modes of closure, and not over an individual’s place in the productive process (Parkin 1979).

After Marx's and Weber's works, a number of different methods with which to measure class have developed. Unlike the two theorists' contributions, which consisted of categorical groupings (though they might have consisted of a large number of such categories), recent work utilizes continuous scores to measure class. These new conceptualizations combine a number of variables (such as education and income [Blau and Duncan 1967; Featherman and Hauser 1976] and occupational prestige [Warner 1960; Shils 1968; Treiman 1976; Goldthorpe and Hope 1972]) to come up with a continuous variable that will lend itself to quantitative analyses in which class can be either an independent variable (as in regression analysis) or a dependent variable (as in mobility tables). The debate over the use of occupational prestige scores versus socio-economic scales has yielded mixed answers (Hauser and Warren 1997; Featherman and Hauser 1976); some claim that prestige scores are a better-defined analytical concept while others say that socioeconomic scores are better measures of intergenerational occupational mobility (Hodge 1981). The tenuous, tentative conclusion seems to be that different methods should be used depending on what the study calls for: research on political processes and social movements might call for Marxist class concepts such as conflict and social change, while linear regression models on attainment and prediction of behavior and attitudes based on the welfare of individuals might be better studied via socioeconomic scores (Sorenson 2001).

Because socioeconomic class is a latent variable that cannot be directly measured, it has notoriously been difficult to operationalize. Some researchers took a Marxist view of class and classified students according to the degree of authority their parents had in the workplace (Lareau 2003; Lareau 2000); others relied on a composite variable in the Weberian tradition to define socioeconomic class. White (1982) conducted a meta-analysis of studies before 1980,

and Sirin (2005) conducted a meta-analysis of studies published between 1990 and 2000, to investigate the kinds of variables that have been included in such a composite variable. Sirin (2005) found that measures could be placed into the SES categories of parental educational attainment (30 studies), parental occupational status (15 studies), family income (14 studies), free or reduced-price lunch (10 studies), neighborhood (6 studies), and home resources (4 studies). Parental educational attainment was also the most commonly used measure in the studies White reviewed (1982).

The National Center for Education Statistics' (NCES) practice has been to measure socioeconomic status through a set of proxy variables, most notably eligibility for the National School Lunch Program (henceforth, NSLP). In ascertaining the socioeconomic status of my own respondents, I began there. My high school provided a list of students who were eligible for free and/or reduced priced meals, and all of those students were automatically placed into the "low-income" category. However, in an expert panel report to the NCES on improving the measurement of socioeconomic status, the panel noted that, "The problem of eligible students failing to apply [to the National School Lunch Program] (whether due to social stigma or some other cause) increases with grade level, and is particularly prevalent for 12th-graders. Failure to apply when eligible is also thought to correlate with immigration status and to be more prevalent among students who speak English as a second language" (Hauser et al. 2012). Because my research is focused primarily on seniors (and my interviews would involve immigrants who spoke English as a second language), I knew that the list of students who were eligible for free and/or reduced priced meals at my high school would underestimate the number of students who would actually be categorized as low-income. Because I knew that those who were eligible for the NSLP were definitely low-income, I marked eligible students

as low-income on my spreadsheet, but needed a better way to figure out if any other students might also be low-income.

With the report's cautions in mind, I searched for alternative ways to measure socioeconomic status in a quick and unobtrusive way and settled on zip codes. Montana Oakes calls, "area level measures such as zip code... the single best source of information about their status or place in the social structure, especially in segregated America" because "the simple supply and demand of real estate markets thus yields a strong indicator of SES" (Oakes 2012). The National Center for Education Statistics, which piloted a student background questionnaire on the National Assessment of Education Progress in an attempt to find better factors for determining a student's socioeconomic status, piloted a self-reported zip code item, from which neighborhood information could be obtained. I decided to also add a self-reported zip code item on the introductory survey I handed out to all seniors at my high school. By the end of the collection period, 218 seniors out of a total of 378 seniors in the school turned in a survey, and all but five of them included self-reported zip code information (one of the five respondents who refrained from answering was homeless and did not have a zip code to report). Zip codes were then matched with the median household income for every zip code, and students who came from areas where a majority of students were on the NSLP were tentatively assumed to be low-income.

Students who agreed to an in-depth interview were asked additional questions over the course of the interview to further pull out socioeconomic factors. The "Big 3" components to a student's socioeconomic status has traditionally involved family income, parental educational attainment, and parental occupational status. Entwisle and Astone (1994) advise against obtaining measures of family income from adolescents, and Oakes warns that, "Approximately

30% of respondents are unwilling to reveal their income, and those that do may misstate their income in one direction or another” (Oakes 2012). However, children as young as 14 and 15 can provide occupational data that are about as reliable as those supplied by their parents (Mason, Hauser, Kerckhoff, Poss, & Manton 1976). In addition, questions about occupation, housing tenure, and rent or mortgage payments do not raise the problems of nonresponse that are typical in survey measurements of income (Hauser 1994). Therefore, I began the “background” portion of my interview with questions about the parents’ occupations and level of educational attainment, and in the event that socioeconomic status was still in question, I casually asked additional questions as part of their biographical information. These additional questions were modeled after questions asked in the NAEP pilot student background questionnaire, which included additional items that could yield data pertaining to socioeconomic status, such as questions about home possessions (whether students had their own bedroom); length of time in US; and size of household (siblings). Other variables the expert panel recommended include: housing tenure (rent or own); number of moves; and immigration status (recency of immigration) (Hauser et al. 2012). Taking my cue from the expert panel’s recommendations, I casually asked additional questions about the neighborhoods they had moved to over the course of their life (and whether they were in the United States or not); whether they had siblings and whether they shared a room with them; what sort of dwelling place they lived in now; and whether they drove a car to school (and if they did have a car, how they had gotten the car and what kind of car it was). By the end of the interview, I had a fairly good idea of each interviewee’s socioeconomic status, and coded them accordingly.

Notes on Categorization

Further details on how some of the major variables were categorized can be found below.

- Race: While categorization for “Race/Ethnicity” was fairly straightforward (students wrote in their self-identified race/ethnicity, and these results were combined under headings such as, “African-American or Black”, “Asian-American”, “Hispanic/Latino”, “Middle-Eastern”, “Multi-racial”, and “White”, and then combined into a broader category [“students of color” or “under-represented minorities”] when appropriate), students who were multi-racial were coded differently during the analysis portion of my research. If students had been labeled “multi-racial” when determining the make-up of their networks, a multi-racial student would have only received a high race-homophilous score if the majority of their friends had also been coded “multi-racial”, an unlikely possibility given the low numbers of multi-racial students at the school. Instead, a multi-racial student would have almost certainly received a high race-heterophilous score, even if all of their friends had been of a background similar to one or both of their parents, simply because most students were not also coded “multi-racial”. To account for this discrepancy, multi-racial students were re-coded and run separately when determining race-heterophilous scores. Multi-racial students were first coded with the race of one parent and the racial composition of his/her networks were compared against this race, and then they were re-coded with the race of the other parent and their network’s racial composition was compared against this new race. These two scores were combined to form a composite, and more accurate, heterophilous score. When analyzed in this way, a majority of multi-racial students (though not all) were actually found to be in racially-homophilous networks, since

100% of their friends (and in the case of one student, 75% of his friends) actually shared the same racial background as one or both parents.

- Gender: All students were invited to write in their own gender identification in an open-ended question on the survey. While it is certainly possible that one or more students may have been gender-non-conforming, no one indicated this. All answers fell along the male-female binary, so answers were coded thus in Excel.
- Class: Both because students are notoriously unreliable in their ability to accurately report parents' income (Oakes 2012), and because income data is – understandably – sensitive information that a school may feel uncomfortable sharing, I relied on “zip code” (and every zip code’s corresponding median household income) to be a launching point from which to categorize the 223 survey respondents into either a “low-income” category, “middle-class” category, or “wealthy” category. All students receiving free/reduced price meals were in the low-income category, and students from zip codes with predominantly FRPM (free/reduced price meals) students were also coded as low-income. Students who were mentioned by interviewees as nodes in networks (essentially: friends in networks) who had not filled out a survey were classified by interviewees by neighborhood. Those neighborhoods were later connected to a zip code (and its corresponding median household income) and nodes were then classified into a class category using that information.⁸

⁸ In order to double-check my classifications, four volunteers were recruited to categorize every neighborhood from my dataset into one of three class categories (“low-income”, “middle-class” and “wealthy”). All four volunteers were white, college-educated residents of San Diego; three were born and raised in San Diego and the fourth had a job that required traveling all over the San Diego area during her ten-plus years here. Their results matched mine. In addition, they were able to add further nuance to the specific areas within each neighborhood that might potentially shift an area from one class category to another.

Among the 60 students I conducted in-depth interviews with, I used information from the interviews (including parents' education levels, parents' occupation, living accommodations, and more) to better categorize my students according to a composite definition of class in the Weberian tradition. A few students were re-categorized at this point. For instance, a teenager with a wealthy zip code who confided she lived in one of the few subsidized housing units near the school was shifted from the "wealthy" category to the "low-income" category, and several students who listed zip codes that were further away reported that they were temporarily renting smaller units while their actual, local houses were being renovated/expanded (this turned out to be a common phenomenon in the high school and surrounding area). These students were re-coded into the "wealthy" category though their initial zip codes had placed them in a different category.

As with the surveys above, the bulk of my students were located in either the "wealthy" category or the "low-income" category, with very few students (six) in the "middle class" category. In order to simplify my analysis, I followed Elvira Lee's (2016) recent example in *Class and Campus Life* and combined those who were lower-middle class/working class with those who were in the "low-income" category, and added a couple students who were comfortably middle-class with college educated parents into the "wealthy" category.⁹

- Networks: Each of the 60 interviewees were asked to list up to 5 friends in each of 4 categories: those they talked to in the classroom; those they turned to for help in school;

⁹ A detailed explanation of the various definitions of social class within the field of Sociology and the different ways the term has been operationalization can be found in the section, "Defining Class," above.

those they hung out with after school; and those they considered to be their closest friends. Race, SES (via neighborhoods), and gender were noted for each of their friends. This information was used to map out 12 ego-centered networks for each student on each of the topics of interests (a racial network, class network, and gendered network for each of the 4 categories), resulting in a total of 720 network maps (12 network maps for each of the 60 students). These network maps were analyzed in eNet for variables of interest such as heterophily scores among: close friends, classroom networks, and networks with which they had occasional contact (for further details, see below). In addition, information from California Department of Education's DataQuest was used to determine a "Diversity Index" for each interviewee's school and to estimate each interviewee's early exposure to diversity.

- *Close Friends*: This variable looks at the composition of a student's network of close friends, and measures the extent to which friends came from a socioeconomic/racial background that differed from their own. Students' SES networks and racial networks of close friends were uploaded into eNet and then E-I scores were calculated to measure heterophily. Students with socioeconomically heterophilous scores (an E-I score of 0 to 1) – and often with it, racially heterophilous scores – were labeled, "Heterophilous", while students whose socioeconomic and racial networks were both homophilous (both E-I scores were between -1 and -.001) were coded, "Homophilous". In other words, if at least half of the close friends were of an SES background that differed from the respondent's SES, the network was considered "heterophilous"; on the other

hand, if fewer than half of the close friends fit this description, the network was considered “homophilous”.

- Classroom: This variable asks students who they chatted with in the classroom, and measures the extent to which acquaintances here came from a socioeconomic/racial background that differed from their own. Students’ SES networks and racial networks of students they chatted with in the classroom were uploaded into eNet and then E-I scores were calculated to measure heterophily. Students with socioeconomically heterophilous scores (an E-I score of 0 to 1) – which often correlated to racially heterophilous scores too – were labeled, “Heterophilous”, while students whose socioeconomic and racial networks were both homophilous (both E-I scores were between -1 and -.001) were coded, “Homophilous”. In other words, if at least half of the classroom acquaintances were of an SES background that differed from the respondent’s SES, the network was considered “heterophilous”; on the other hand, if fewer than half of the classroom acquaintances fit this description, the network was considered “homophilous”. Students who said they did not have anybody to list were coded as having “Nobody” to talk to in the classroom. On the rare occasion in which students were not able to finish the interview (and therefore, were never asked about classroom networks), information from their “School help” networks were substituted (this network measured who they turned to in the classroom for help on schoolwork).
- Contact: The “contact” variable is interested in the socioeconomic/racial backgrounds of other students the respondent may have had regular contact

with. The “classroom” variable was used as a starting point, and evidence from in-depth interviews was used to adjust this variable as necessary. For instance, a low-income Latina student who indicated chatting with “Nobody” in the classroom (she struggled with depression) later mentioned that she often greeted wealthier Caucasian students in the hallways because she knew them from sports. Her “Classroom” network stayed the same (“Nobody”), but her “Contact” network was updated to “Heterophilous”. A total of six students were adjusted, with new information from interviews ranging from disclosures such as: friends in sports/clubs/activities; acquaintances in AP classes he/she had regular contact with; and friends from a school she had just moved away from (and therefore had not had the time to make new friends yet).

- *Exposure*: This variable measures students’ first exposure to students who were different from themselves in terms of social class or race. During my quantitative analysis, students who had “Early Exposure” to students who differed from themselves by attending an elementary school that was predominantly an SES different from themselves, or a race/ethnicity different from themselves (or both), were coded as having “Early Exposure”, while students who did not attend an elementary school that was predominantly socioeconomically and/or racially/ethnically different from themselves were coded as having “Late Exposure”. Because class and race are so tightly linked in the United States, there was a high correlation between whether a school was a Title I school or not, and whether the school was “Mostly Students of Color” or not. This meant that low-income students who had “Early Exposure” often

had exposure to students who were *both* racially/ethnically different from themselves *and* of a higher socioeconomic background from themselves. Meanwhile, none of the wealthier students attended a Title I school, so wealthier students categorized as having “Early Exposure” meant they were exposed to students who were only racially/ethnically different from themselves.

Because this dissertation is primarily interested in the experience of *low-income* students, I was most interested in low-income students and their exposure to, and their network nodes with, wealthy students. Among low-income students, any student with a socioeconomically heterophilous network (whether with “Close friends”, “Classroom” friends, or acquaintances with whom they had “Contact”) was labeled “Heterophilous” for the purposes of statistical analysis. Because race and class are so tightly intertwined in the United States, students with a socioeconomically heterophilous network often had racially heterophilous networks as well. In either case (whether they had only socioeconomically heterophilous networks, or both socioeconomically *and* racially heterophilous networks), low-income students would simply be labeled “Heterophilous” during the subsequent analysis and throughout the dissertation if they had at least socioeconomically heterophilous networks. In my dataset, there were no instances of low-income students with racially heterophilous networks who also simultaneously held socioeconomically *homophilous* networks. Wealthy students were another case altogether. Because wealthy students comprised the majority group in a wealthy school, all of them were in socioeconomically homophilous networks. However, some wealthy students (such as wealthy students of color) sometimes opted

to form networks with wealthy students from a racial/ethnic background different from themselves. These wealthy students were then labeled, “Heterophilous” for the purposes of statistical analysis because they held racially/ethnically heterophilous networks.

Similarly, among low-income students, students were labeled as having “Early Exposure” if they attended a non-Title I elementary school. Often, low-income students with early exposure to students from a different socioeconomic background also had early exposure to students from a different racial/ethnic background. What was most important for the purposes of this analysis was whether or not they had early exposure to wealthier students, so any low-income student who had attended a non-Title 1 elementary school was labeled as having “Early Exposure”, whether that also referred to exposure to racial diversity or not. None of the wealthy students in this study attended a Title 1 elementary school, so none of the wealthy students had early exposure to students who were socioeconomically different from themselves. However, some of the wealthy students attended schools that were either racially/ethnically diverse, or were primarily composed of students whose racial/ethnic background differed from their own background. These wealthy students were subsequently labeled as having “Early Exposure”.

Table 2: Method for Calculating Exposure Scores and Heterophily Scores

	Exposure to Diversity	Close friends
SES	<p>Using California’s DataQuest, I ran “Special Reports” on every elementary school and middle school attended by every student. Using ESSA’s definition of Title I Schools, I classified as a “Title I School” every school that had 40% or more students receiving free/reduced price meals. Schools with less than 40% of students receiving free-reduced price meals were categorized as “Non Title I”. Students were then divided into one of two categories:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Early Exposure” if they had attended an elementary school with an SES that differed from their own class background • “Late exposure” if they only attended schools with an SES that was similar to their own class background 	<p>Determined by looking at each student’s SES E-I scores regarding their “Closest Friends.” E-I scores between 0 and 1 were considered “Heterophilous”, and E-I scores between -1 and -.01 were considered “Homophilous”</p>
Race	<p>A “Diversity Index” for every interviewee’s elementary school and middle school was compiled using DataQuest. Schools were placed in one of three categories: “Mostly students of color”; “Mostly white students” (the percentage of white students was more than double the next largest racial group); or “Diverse” (no group was more than double any other group). Using students’ self-identified race, students were then coded into one of two categories:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Early Exposure” if they: (1) attended an elementary school that was either (a) diverse or (b) mostly an ethnicity different from themselves, or, occasionally, (2) their interviews indicated they had deep, immersive exposure to people who were different from themselves in other contexts. • “Late exposure” if students did not attend a “diverse” school but rather schools that were comprised of students of an ethnicity similar to themselves (example: white students who went to schools categorized as “Mostly white students”) 	<p>Determined by looking at each student’s Race/Ethnicity E-I scores regarding their “Closest Friends.” E-I scores between 0 and 1 were considered “Heterophilous”, and E-I scores between -1 and -.01 were considered “Homophilous”</p>

A table summarizing each interviewee's¹⁰ background information (self-described gender, race, and social class), as well as their “Exposure” and “Heterophily” categories, can be found below.

¹⁰ In order to preserve anonymity, pseudonyms are used here and elsewhere throughout the dissertation.

Table 3: Student Characteristics and their Exposure/Heterophily Scores

First Name	Gender	Race	Class	Exposure	Network
Adam	Male	Biracial	Low-income	Late Exposure	Heterophilous Networks
Aiden	Male	Asian	Wealthy	Early Exposure	Heterophilous Networks
Alandra	Female	Hispanic	Low-income	Early Exposure	Heterophilous Networks
Alejandra	Female	Hispanic	Low-income	Late Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Amanda	Female	Asian	Wealthy	Early Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Anthony	Male	Asian	Wealthy	Early Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Ava	Female	White	Wealthy	Early Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Camila	Female	Hispanic	Wealthy	Early Exposure	Heterophilous Networks
Charlotte	Female	White	Wealthy	Late Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Chloe	Female	White	Wealthy	Late Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Damita	Female	Hispanic	Low-income	Late Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Daniel	Male	White	Low-income	Early Exposure	Heterophilous Networks
Diana	Female	White	Wealthy	Late Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Don	Male	Hispanic	Low-income	Late Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Elijah	Male	Asian	Low-income	Late Exposure	Heterophilous Networks
Elvira	Female	Hispanic	Low-income	Late Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Emelda	Female	Hispanic	Low-income	Early Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Emma	Female	White	Wealthy	Late Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Esther	Female	White	Low-income	Early Exposure	Heterophilous Networks
Gracia	Female	Hispanic	Low-income	Late Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Guillermo	Male	Hispanic	Low-income	Early Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Gwen	Female	White	Wealthy	Late Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Hye-Soo	Female	Asian	Wealthy	Late Exposure	Heterophilous Networks
Inesa	Female	Hispanic	Low-income	Late Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Isaiah	Male	Hispanic	Low-income	Late Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Jackson	Male	Biracial	Wealthy	Late Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Jaime	Male	Hispanic	Low-income	Early Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Jennifer	Female	Asian	Wealthy	Early Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Jose	Male	Hispanic	Low-income	Late Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Julieta	Female	Hispanic	Low-income	Early Exposure	Heterophilous Networks
Katrina	Female	Asian	Wealthy	Early Exposure	Heterophilous Networks
Kayden	Male	Biracial	Wealthy	Late Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Khloe	Female	White	Wealthy	Late Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Koraima	Female	Hispanic	Low-income	Late Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Kylie	Female	Asian	Wealthy	Early Exposure	Heterophilous Networks
Leah	Female	White	Wealthy	Early Exposure	Heterophilous Networks
Leilani	Female	White	Wealthy	Late Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Levi	Male	African-American	Low-income	Late Exposure	Heterophilous Networks
Luciana	Female	Hispanic	Low-income	Early Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Luna	Female	Hispanic	Low-income	Early Exposure	Heterophilous Networks
Madison	Female	White	Wealthy	Late Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Maricio	Male	Hispanic	Wealthy	Early Exposure	Heterophilous Networks
Mario	Male	Hispanic	Low-income	Early Exposure	Heterophilous Networks
Martha	Female	Biracial	Low-income	Early Exposure	Heterophilous Networks
Martina	Female	Hispanic	Low-income	Early Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Matilda	Female	Hispanic	Low-income	Early Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Matthew	Male	African-American	Low-income	Early Exposure	Heterophilous Networks
Melissa	Female	Hispanic	Low-income	Early Exposure	Heterophilous Networks
Mila	Female	White	Wealthy	Late Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Moirá	Female	Hispanic	Low-income	Late Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Montana	Male	Hispanic	Low-income	Early Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Nathaniel	Male	Hispanic	Low-income	Early Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Norita	Female	Hispanic	Low-income	Late Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Paloma	Female	Hispanic	Low-income	Late Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Penelope	Female	White	Low-income	Early Exposure	Heterophilous Networks
Riley	Female	Biracial	Wealthy	Late Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Rodrigo	Male	Hispanic	Low-income	Early Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Roman	Male	White	Wealthy	Late Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Rueben	Male	Asian	Low-income	Late Exposure	Heterophilous Networks
Savannah	Female	White	Wealthy	Late Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Sofia	Female	Hispanic	Low-income	Late Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Teagen	Female	Middle Eastern	Wealthy	Early Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Viggo	Male	White	Wealthy	Late Exposure	Heterophilous Networks
Violet	Female	Asian	Low-income	Late Exposure	Heterophilous Networks
Ysabel	Female	Hispanic	Low-income	Late Exposure	Homophilous Networks
Zamora	Female	Hispanic	Low-income	Late Exposure	Homophilous Networks

Statistical Analysis

Interviews and focus group results were transcribed and then coded in Atlas.ti, while network information was entered into Excel spreadsheets and analyzed in e-Net. Data from the school files on AP enrollment were inputted directly into Excel, while self-reported survey results from the 200+ students were checked against the yearbook for inaccuracies first, and then entered into Excel.

After producing bar graphs and other charts to visualize data within Excel, I then used SPSS to test my findings for statistical significance and, when applicable, for strength of association. I ran one-tailed, independent samples t-tests on interval variables, and a chi-square test of independence and various tests of association (Phi, Cramer's V, and Lambda) for nominal variables.

The variable categorizing colleges and universities by their selectivity is an ordinal one. Because this variable has 7 or more categories, and because items were placed into their respective categories in a standardized, objective way (versus a subjective way as in Likert scales, which allows respondents to answer questions themselves and allows for the likelihood that interpretations of categories may vary from respondent to respondent), I treated this variable as an interval variable and ran independent samples t-tests on it.

I would sometimes find that the data failed key assumptions (such as the assumption of homogeneity of variances, or the assumption of normally distributed categories for the independent or dependent variables). When this was the case, I would use a different test that better accommodated the unique characteristics of the dataset, such as the Mann-Whitney test or the Krukall-Wallis chi-squared test. Detailed explanations on the testing of key assumptions,

the accommodations that I'd made, and their consequent results can be found throughout the dissertation and in footnotes.

REFLEXIVITY

There is one final piece to the question of methodology in this dissertation: the role I had played as a researcher in the field. I am a young-ish, unknown, female, formerly low-income, Asian-American graduate student. Some of these factors may have worked in my favor: the fact that I was a graduate student, unknown, and young compared to many of the faculty members on campus meant that students often viewed me as an adult who was not *really* an adult. They felt comfortable confiding information about drugs, parties, and relationships among the student body.

Other factors seemed to work both for and against me. The fact that I was a female meant that the vast majority of my respondents were female, but fewer males participated. Similarly, the fact that I was Asian-American meant that Asian-American respondents, in particular, were eager to tap into their personal networks to find me more (Asian-American) interviewees. One respondent even commented that Asians needed to take care of one another. As a result, Asian American students signed up for interviews at a disproportionately higher rate than students of other racial/ethnic backgrounds.

Perhaps most importantly, the fact that I had grown up low-income myself meant that I felt most comfortable eating lunch in the cafeteria amongst other low-income students. Ostensibly I was there to organize my notes each day and to be available in case anyone needed to turn in consent forms to me. I also hoped, however, that it would give me a chance to

observe many of the low-income students in a relaxed atmosphere and, invariably, to be approachable if anyone wanted to talk. The fact that I ate there was noticed by some of the low-income students; one girl even commented during an interview that she wanted to help me because, “I know you’re one of us.” Interestingly enough, she was not talking about race (she was a low-income Latina student); she was talking about the fact that I was also a low-income student.

STRUCTURE OF DISSERTATION

I begin this dissertation at a time before the low-income students ever even entered West Bayside High by asking students to think back to their expectations regarding matriculating at a wealthy high school. I contrast the sort of answers given by wealthy students against those given by low-income students, and pay particular attention to the difference between those from different racial/ethnic backgrounds and between those with different network compositions. This is a model I follow throughout most of the dissertation. The rest of the chapter moves on to their experience within the AP classroom, a space which is mostly comprised of wealthy students. Again, I contrast the habitus displayed by wealthy students in this space against the insecurities and class injuries experienced by low-income students in homophilous networks, as well as the studied, deliberate attempts at habitus articulated by the low-income students in heterophilous networks. While low-income students in homophilous networks may not have had the time nor the networks to absorb the cultural capital to approximate the habitus of the wealthy (as those in heterophilous networks were doing), they were quick to give credit to another source for their success: their social capital via family members and neighborhood school teachers.

The following chapters are similar. The next chapter looks at the social experience of low-income students, both at the school and also during extracurricular activities. The subsequent chapter pays particular attention to the ways that race intersects with social class in specific ways for different racial/ethnic groups and then moves on to the various frames that are utilized by different social classes to explain the segregation that occurs during lunchtime and elsewhere. Here, too, I contrast the answers, rationalizations, techniques, and frames that are given by low-income students in homophilous networks against low-income students in heterophilous networks and show how remarkably similar those in heterophilous networks are to their wealthier peers because of their successful attempts to learn and incorporate their wealthier peers' embodied and objectified cultural capital. Low-income students in homophilous networks, however, are able to develop a class consciousness that allows them to see evidence of classism in their everyday encounters; to attribute segregation to structural rather than merely interpersonal reasons; and to hold a fierce pride in the very neighborhoods that those in heterophilous networks reject.

The next analysis chapter looks at the experience of low-income students in their senior year. Here, too, I show how low-income students in heterophilous networks often end up looking more like their wealthy peers. Not only do their networks provide information with which to navigate their senior exhibitions, but they also end up graduating college at a rate that is statistically indistinguishable from them. However, heterophily does not negate all of the hardships of social class. In decisions that are impacted by one's finances and one's class position – such as the type of college to attend, and whether to live at home once there – a low-income student's lack of finances prompted similar decisions across the network spectrum.

Lastly, I conclude with complications that might arise in studying heterophilous networks, as well as avenues for future research. I also include suggestions for educators that incorporate suggestions from the low-income student respondents themselves.

In the AP Classroom: The Impact of Exposure and Heterophily on Low-Income Student Expectations and Academic Experiences

Before the bell had even rung to signal the beginning of the school day, students at West Bayside High School were already milling around the open campus's quad. If it was a Friday, loud music might be blaring over the loudspeakers; no matter what day it was, seagulls would be swooping overhead, eager to pick up whatever morsels of food might be salvaged. Students often complained about the seagulls, calling them "scary" and the "thing [they] hate most about the school," but the administration had not yet found a way to keep them at bay.

In the mornings, students would be streaming in from all over the Bayside area. Some would be driving up in cars they had to fight to park near the school (there were no parking lots for students – only the teachers), while others would be rolling out of bed and walking a scant few blocks to campus. Early morning risers may have even been able to fit in some surfing at Bayside Beach; if they had not gone then, they would certainly walk the half-mile from the school to the beach after class and try to catch some waves afterwards.

Bayside's zip code was classified by *The Washington Post* as a "Super Zip", making it one of the highest ranking zip codes in the country in terms of income and college education

(Morello and Mellnik 2013).¹¹ West Bayside High School, therefore, may be a public school, but most of the local students came from privilege. A child of an Olympic gold-medalist mingled with children of professors. More than a few students claimed connections to “the industry” – a Southern Californian colloquialism referring to Hollywood. They would certainly go on to do great things; the school’s website boasted that more than 95% of their graduating students enter universities or colleges, including some who go on to Ivy League schools and other out-of-state institutions (La Jolla High School 2019).

Interspersed among the crowds of mostly affluent, mostly white students were low-income students, some of whom had been bussing into the Bayside area for years. They were few in number and hard to pick out among the groups of students milling about campus, but these low-income students differed from the rest of the West Bayside High population in a number of significant (and statistically significant, strongly associated¹²) ways. Almost 90% of these low-income students had parents who were immigrants or were immigrants themselves, and more than 80% spoke a language other than English at home. Therefore, the English they encountered at West Bayside High School would be a second, or even third, language. More than three-quarters of the low-income students who were interviewed had parents who had no higher than a high-school education; if these students were to go on to college, they would be

¹¹ According to the article, “Super Zip” was a term coined by Charles Murray to “describe the country’s most prosperous, highly educated demographic clusters. On average, they have a median household income of \$120,000 and 7 in 10 adults have college degrees” as of 2013 (Morello and Mellnik, 2013).

¹² In addition to running a chi-squared test on each topic (each of which yielded a p-value of .000), I tested the strength of each association using Phi and Cramer’s V. Each of these tests indicated there was a statistically significant, strong association between socioeconomic status and each of the topics we were testing. Specifically:

1. “Student and/or Parent is an immigrant”: 22.219, p = .000; Phi and Cramer’s V = .585, p = .000
2. “Speaks a language other than English at home”: 16.149, p = .000; Phi and Cramer’s V = .506, p = .000
3. “Parent’s highest degree is High School or less”: 38.077, p = .000; and Phi and Cramer’s V = .760, p = .000
4. “Commutes from outside of the school’s boundaries”: 28.536, p = .000; Phi and Cramer’s V = .658, p = .000.

the first generation in their families to do so. By contrast, none of the wealthier students had parents with only a high-school degree; all of their parents had gone on to pursue a higher degree (and in some cases, several degrees) in one capacity or another¹³.

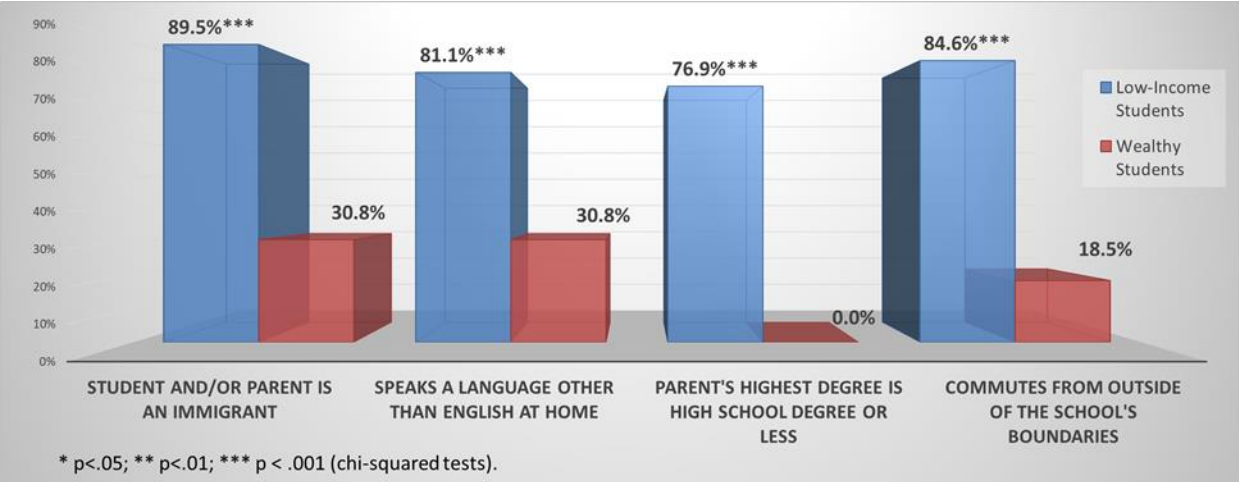


Figure 1: Background Characteristics, by Socioeconomic Status (n=66)

As a result, even their first day of school had begun differently: while the vast majority of wealthy students lived in the area and walked or drove to school,¹⁴ 85% of low-income students were commuting in from outside of the school’s boundaries.¹⁵ Once commuting times were factored in, low-incomes students’ school days would both begin earlier and end later

¹³ A few of the wealthy students had parents who had pursued, but not completed, a college degree.

¹⁴ The 18.5% of wealthy students who were commuting from outside of the school’s boundaries were either students whose estates were being renovated and were temporarily renting by the beach, or Program Involvement School Choice (PISC) participants who were attending West Bayside High to take advantage of classes that were not offered in their neighborhood schools.

¹⁵ These students indicated being part of the Voluntary Ethnic Enrollment Program (VEEP), which encourages students from one community to attend approved pattern schools in another community by offering transportation in the form of busses.

than everyone else’s days. Many reported waking up an hour (or more) earlier than their peers in order to account for this extra commuting time.

There was also a good chance that the homes they were commuting from would change over the course of their high school careers: roughly half of the low-income students who were interviewed reported having moved 3-4 times in their lifetimes (49%), and an additional quarter indicated moving 5-6 times (12%) or more than 7 times (15%), meaning that a total of 76% of the low-income group had moved 3 or more times in their lifetimes. By contrast, a similarly sized group of wealthy students (78%) said they had moved two or fewer times in their lives. In fact, a majority of all the wealthy students (60%) indicated they had lived in the same home their entire lives.

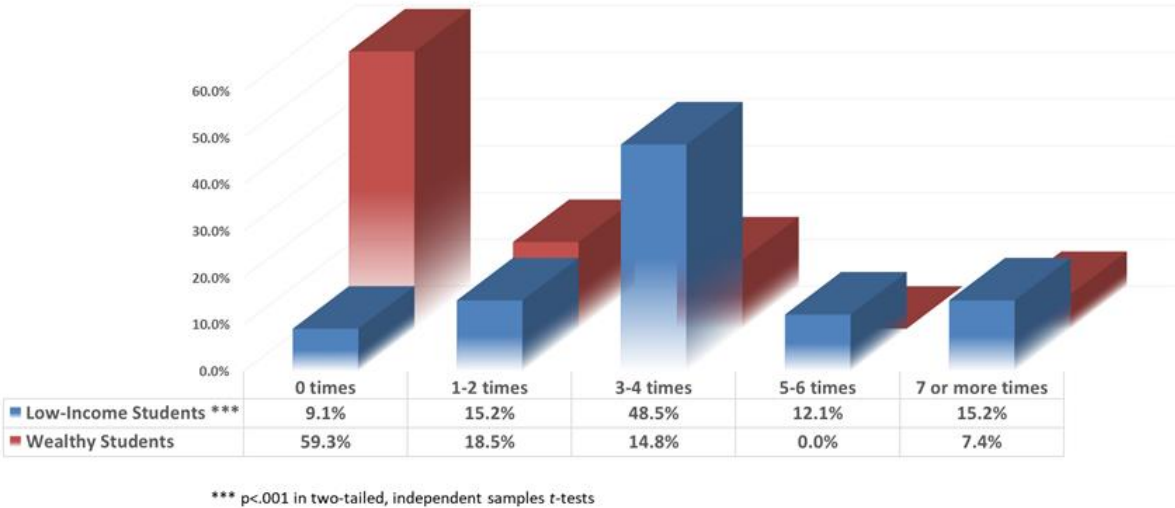


Figure 2. Number of Times Moved, by Socioeconomic Status (n=41)

The remainder of this chapter will focus on the academic experience of low-income students as they navigate West Bayside High School. I begin by exploring the expectations that

low-income students had about the wealthy high school they would be entering, paying particular attention to the differences between the expectations held by low-income white students versus low-income students of color, and between the expectations of low-income students who had had prior exposure to wealthy schools/wealthy students, versus those who had not. I then move on to the experiences of low-income students within the AP classroom – a situation in which they are few in number and mostly surrounded by wealthy students.

I explore Bourdieu’s concept of habitus as exhibited by the wealthy students in their interactions both with one another and with their teachers, and note the ways that low-income students observed and responded to this disposition and attitude. Because social class intersects with race in important ways, I further break down the low-income experience within the AP classroom by race by paying particular attention to the ways that stereotypes – both positive and negative – affect the ways that low-income students of color are perceived and treated. Much of this experience is further compounded by linguistic limitations for those who are immigrants or the children of immigrants.

I then shift to an examination of the social capital that low-income students relied on to get as far as they had – a form of capital that may have been different from their wealthier peers but was nevertheless helpful in allowing the low-income students to succeed in different ways. Finally, I end with a focus on low-income students in heterophilous groups and note the significant ways they differ from their low-income peers in homophilous groups. These students “passed” for being wealthy in the ways they presented themselves in the AP classroom and the ways they interacted with their AP teachers.

LOW-INCOME EXPECTATIONS BEFORE ENTERING WEST BAYSIDE HIGH SCHOOL

Many of the low-income students reported remembering a mixture of emotions about their future at West Bayside High School prior to their first day. Low-income *white* students were the most ambivalent. For example, Daniel had said, “I don’t have expectations. I just know how to do well and try your best and that’s what I did.” Similarly, Julieta, a white Latina¹⁶ student, said, “I told myself I wouldn’t have any [expectations] so that I wouldn’t be let down.” While they presumably knew that they would be entering a well-to-do school, these students had the advantage of knowing they would be surrounded by people who shared their language and skin color. In addition, these two students had been attending and commuting into Bayside area schools since elementary school, so West Bayside High School would have simply been an extension of the schools they had already been matriculating at for years.

For low-income students of color, however, West Bayside High would have felt like a completely new experience. Many felt trepidation and reported having low expectations regarding their future experiences there. Most commented on the demographics of the school, often talking about the racial and socioeconomic composition of the student body interchangeably. Adam, a low-income biracial student, thought, “Sweet, it’s going to be a bunch of rich white kids that I don’t know, and it’s just gonna suck.” Matilda, a low-income Latina student, felt some disappointment:

It was kind of hard because I was used to being in classes with a lot of Mexicans, and when I came to West Bayside, it was just like, ‘Oh. White kids.’ It was a big change. At times, it was really hard, because I didn’t come from a privileged family like a lot of students did, so it was really hard adjusting.

¹⁶ Jade, and other white Latinos in the dataset, were coded as “Hispanic/Latino”.

Paloma, a low-income Latina student, bluntly told me:

My expectations - I did not want to go there. It was against my choice. So when I went in, I was like, 'Everyone's going to be too smart, everyone's going to be snobby', because it was in a really rich area, and I was NOT rich growing up, I just thought it was going to be too advanced, too upper class for me, to be honest... And it was.

Other low-income students of color had even stronger negative reactions. Inesa told me, "I didn't like the idea," and went on to tell me about the day she found out she would be going to West Bayside:

We went around to Bayside and my uncle is like, 'We should go to your cousin's school to see how it is.' I was like, 'Okay', but then later on, in like two weeks, my mom picked me up with my aunt and then they are like, 'We have a doctor's appointment.' I was like, 'Well, my mom always lets me know before' – but she didn't. It was kind of weird and then when we were getting around I was like, 'Why are we going to pick up my cousin?' and my aunt was quiet and they are like, 'You are going to come to this school.' I was like, 'No, I don't want to!' I started screaming.

For these students, the thought of entering a school comprised of a student population that was both racially and socioeconomically different from the one they were used to was a daunting one.

While all of the low-income, white interviewees had attended wealthy elementary schools and were less intimidated by the prospect of attending a wealthy high school, only about half the low-income, African-American students (50%), Latino students (48%), and multi-racial students (50%) had experienced a wealthy school prior to West Bayside High. Even fewer low-income Asian American students had such early exposure: 0%. For these students with a lower rate of early exposure, the prospect of attending a high school as wealthy as West Bayside was intimidating.

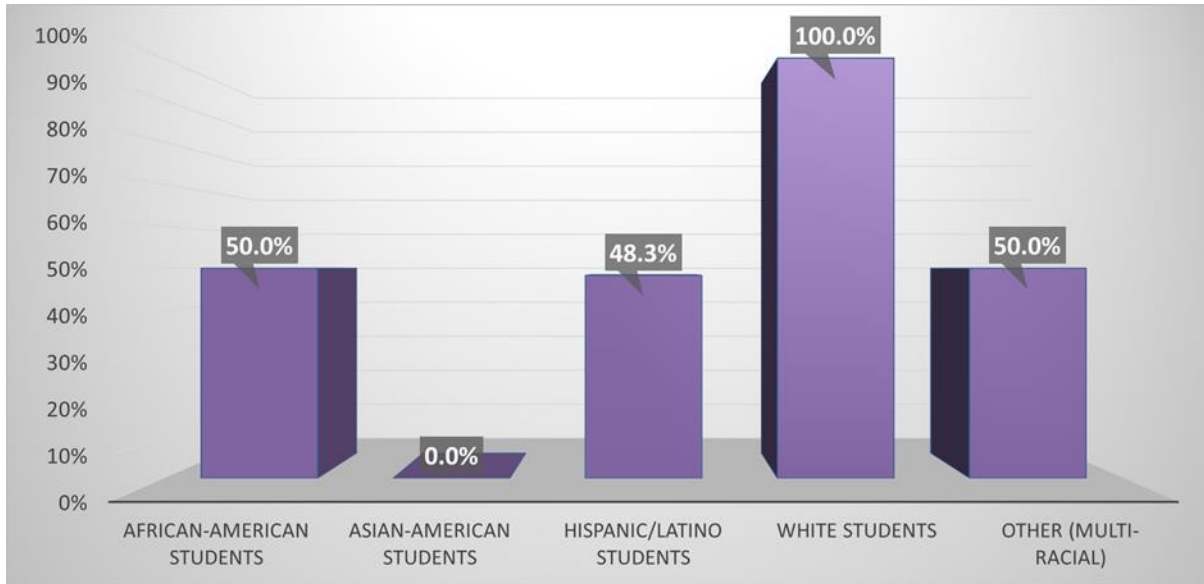


Figure 3. Low-Income Students' Early Exposure (via Elementary Schools) to Wealthy and/or Racially Different Students, by Race (n=39)

What about the low-income students of color who had had prior exposure to wealthy students? They sounded remarkably similar to their fellow low-income white students. Levi, a low-income African American student, commented, “I just hoped I would meet friends and stuff. I really don’t know what my expectations were going into high school; I just wanted to get through it.” Matilda, a low-income Latina student, had a similar blasé reaction: “Most of the people going into West Bayside, I had already known from elementary school. You go from Bayside Elementary, to Palmland Middle, then West Bayside High. I knew what to expect since I’d already gone to school with people.” Low-income students of color who had already attended wealthy elementary schools were, like their white counterparts, fairly nonchalant about their first day at West Bayside High.

While many of these low-income students of color sounded detached and indifferent about their high school expectations, this had not always been the case. Some of these students

shared stories of more dramatic emotions that had bubbled to the surface – they just happened to have risen earlier in their school career. Luciana, a low-income Latina student, recounted the story of her first day at her new school in a wealthy school district, years earlier:

The first day I didn't know anybody and I wanted to cry. It was such a horrible feeling because I wanted to cry. I just wanted to leave. It was just so different, I just wanted to leave so badly. Just – everything. Just because I didn't know anybody or just – everything. I didn't know anybody, I don't know they were all white. It was so different, and they were all speaking English. Everybody knew each other except me. I didn't know what bus to ride.

To explain to me that her reaction was not an unusual one, she expanded by telling me about her younger brother's first day:

I missed my first day of school cuz I was so nervous. I hid in my garage. I did not go to school. I did not want to go to school... This is why I'm telling you it's something so normal... [My brother] had purposely missed his bus. He was like, "I'm not going to go to school." He was so scared, he literally went and called me crying, saying, "I don't want to go to school, Luciana." This is the kid who's very outgoing; he plays sports; he's in everything. He was like, "I don't want to go to school! I don't want to go to school!" He was crying; it broke my heart. He was crying; it was just so sad. We literally had to walk him to class. I had to walk him to class, and I was just crying because I'd felt the same thing. He's feeling the same thing I felt back in my day, when I was alone, so he just didn't feel comfortable. He was just like, "They're so different" and whatever: "Sometimes I'll forget to speak English and stuff." And I was like, "It's okay," and he was like, "They just say so different words I can't even catch what they're saying." He started to have a - what's it called - where you start to stutter. He started having a stuttering problem. [Interviewer:] Does he have it in Spanish? [Luciana:] No, English. He gets so nervous. Well, not anymore. It got away. But he started having a stuttering problem, but it was so weird.

Similarly, Emelda, another low-income Latina student, shared:

I kind of basically grew up in the white community, since the third grade, so I kind of got used to being around a lot of whites. At first, I found it really scary, especially since I didn't know English at all. I was intimidated to talk, and I was like okay, they seemed like nice people, some of them, and I did get to know them, but then I would close myself up again.

For low-income students of color who had previously attended wealthy schools, the prospect of entering West Bayside High School was not a particularly daunting one, and their responses sounded similar to their low-income, white peers. However, these students with early exposure echoed the sentiments felt by other low-income students of color with late exposure regarding entering a wealthy school for the first time – their apprehension just happened to appear earlier in their school careers (when they first entered a wealthy elementary school).

It should be noted that their sentiments were not unfounded. For some students, being a low-income student navigating a wealthy student population led to experiences that ranged from awkward encounters at best, to stigmatizing interactions at worst. This was further compounded for students of color. For others, the experience led to new friends, fresh insights, and expanded opportunities. The remainder of this chapter will explore these various experiences and interactions within the context of the classroom; the next chapter will examine what happens outside of the classroom.

LOW-INCOME STUDENTS IN THE AP CLASSROOM

West Bayside High School has been recognized as a California Distinguished School, and has been cited as one of the top high schools in the nation by *Newsweek* and *US News & World Report*. In addition to a core curriculum, West Bayside High offers five honors courses, between 18-20 Advanced Placement courses, and several college courses taught on campus. Other special programs at the school include Project Lead the Way Biomedical Pathway, Edgenuity, Seminar Program of English and Social Science, Gifted and Talented Education (GATE), English as a Second Language, Achievement Via Individual Determination (AVID), and special education.

While many of these classes and programs are open to anyone who qualifies, some of them are disproportionately represented by a few, specific races/ethnicities. AVID, for instance, is almost entirely comprised of students of color, while AP and Seminar classes are overwhelmingly filled with white and Asian students. The May 4 edition of *Beach Tides*, the student newspaper, lead with an article titled, “Race to the Top: A Look at Classroom Diversity”, that looked at this phenomenon and found that, “In a random selection of four AP classes, the number of Hispanic students within the classes is 26 out of 402, or 6%. When looking into the numbers for the regular counterparts of the four AP classes, it was discovered that 41% of the students are Hispanic” (Nettleton and Linsky 2012). A similar analysis further in the article found that, “For the two AP Biology classes, three out of 68, or 4%, are Hispanic students. On the other hand, the regular biology classes have 117 Hispanic students out of 243 students, or 48%” (Nettleton and Linsky 2012). My survey results from 223 seniors¹⁷ confirmed this finding. Asian-American students at West Bayside had taken an average of 8.8 AP or Seminar classes by the end of their senior year, and white students had taken an average of 5.1 classes. This was followed by multi-racial students who averaged 3.5 classes, Latinos

¹⁷ There were no statistically significant differences between interview respondents and survey respondents in terms of the number of AP courses they had taken during their high school careers. Therefore, when appropriate, I referred to data and tests derived from survey results (which had an n of 223 students) to get a broad understanding of the senior class on general questions, and relied on data and tests derived from interviews to better understand more specific questions, such as those pertaining to their networks. For more details, please refer to the data/methodology section of the dissertation

who averaged 1.8, and African-American students who averaged 1.3.¹⁸ There appeared to be a statistically significant difference between some of these groups.¹⁹

¹⁸ I ran both a one-way ANOVA and, because a Shapiro-Wilk test indicated some of the data were not normally distributed, a Kruskal Wallis test as well. Both tests indicated there was a statistically significant difference between one or more race/ethnicities ($p=.000$) before any other control variables were added to the analysis.

¹⁹ When race is the only independent variable, a post-hoc test reveals that there is a statistically significant difference between the total average number of AP/Seminar courses taken by African-American students vs. Asian-American students; between African-American students and white students; between Asian-American students and Latino students; between Asian-American students and multi-racial students; between Latino students and white students, and between Latino students and multi-racial students. Results from the Games-Howell post-hoc test is below:

Multiple Comparisons

APSem
Games-Howell

(I) Race	(J) Race	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
African-American	Asian-American	-7.44444*	1.43385	.001	-11.8125	-3.0764
	Hispanic/Latino	-.44279	.73317	.965	-4.4078	3.5222
	White	-3.72549*	.78500	.044	-7.2952	-.1558
	Other/Biracial	-2.48485	.90256	.149	-5.7946	.8249
Asian-American	African-American	7.44444*	1.43385	.001	3.0764	11.8125
	Hispanic/Latino	7.00166*	1.30559	.000	3.0756	10.9277
	White	3.71895	1.33538	.075	-.2630	7.7009
	Other/Biracial	4.95960*	1.40771	.013	.8254	9.0938
Hispanic/Latino	African-American	.44279	.73317	.965	-3.5222	4.4078
	Asian-American	-7.00166*	1.30559	.000	-10.9277	-3.0756
	White	-3.28270*	.51465	.000	-4.7021	-1.8633
	Other/Biracial	-2.04206*	.68064	.033	-3.9701	-.1140
White	African-American	3.72549*	.78500	.044	.1558	7.2952
	Asian-American	-3.71895	1.33538	.075	-7.7009	.2630
	Hispanic/Latino	3.28270*	.51465	.000	1.8633	4.7021
	Other/Biracial	1.24064	.73618	.450	-.8257	3.3069
Other/Biracial	African-American	2.48485	.90256	.149	-.8249	5.7946
	Asian-American	-4.95960*	1.40771	.013	-9.0938	-.8254
	Hispanic/Latino	2.04206*	.68064	.033	.1140	3.9701
	White	-1.24064	.73618	.450	-3.3069	.8257

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

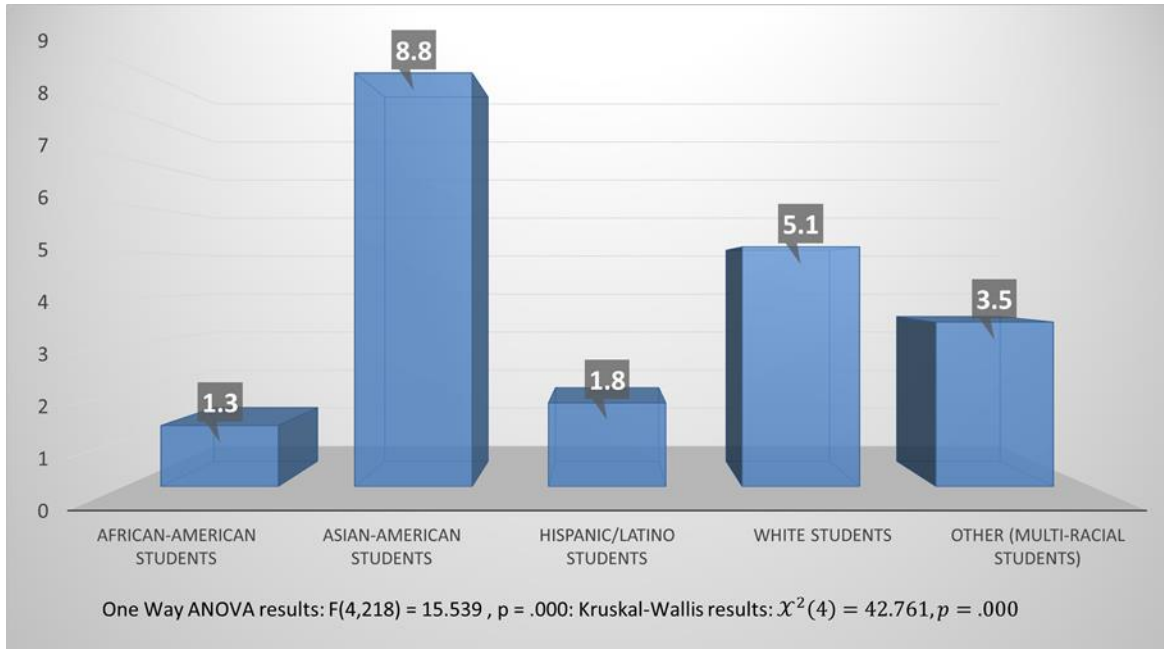


Figure 4. Average Number of AP/Seminar Classes over High School Tenure, by Race/Ethnicity (n=223)

However, when socioeconomic status was added to the analysis, the statistical significance of race dropped away,²⁰ though it continued to play a role in the ways students were perceived and treated in the classroom (which we will examine later in the chapter). *Socioeconomic status* helped explain some of the racial differences in AP/Seminar class enrollment. Wealthier students averaged more AP/Seminar courses than their low-income peers in every racial category. When I compared wealthy students in different racial/ethnic categories to one another, I found that wealthy Latino students, wealthy multi-racial students, and wealthy white students actually took a similar number of AP/Seminar courses to one another (4.4 courses, 5.0 courses, and 5.5 courses, respectively); within the low-income

²⁰ I split the file into SES categories to control for class and then ran a Kruskal-Wallis test to determine if there were statistically significant differences in the total number of AP/Seminar classes taken by students in different racial/ethnic categories throughout their high school careers once we controlled for SES (distributions of all groups were not similar, as assessed by population pyramids, so I used the Kruskal-Wallis test instead of the one-way ANOVA). The total number of AP/Seminar courses taken by students were not statistically significantly different between the different racial/ethnic groups once class was controlled for: 9.453, $p = .051$ for wealthy students; 4.467, $p = .346$ for low-income students.

category, low-income African-American students, low-income Latino students, low-income white students, and low-income multi-racial students also took roughly the same number of courses to one another (1.0 courses, 1.1 courses, 1.9 courses, and 1.5, respectively). Asian Americans across the socioeconomic spectrum took a higher number of AP/Seminar courses than any of the other groups – a fact that was overlooked in the original newspaper article.

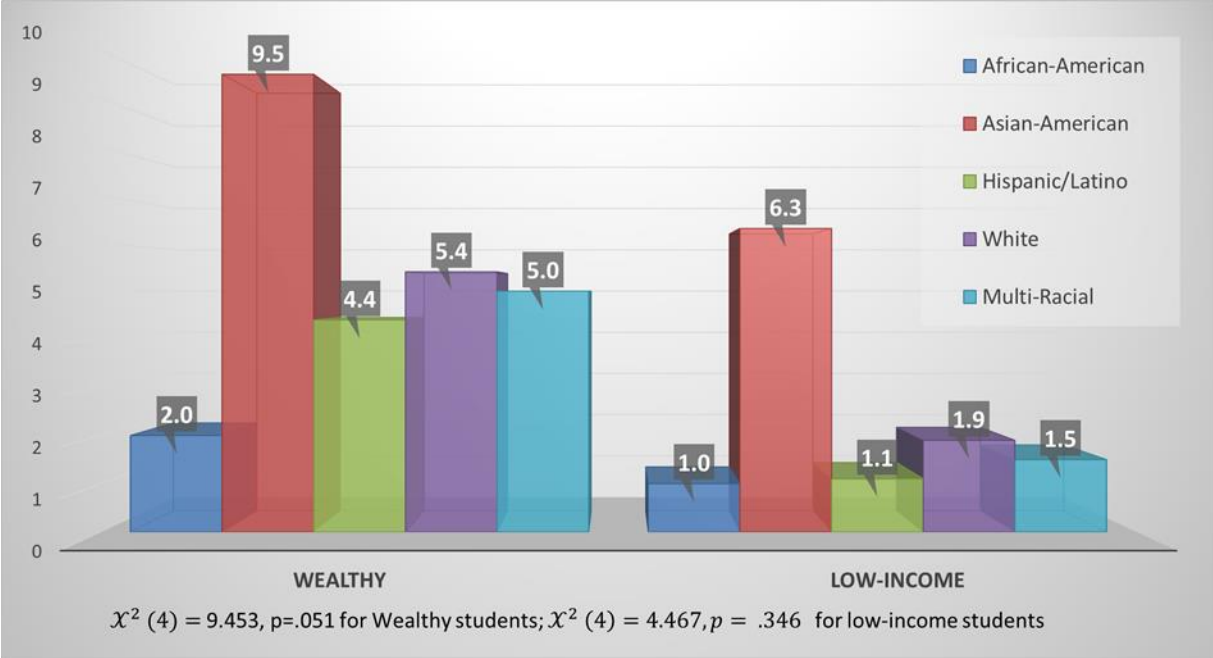


Figure 5. Average Number of AP/Seminar Classes for Each Race/Ethnicity, Controlling for Socioeconomic Status (n=223)

Another way to look at the same data is to group the students by race first, and then see what happens when SES is added to the analysis.²¹ On average, a wealthy Latino student took

²¹ I ran another Kruskal-Wallis test in which I split the data by race first, and then tested AP/Seminar classes by SES and found that there was a statistically significant difference between low-income students and wealthy students who were Hispanic/Latino, white, and multi-racial:
 For African-American students: .500, p = .480
 For Asian-American students: 1.026, p = .311
 For Hispanic/Latino students: 9.723, p = .002
 For White students: 7.219, p = .007

four times the number of AP/Seminar classes that a low-income Latino student took. Similarly, a wealthy white student took 2.8 times more AP/Seminar classes than a low-income white student, and a wealthy multi-racial student took 3.3 times more AP/Seminar classes than a low-income multi-racial student. The differences in mean-ranks between low-income students and wealthy students in each of these categories are statistically significant ones.

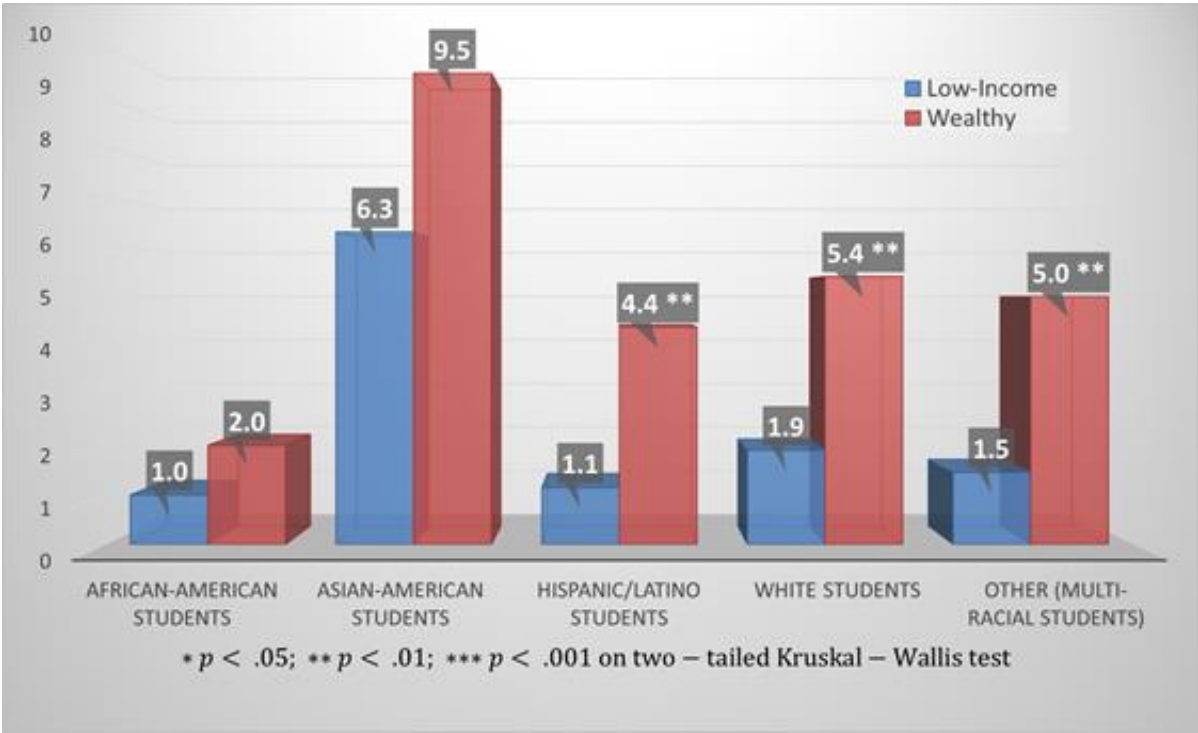


Figure 6. Average Number of AP/Seminar Classes Taken by Low-Income vs. Wealthy Students for Each Racial/Ethnic Category (n=223)

Wealthy Asian-American students and wealthy African-American students also took more AP/Seminar classes than their low-income counterparts, but the difference in mean-ranks

For Multi-racial students: 9.067, $p = .009$

between these groups was not statistically significant and may have been due to random chance. This meant that for Asian-American students and for African-American students, the effects of race persisted even after accounting for socioeconomic status, an effect that may be attributable to stereotypes that followed students of color in the classroom. This is explored in further detail in the section, “Low-income Students and Race”, below.

By focusing on the low-income students across all racial groups and comparing them to all of the surveyed wealthy students, the difference between their total AP/Seminar classes becomes even more stark. By the end of their high school tenure, low-income students had taken an average of only 1.5 AP/Seminar classes; more than half the low-income respondents (52%) had never taken an AP/Seminar class at all. By contrast, wealthier students averaged 5.6 AP/Seminar classes in the same timeframe. This was a statistically significant difference. The disparity is most evident in the last category on the following chart: the percentages of students taking nine or more AP/Seminar classes. A plurality of wealthy students (24%) fell in this category, comprising almost a quarter of their group, while only 1.2% of low-income students

had taken the same number – the smallest grouping of low-income students.

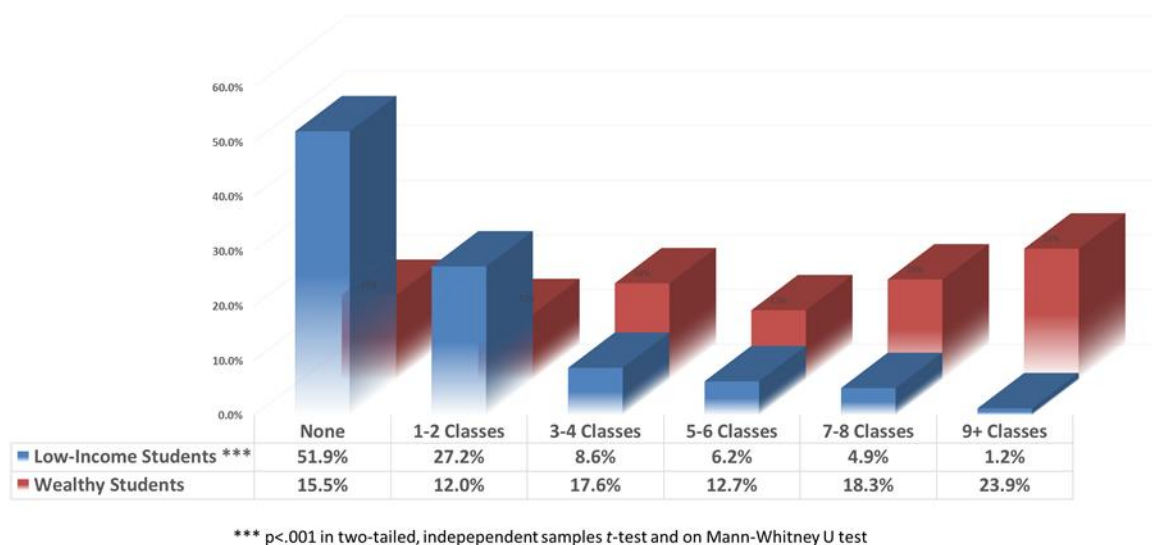


Figure 7. Total Number of AP/Seminar Classes Throughout High School Tenure, All Survey Respondents (n=223)²²

While it is true that there were very few students of color in AP classes (or, as the student newspaper specified: very few *Hispanic* students, while ignoring other minority groups), it would be just as accurate to say there were very few *low-income* students in AP classes. Those low-income students who opted for AP classes faced classrooms comprised of students of a different socioeconomic status and, often, students (and teachers!) of a different racial/ethnic category as well. The rest of the chapter will focus on the experience of low-income students in AP classes, and the ways their experiences differed from those of their wealthier peers. It will then examine the ways race and immigration intersected with their low-

²² I ran an independent samples t-test and, because a Shapiro-Welk test indicated that the dependent variable did not have a normal distribution for each category (violating one of the key assumptions of the independent samples t-test), I also ran a Mann-Whitney U test. I was interested in whether there were differences in the total number of AP/Seminar classes that were taken by low-income students and wealthy students. The total number of AP/Seminar classes taken by wealthy students (mean rank = 136.15) was statistically significantly higher than for low-income students (mean rank = 69.65), U = 2321, z = -7.504, p = .000.

income status to produce particular disadvantages for students. I will conclude with a discussion of a subset of low-income students: those who have embedded themselves in heterophilous networks.

Students' Interactions with One Another

In *Distinction*, Bourdieu (1984) introduces the concept of cultural capital, which was later defined by Michele Lamont and Annette Lareau (1988, 156) as, “widely shared high status cultural signals (attitudes, preferences, formal knowledge, behaviors, goods, and credentials) used for social and cultural exclusion.” The wealthy students at Bayside unconsciously brought these manifestations of cultural capital to their everyday encounters. I focus on two examples that stood out in the context of the AP classroom: in students’ interactions with one another, and in their interactions with their AP teachers. The cultural capital of wealthy students at West Bayside High allowed them to navigate the classroom – and AP classrooms in particular – with an ease and a sense of “belonging” that low-income students did not have.

Cultural capital manifested itself in a number of ways. One was in the confidence wealthy students had in themselves and in their ability to succeed in the classroom. Chloe, a wealthy white student, said, “There’s nothing really much to struggle on. Without sounding cocky, I’m smarter than the average person. Honestly, this school is not set up for geniuses. It’s set up against geniuses. You have stupid busy work and there’s no reason to do it.” Similarly, Camila, a wealthy Latina student, shared:

Actually, unfortunately, well, luckily, I don't know how to say this, but I learned a lot in my private school. Like I got to public school and I was like, “I learned this in second grade.” For the longest time, in elementary school and middle school I wasn't learning anything and I was like, “I know this!” and cranking

out work sheets. Then when I got to high school I was like, “Please challenge me,” and it wasn't that big enough of a challenge.

For wealthy respondents, there was no doubt in their minds that they had the skills and the ability to successfully navigate – and ultimately excel in – the classroom. For some, this was such a foundational assumption that academics was almost an afterthought compared to other aspects of high school life. Diana, a wealthy white student, casually remarked, “I think high school, I was more excited for social life and boys and, like, I don't know. School has never been hard, so I wasn't really worried. I don't know. It was just like more schooling. I have never really thought about it.”

This continued to be the case even for students who hit roadblocks in the classroom. Gwen, a wealthy white student, admitted she had, “stressed myself out over the whole grade thing because I didn't really know what I wanted to do, but I knew I wanted to go to a good college so I thought I had to get, like, tip-top grades.” She subsequently developed stress-related medical problems and began to receive counseling at a nearby university, but none of that deterred her from speaking up confidently in classrooms despite having described herself as an introvert in the interview:

In seminar in particular, I don't know why a lot of those people signed up for it because literally no one would talk and it was sad because the teacher would ask a question and it would be just like dead silent. It would be just me and my friend who answered all of the questions... For me that's never been a problem. I do answer questions a lot in class because to me it's like, they ask you a direct question, it's not hard for me to think of an answer and say something. I actually enjoy it because I want to hear what other people have to say.

Even when faced with setbacks, wealthy students possessed a confidence that allowed them to feel an ease and a sense of belonging in the classroom that allowed them to speak up in discussions and feel they have something worthwhile to contribute to debates.

Low-income students reported a decidedly different experience in their AP/Seminar classrooms. Being one of only a few low-income students – if not the *only* low-income student – in the classroom space meant they were constantly faced with the implications of their socioeconomic differences, even if those class differences were not always obvious to those around them. Even well-intentioned, friendly conversations could be fraught with additional layers of meaning. Nathaniel, a normally boisterous and outgoing low-income Latino student, pointed out a series of uncomfortable questions that he disliked being asked by his fellow AP classmates:

And every time I come back from school over the summer, like, “Where did you travel?” Some kids say all of these places and I was like, “I just went to Mexico or TJ or Rosarito.” You know, nowhere too far, or mainly stayed here. That’s one thing. Because I remember I think I lied once. I was like, “I went here and there” and I’m like, no, I didn’t do any of that. You just feel uncomfortable. I don’t like – that’s the only time I feel uncomfortable. And it takes a lot to feel uncomfortable. I’m quiet in that class because they just, I don’t know. Things they say, I’m like, “Whoa.” I’m afraid to say things out loud because I feel like you are judged, just by the things you say. They will be like, “What is he saying??” and stuff. It’s weird. Just the things they say, the stuff they do – I’m like, my family can’t do those type of things. “We came back from break or going on Christmas break, I’m going here, there.” Here we go again. When will they stop? I just remembered: I hate that question. “What are you doing this summer?” I’m like: stop. Just stop. Or: “What are your plans after high school?” I’m like: stop. So yeah. Sometimes I don’t like the, “What are you doing on the weekend?” question. I’m like, “I’m just working.” That’s what I’m doing.

For low-income students, simple and innocuous questions like, “What are you doing on the weekend?” or “What are you doing this summer?” served to highlight the difference in their respective class standings. The implicit assumption in these questions was that everyone must have done something (and could afford to do something) that they would want to talk about with classmates afterwards. Part of the ease of wealthy students’ confidence came from their class privilege, which allowed them to remain unaware of the role their class background

played in their everyday interactions. Low-income students did not have this luxury. When traversing wealthy spaces, low-income students constantly felt self-conscious about their class standing because their difference became evident in even the most mundane interactions. As a result, even gregarious students (such as Nathaniel) reported feeling “uncomfortable – and it takes a lot to [make me] feel uncomfortable”, and often retreated into silence: “I’m quiet in that class... I’m afraid to say things out loud because I feel like you are more judged, just by the things you say.”

Class differences emerged in more than just the content of casual conversations. Matilda, a low-income Latina student, began by talking about an awkward interaction she had had with a classmate showing off her purse, but shifted from an analysis of the micro-interaction into an observation of the different ways their respective family’s class backgrounds had prepared them for school:

Some students just take it for granted what they have, like, (in a high falsetto): “Oh yeah, my mom just bought me a Chanel purse,” and it’s like, “Oh my God, I just ask for it and I get it,” and I don’t think they understand how much some people have to struggle to get what they want. Like I said, silver spoon. They don’t understand how other people have it hard, other situations. All their life, they’ve always had what they’ve needed. They’ve never seen their parents struggle; they just find it easy. I think it’s why they find it easy to take AP classes and all this, because they haven’t had to think about other things going on in their life; they’ve always had someone to tell them, “Oh yeah, you’re going to college, you’re going to do this and that.” For me, my mom didn’t tell me, “Oh yeah, take this AP class in order for you to get good grades and for you to get a high GPA.” Like my mom doesn’t know, basically, classes or anything. They have someone telling them, “Go do this, go do that, and you’re going to take this class and this extracurricular activity, and this and that.” And we-underprivileged kids don’t really have that, we have to figure it out on our own - and they have someone leading the way for them.

Matilda began by complaining about her classmate showing off an expensive purse, but uses that as a launching point from which to think about her classmates’ general lack of

“understand[ing] how much some people have to struggle to get what they want.” For Matilda, this has implications in the AP classroom: the fact that her classmate was gifted a designer purse was analogous to everything else she may have been gifted in life – including parents with the knowledge to guide her through the college application process.

The recognition that wealthier classmates had knowledgeable parents to guide them on their AP track was a common observation among the low-income students in AP classrooms.

Martina, a low-income Latina student, knew that it began from a young age:

I have always just stuck with that whereas somebody from [my neighborhood] probably has never had somebody like that because, you know, if you are in elementary school and you have parents that don't speak English, it's kind of hard to do well on something you will never have help on. So the middle of, like, middle school, I guess, where you are like actually needing help but you are not getting it, whereas it's different over here because you have parents who are like engineers or something like that. They have already had help. We start late, I guess you could say.

Martina recognized there was a structural inequality at play here: neighborhoods were divided not just spatially, but socioeconomically as well. Kids from her neighborhood, in particular, came from families where “parents... don’t speak English” and are unable to help their children with their homework – and “it’s kind of hard to do well on something you will never have help on.” By contrast, her classmates “have parents who are like engineers... They have already had help.” She concludes with the realization that low-income students had a late start in life.

Martina expands further on her observations later in the interview. When thinking about the differences between other low-income students and their wealthier classmates, she stated:

I guess you could say what the difference is, for us it is harder to do good in school. Because there are so many outside influences from like, I guess older

siblings and just like our neighborhood. Like a lot of influences to ditch or smoke or drink or do stuff like that and party and we had to deal with like all of that. And we would have to deal with waking up at, like, I think one year I had to wake up at 4:30. Because the bus got there at 5, 6. So it's like you knew that nobody else was having a hard time waking up and then people that live here, a block away, can wake up at 7:15 or something. We have different responsibilities. Like we have to take care of our younger siblings because our parents work so much whereas people from Bayside would have like nannies or they go to like different, they have like other kinds of resources. Whereas we had to take care of our siblings, have parents that work two shifts or we don't see them because they are always working because they have to pay the rent and stuff like that whereas people here, they are more stable, I guess you would say because they have a good paying job because it's Bayside.

She attributes difficulties in the AP classroom to a combination of their social location (being low-income) and their geographic location (being bussed in from a neighborhood that is physically far from the school). Distance meant she had to wake up hours earlier than her peers, and her low-income status meant she came from a family in which guardians were scrambling to pay the bills and the burden of child-rearing often fell to her. These extra responsibilities added a strain to her day that impacted her ability to do well in the classroom.

Sofia, a low-income Latina student, echoed some of these sentiments and chimed in with other observations: “I have noticed in all of my AP classes, I mean, there's so many people that have the advantage of, like, I mean a lot of people here are wealthy. It's Bayside. And a lot of them have tutors and they get good grades because they don't have as much responsibility as, let's say, like me who I come from a low income family and I have to work to help out my mom.” Sofia, also, had responsibilities at home that impacted her performance in the classroom (needing “to work to help out my mom”). In addition to that, wealthy students were able to afford tutors to boost their grades. The practice of hiring tutors was one that was mentioned over and over by low-income students observing their wealthier peers in AP/Seminar classrooms. Rueben, a low-income Asian student, remarked: “They all have tutors

and all of that. It's something I would never expect to have.” He noticed the tutors, and knew it came with other advantages as well: “Just because of that, I guess it's more supplies and more things to help them succeed, I guess, just because they have more of that. And they are around, because they go to those classes, they are around more people that I guess are more educated, around more people who are educated so they just, it's just better that way. If you are around smarter people, then you get smarter.” Extra tutoring sessions and extra classes connected the wealthier students to more educated networks, which helped boost their knowledge, presumably in the AP/Seminar classroom and elsewhere.

The result was a persistent sense of unease. Whereas wealthy students brought a confident and comfortable attitude to their interactions in the AP/Seminar classroom, low-income students felt the opposite: insecure and uncomfortable. Elvira, a low-income white student, told me that, “I am just so scared because I don't know if I'm smart enough because, you know, you go to a school like this. But I think I'm more determined. I mean, I'm intelligent, obviously... but you are always scared you will never be good enough.” The fear of “never be[ing] good enough” and not being able to measure up was echoed by Martina: “I guess I feel different. Which would be, like, when I'm with all of these Bayside people, I feel less confident and less smart... I used to participate more. You kind of have that fear of, ‘I'm wrong, I'm going to look stupid in front of all of these people.’ And in AP classes you don't, I don't really say much. I'm kind of more quiet.” Both girls were reflecting a common sentiment among the low-income students in the AP/Seminar classes: they often felt “scared” and “less confident” and “less smart” and resorted to staying quiet. Martina later talked about the “vibe” in the AP/Seminar classes: “Obviously you are in the class for some reason, but sometimes it feels like you shouldn't be there. Like you are not treated any different from like the teachers or

anything, but it is just some vibe that you get.” Martina talked about a “vibe” of not belonging in the AP/Seminar classes, but was quick to attribute the feeling of inferiority to the material resources the wealthier students had at their disposal: “So when they have like the extra time or extra money to, like, pay for those kinds of things like tutor and stuff, they have a lot better chance of knowing and understanding the subject, I feel. So it's like you get intimidated by them because you feel like they know it more, so therefore, you are wrong.”

Luciana, a low-income Latina student, also reported feeling “dumb”, but observed that wealthy students had what she termed, “leadership initiative”:

I’m not saying that I was dumb, but I was dumb compared to other people. Because they know their stuff. They would be like, they know how to take the initiative of organizing, of leadership - and you just don’t. I didn’t. but I would be smart about it. I would have the answer. I wouldn’t speak up about it. They would take thirty minutes trying to figure it out, when I had the answer. These kids would take up their leadership responsibilities. And I had the answer, I know exactly how it was, yet I would be sitting down listening to that person, telling me what to do, because I didn’t have that leadership initiative.

Luciana was aware that she was not actually inferior in intellect to her peers – “And I had the answer, I knew exactly how it was” – but saw that she lacked the “leadership initiative” to speak up. Without explicitly using that terminology, she was able to recognize cultural capital in her wealthier peers – the confidence that allowed them to organize and dictate to others what to do. Despite all this insight, she, too, remained silent in the classroom, choosing instead “not to speak up,” even when she knew the answer.

Paloma, a low-income Latina student, was even more severely impacted by the wealth of her peers. When asked whether it affected her school performance, she replied:

It definitely did. You have low self-esteem and it reflects on your grades, and it reflects on your performance and everything. Like, if I were - you know, I was

sad most of the time - so being sad and having to deal with the way that they looked and the way that they talked, and the activities that they were doing on the weekends, and me having to be like, I can't hang out with my friends because no one has a ride, no one has money and everything and it makes you sad and you just don't feel like doing anything. You don't feel like doing your work, at least I didn't. you just start slacking off and slacking off - it was just like, what's the point - if I'm never going to be as good as these girls - what's the point.

Being constantly surrounded by the yawning income differences between herself and her wealthier classmates gave her “low self-esteem” and made her “start slacking off and slacking off.” She felt like she was “never going to be as good as these girls” and felt like there was no point in putting any effort in to her classes. While Paloma may have been a severe case, she certainly reflects the general consensus among the low-income students who opted to take AP/Seminar classes: entering these spaces, comprised almost entirely of wealthy students with material resources to help them succeed, made them feel different and insecure, and often resulted in choosing to stay quiet more often than they would have otherwise.

It didn't help that low-income students were so few in number and were arriving in AP/Seminar classes filled with students who had been matriculating together for years. Sofia, a low-income Latina student, described it in this way:

It is different. Just because people tend to, just, be more comfortable with people they can relate to and grouping are formed and when it comes to, like, doing projects, you know, where the teacher says, okay, like find a partner, like obviously, people work with people they know and it has happened to me where if I don't know anybody in there, I feel kind of lost and I find whatever group and, yeah. I get to know more people that way. But in situations like that, it's just, yeah. Where people know each other and then they form groups and, yeah. So in one way, it is difficult.

For her, it was a “different” and “difficult” experience to find partners to work with on projects because people were naturally grouping themselves off with other people they already knew –

often “people they can relate to”, leaving Sofia to “feel kind of lost.” Matilda, a low-income Latina student, had a similar experience: “I really didn’t have any close people in that class, I didn’t really have anybody to talk to, and if I needed help, I really couldn’t rely on anybody in that class. Most of them were already friends and stuff, and I felt really awkward, like the ugly duckling in that group.” Matilda ended up feeling like the “ugly duckling” because she didn’t have anyone to talk since most of the students had already grouped themselves off.

Matilda and Sofia also touched on another source of discomfort in the classroom: the competitive culture of the AP/Seminar classes. Matilda stated:

It was really sad. I think about it - everyone’s in the class for themselves. It’s a competition. Who can get the better score, who can get into the better college. I felt like AP classes were a college credit class - it was a thing - there is this sense of - who’s going to get the higher GPA? Who’s going to the better school? Who’s going to the Ivy league? It’s people who grew up with money who want to get into the good college. But we’re minorities, so we’re just trying to get into college, we’re trying to help each other. But they were like, “We’re out there for ourselves.” Most of the things I saw: they were taking extracurricular class, and taking SAT classes, and their parents have money to give them extra opportunities, but minorities – our parents are living check to check so it’s hard for us to have that opportunity.”

Matilda observed that it was the wealthier students, whose parents had the money and resources to give their children extra opportunities, who were setting up a competitive culture in the classroom. Students would compete amongst themselves for the “better score” or the “better college” and try to ferret out who had gotten the higher GPA. By contrast, Matilda and her friends – the “minorities” who had never been to college – were trying to help one another. Sofia, meanwhile, found the competitive culture to be the most intimidating part of her experience:

The people I feel intimidated by were just people in my classes I had to compete with them. They are so competitive. They want to get to the best colleges so

they want to be the one that gets like the top score in every test and I mean, they just, yeah. So I think the competition was what intimidated me. Because I mean, yeah. Like a lot of them are really bright. And a lot of them want to know, like, what you scored and they want to know they are the top ones and I think that's what is more intimidating. If everything were more private, like no one cared about what the person next to them got in their score on the test or whatever, I think that would be less stress on everybody.

Like Matilda, Sofia commented that students were competitive, and stated that she felt intimidated when students tried to find out how she had scored. She suggested keeping rankings private so that students would stop trying to ascertain the top scorers on any given test. This competitiveness was hard to escape; sometimes it extended out into casual conversations outside of the classroom as well. Jose, a low-income Latino student, remarked that:

You will never have somebody ask you, “What did you get on the AP? Are you taking the AP test?” The kind of conversation is different, whereas you sit near the grass area and you will hear, like, “Yeah, my dad, you know, is trying to get me to apply to UCSB or Berkeley or Stanford,” and the conversations are just different. Now they already kind of, they talk about grades and stuff.

The competitive atmosphere in the classroom permeated conversations around West Bayside campus, prompting different sorts of discussions. While Jose didn't hang out with friends who asked about the AP test, students who sat in the grass area (which meant they were most likely students who were not getting free or reduced priced lunches, since they were not near the lunch line for them) talked to one another about college applications and grades. This showed a clear socioeconomic class distinction in conversations between those who were low-income (because they were getting free and reduced price lunches) and those who were not (because they were sitting on the grass), and the low-income students were aware of it.

Despite all these differences, low-income students' experiences were not entirely negative. Matilda admitted she was more reticent to speak in her AP classes but tried to be optimistic anyway:

Sometimes I'm outgoing, it depends on the situation I'm in, or the setting of the place where I'm at, because sometimes I'm very comfortable with my friends, and people I know, but with people I don't know, like in my AP or my honors classes, I feel intimidated by other people, because I feel like I'm not surrounded by the kind of people I usually am, so it's kind of - I don't know. I think I'm a funny person, even if I have a bad place, I always try to be optimistic about everything. I don't think it's worthwhile being sad or depressed about anything. I always try to be happy, no matter what situation is going on, anything that's going on, I try to be happy.

Low-income students – particularly students with a strong homophilous network of close friends around them (described in more detail below) – may have felt “intimidated by other people, because I feel like I'm not surrounded by the kind of people I usually am.” However, that did not stop them from looking on the bright side of their situation and “try[ing] to be happy.”

Students' Interactions with Teachers

Wealthy students' cultural capital allowed them to feel at ease when both connecting and criticizing their teachers, sometimes in surprisingly harsh tones. Privilege also meant that they knew which rules were safe to break. This knowledge was deployed in strategic ways.

For Kylie, a wealthy Asian student, chatting up teachers was an opportunity to connect with someone who could write recommendation letters for her. She shared that she would advise her younger siblings to, “Just be friends with your teachers. Or you can talk to your teachers before class or after class or something. Or just chat with them. Or have a general conversation.” She would do this because, “Freshman year I moved from China and I talked to

my teacher and he ended up being the teacher that I chose to write recommendations for me.” Aiden, a wealthy Asian student, strategically talked to teachers to “get on their good side”: “If you’re on the teacher’s good side, then you do well. If not, then you do poorly. To get on their good side for the bad teachers whose grading policy is obscure (because the others, they treated you fairly) - you had to talk with them. I joke with them, seem like you like the class, seem like you pay attention in class.” Many students recognized the importance of connecting with teachers and employed the technique for instrumental ends: to get a recommendation letter, or to improve one’s grades.

For others, a connection with teachers meant the ability to gain extra benefits, such as negotiating homework deadlines – or foregoing them entirely. Gwen, a wealthy white student, stated that: “Stats was fun. I got along with my teacher so I kind of negotiated out of doing the homework.” Similarly, Madison, a wealthy white student, said, “That’s why I’m not taking AP in fifth period – because the teacher I have right now is my coach so he – I know him and I can just get homework from him at another time and it made it more convenient.”

While Gwen and Madison talked about getting out of doing homework, other students talked about getting out of class. Chloe, a wealthy white student, mentioned that when she wanted to leave school, “My parents call. I mean, I probably come 60% of the time but it’s really not necessary. I’m a good student, got into good schools. You can learn everything. You don’t miss anything.” Chloe may have had her parents call to get her out of class, but Diana, another wealthy white student, actually impersonated her mother and called the office, herself:

I’m actually leaving after this because I didn’t do my AP art history. We have a Power Point due tonight and I didn’t do it. We have, like, blue slips but the office doesn’t know anything and I’m like, “This is [her mother’s name] calling.” And I would leave and go to the library and do the project.

Marc, a wealthy white Latino student, laughed about how he was consistently late to his classes, but reassured me: “I don’t think it’s a problem really. I would have probably had detention by now if it was really a problem.” For wealthy students, a class-based ease with the school system allowed them to circumnavigate its rules.

This did not go unnoticed by the low-income students. They often commented on the ease with which wealthier students interacted with the teachers – an ease they did not share. Rueben, a low-income Asian student, commented that: “I always just say that they, like, talk to the teacher more personally. So they randomly, during class, they start a conversation with them from across the room, like crack jokes and stuff.” Luciana, a low-income Latina student, was astonished at the level of confidence the students exhibited in their interactions with teachers:

They knew how to talk to the teachers. They honestly knew how to talk to the teachers! I didn’t. I didn’t know how to go and ask ‘em, I didn’t know how to - I don’t know. They’re so... they were so much more confident. They knew how to talk to them, they knew how to approach them, they knew where to look, they knew who to ask. I don’t know. It’s not that they didn’t have - I’m not saying that their efforts were all given to them - they had to do efforts themselves - but I don’t know. I guess because they were used to their environment.

Both Rueben and Luciana were surprised by the rapport between the wealthier students and the teachers. They noticed that students were joking and “were so much more confident” in knowing “how to talk to them... how to approach them... where to look...” Both Rueben and Luciana – and other low-income students – expressed a hope in learning to do the same.

Habitus provides an internal sense of one’s place in the world. This gave wealthy students a sense of confidence, and the view that teachers were equals to chat with, negotiate with, and freely criticize. When asked about experiences in the classroom, wealthy students

would often pivot to evaluating teachers – often in harsh and critical tones. Teagen, a wealthy Middle Eastern student, told me that: “I feel like some of the classes here are kind of stupid. Honestly. Because we don't do anything. Like in my Brit lit class we literally sit there and do nothing. It's the biggest waste of time of my life. All she talks about is her ex-husband and it's like really sad. And her family, so I get super bored in that class.” She remarks about another class: “Not saying I don't study. I study. But just getting all of this homework and doing busy work for no reason and sitting in class for so many hours and like not really, I don't know. Like I sit in English and don't learn anything. I don't learn anything! All I learn is about her life. My least favorite class, I will tell you, is AP science because the teacher is retarded. I don't like her. She is a bitch. She really is.” In expressing her frustrating with classes she found “stupid” and the “biggest waste of time”, Teagen singled out teachers as her focus for her discontentment.

Teagen was not alone in her sentiments. When Chloe was asked how to improve the school, she responded that West Bayside “need(s) to fire all of your staff and get a new one. I could make a list of teachers.” She goes on to talk about specific teachers:

Even my stats teacher, I can say her name, Miss W, she is not quite, I could see her being like a middle school teacher but she doesn't have the brain capacity to teach somebody over the age of like somebody like 14, 15. She teaches remedial math and AP stats. She should stick with remedial math. We mess with her mind. She didn't know AP stats and she has her notes done that she copies but when she has examples and we ask her to explain it, she never knows how to do it. She literally does not know statistics. She asks for help. She really doesn't know. We ask her questions and we know she doesn't know. My English teacher this year, Mr. B, who I have had for two years, we watch Shakira music videos. He's really into Taylor Swift. He tries to pretend it has anything to do with English but it really doesn't. That's my English class.

Chloe, also, singled out teachers to criticize when she was not enjoying a class.

Furthermore, students often complained about bad teachers to one another. Such complaints served to warn other students against taking classes with certain teachers. Camila, a wealthy white student, recounted a story in which her friends advised her against taking a class her heart was set on: “The teacher is crazy. She is like bipolar and, like, she is crazy. Sidenote. I do junior theater. And all of my older, like way older friends who went to West Bayside, who do theater, were involved, like: ‘Don't do it.’ They warned me. She is just very, very mean.” Students felt comfortable not only criticizing teachers, but also passing on those complaints to one another.

Both wealthy students and low-income students criticized teachers, but the substance of their criticisms differed. Wealthy students spoke disparagingly of their teachers’ abilities and sometimes brought in personal tidbits about them as points to mock. Low-income students, by comparison, found this behavior disrespectful. As Nathaniel (a low-income, Latino student) stated: “They are just, like, brats to the teacher. They are brats! They don’t show respect – the respect you *should* get. I mean, they do, but not all the time.” Their criticisms of teachers centered mainly on perceived injustices instead.

For low-income students, a common complaint was that most AP/Seminar teachers did not understand the hardships they were encountering as they took their classes. Sometimes it was as benign as an off-hand comment that even wealthier students might notice, as Camila did:

Teachers are like, “So-and-so lives here! Look how beautiful it is!” You are like, really, you are talking about some kid 's house and how awesome it is. Maybe the kid next to them lives with all of their aunts and uncles in a small, tiny house. Teachers do talk about money sometimes or experiences that do cost a lot of money. You are just, like, that's awkward if a kid can't afford it.

But the sense of alienation often ran deeper than thoughtless comments. Sofia, a low-income Latina student, shared her frustrations with teachers' ignorance regarding the lived experience of her life:

I mean, I don't think teachers understand most of the time – they really don't understand what each kid is going through... Yeah, so for example, if I am in the same class as, if I'm in an AP class and, like, I get a low grade on a math test or whatever test and it's because I had to work this whole weekend and I have other AP classes and I have to take care of my brother and I don't have a car so I have to go pick him up from school, stuff like that, they really don't understand versus if a white kid or whatever, it doesn't matter the race, but if another kid that has money, I mean, maybe their parents have babysitters or they do have cars so I mean they can do more or they have a big house where they can study and a place where it is quiet versus in like a 2-bedroom apartment where you can hear every single conversation going on and you can't focus. That makes a difference and I don't think teachers understand that.

It was not just the wealthy students who did not understand their low-income experience; it was also the teachers. Sofia eloquently described the extra burdens she was shouldering as a result of her class background and the ways they played a role in her AP class performance, but she clearly felt that her teachers did not understand her experience. Luciana, a low-income Latina student, relayed a similar frustration:

Because in West Bayside, it wasn't like they pitied me; they didn't understand that sometimes, I just didn't have the money to buy clay for something. They didn't understand that I couldn't afford the SAT prep books, that I couldn't afford the tutor. My teacher would be like, "Go talk to your tutor right now. Everyone, make appointments with your tutors, and tell them that the AP class would be coming in," and I was just like, "Yeah, not gonna happen." I would be like, "I'm going to go talk to somebody else. I'm going to go talk to my book and see what it can tell me." You know – but, yeah. And in other schools, it's not like that.

In a school like West Bayside, the implicit assumption in AP classes was that everyone already had tutors to help them with their AP tests, and everyone came from families with expendable incomes with which to pay for extra supplies. Teachers were not immune to these assumptions

and, in fact, often trafficked in them. This led to a further feeling of alienation for the low-income students who did not fit into these assumptions.

While the low-income students had their own complaints about their teachers, they did not have other low-income students to complain with because they were so few in number. An unfortunate side-effect of this is that low-income students would enter AP classes without the benefit of knowing whether other students liked or disliked the class. Matilda, a low-income Latina student, mentioned an English class she had taken on without knowing the teacher was considered a “hardass”: “She taught AP English, so other students knew what to expect and already knew she was a ‘hardass’, but I went into it thinking there wouldn’t be racism or anything. I thought - it would be somewhat mature. And I was really excited about it, but it didn’t turn out that way.” This was especially unfortunate because low-income students had fewer resources to turn to if they ended up with a teacher who was not helpful. As Elvira, a low-income white student, points out:

I always noticed that kids got tutors, and I couldn’t afford a tutor - that bothered me because math and science are harder to grasp. They also had parents who were in the sciences - doctors, or scientists - or math or engineers which are high SES, so they already had an advantage. The rest of us could only learn from teachers, and the math and science teachers were terrible. They were usually English teachers, and they sucked. If you wanted to do well, and you had a shitty teacher, that was it for that. West Bayside didn’t offer tutors, so that was it for you.

Wealthier students had the double-advantage of being surrounded by other wealthy students who could warn them away from bad teachers, but if that failed, they had parents who could afford to provide a tutor to help make up for what the teacher lacked. Low-income students, unfortunately, lacked both advantages: they did not have other students to turn to for advice on

choosing sympathetic AP teachers, and they did not have access to tutoring service and other services that may have helped fill in the gaps.

Low-income students felt alienated by their teachers when their teachers did not understand their low-income lived experiences, but they also felt alienated in other ways, too: when teachers trafficked in racial stereotypes, and when teachers did not understand the hardships of being immigrant children. These topics are explored in greater detail in the following two sections.

LOW-INCOME STUDENTS AND RACE

The experience of being a low-income student in a wealthy school – particularly in AP/Seminar classes, which are predominantly comprised of wealthy students – was already a daunting and intimidating one. For low-income students of color, race adds a complicating layer to this experience, because they are often contending with both lowered teacher expectations (Gershenson and PapaNathaniel 2018; Jamil, Larsen, and Hamre 2018; Jimenez 2008; Jussim, Madon, and Chatman 1994; Mehan, Villanueva, Hubbard, Lintz, Okamoto 1996; PapaNathaniel, Gerhenson 2016) and their own perceptions and internalization of the stereotypes that are placed upon them – aka stereotype threat (Alter, Aronson, Darley, Rodriguez, Ruble 2009; chmader 2010; Schweinle and Mims 2009; Shelvin, Rivadeneyra, and Zimmerman 2014; Steele 1997; Steele 2003)

Asian American Students

Asian American students were stereotyped as “smart”, as Aiden, a wealthy Asian student said: “I also think, being Asian - has its stereotypes - where people think I’m smart - that also helps with some of my classes. The white English teacher - all I did was sit in the

back and do my homework - and she thought I was smart. That benefited me in a way.” Aiden took advantage of the stereotype of Asians being smart by trying to get by with doing less work, agentically working the system to his benefit. Amanda, another wealthy Asian student, concurred with this stereotype: “I think in AP classes they (Asian students) feel comfortable because people expect them to be there, and they like that you are there so they can ask you for help.” Students of color who were Asian could feel comfortable in the AP/Seminar space – a predominantly white space – because they were “expect(ed)” to be there, and could provide “help”.

This did not come without its drawbacks. Amanda elaborated on this further when she stated, “I think there definitely is a degree of, like, racism. It's not mean racism, but it's just people expect you to be smart. They have expectation, being an Asian. And they kind of like separate themselves from you in a way because they expect you to be, like, ‘the help’.” Asian American students were viewed as, “the help”: people to answer white students’ questions and otherwise provide support for their AP/Seminar endeavors, but were also people to “separate” from. Katrina, a wealthy Asian student, had a different interpretation of the model minority stereotype. She acknowledged there were stereotypes about Asian students (“I think being Asian here, you suddenly get like stereotyped into being like this straight A, like top-of-the-class [person]”), but the experience was so benign that, “I feel like I almost, like, forget that I'm Asian.” For some Asian Americans students, stereotypes either worked in their favor and allowed them a degree of latitude in which to slack off (as was the case for Aiden), or worked against them and caused them to feel like they were “help” to be used and discarded (as was the case for Amanda). For others, however, the Asian American stereotypes carry such little

consequence in one's life that the ethnicity becomes a voluntary one (Waters 1990) that one chooses to forget (as in Katrina's case).

Other students of color did not get off so easily.

Latino Students

Latino students reported feeling the brunt of stereotypes that castigated them as not-smart. Jaime said that, "I just think we're judged, like at first glance by our teachers. The worst is expected from us, like we're just generalized. Like, 'Oh, they're not that smart.' Personally, I feel that I have to work harder just to show them that I'm good, that I can do it. And some of my other friends (white) are like, 'I'll just take the easy way out.'" Matilda, a low-income Latina student, said that teachers were "racist sometimes":

Well, sometimes it feels like, yeah, they're racist sometimes. I was in AP British Lit, and my teacher was like, "Oh, the people out there don't understand the real world" this and that, and it's like, "Oh, the 'people out there' are my friends, and you're commenting on them, and not nice comments, either." So I didn't feel connected to anyone in that class. And it was like, oh, I'm getting fingers pointed at me, because I'm not the usual person you would have in the AP classes. Like Hispanic students, to walk into an AP class, you'll mostly see Asian and whites, and a couple of Mexicans, and it's kind of awkward being in that class when you really don't talk to that group of people, and they're just like, "Oh, you're in this class, either you're going to fail it or you're going to drop it."

Matilda had already felt uncomfortable upon walking in and seeing she was a micro-minority in the AP classroom; she "didn't feel connected to anyone in that class". Unfortunately, the teacher's comments only served to leave her feeling further alienated in the classroom. She later mentioned in the interview:

[It's] hard being in a school where you're the minority. Trying to be in AP or honors classes with mostly white students is really difficult, because you're already one step down, in a way. It's weird to find connection in the classroom when you're the only Hispanic kid in the room. In my senior year, I decided to

take AP English because my teacher at the time said this is the class where you need to prove yourself to get to college, minorities don't belong here. I felt intimidated and unwelcome in that class. She was talking about my friends, and I'm one of them, so I dropped that class as soon as possible. So it was kind of hard sometimes.

Matilda's AP teacher's words and actions made her feel "intimidated and unwelcome" – to the point that she ended up "drop[ping] that class as soon as possible." Teachers should be aware that their words have consequences – and may end up inadvertently reinforcing stereotypes by alienating students who subsequently opt out of their classes, as some of these students had done. Teacher expectations play a role in students' academic outcomes (Jussim, Madon, and Chatman 1994; Papageorge and Gershenson 2016; Jamil, Larsen, and Hamre 2018; Gershenson and PapaNathaniel 2018), and when they are trafficking in racist stereotypes, their words and behavior can have a deleterious impact on students of color in the classroom.

Low-income students of color were already nervous about entering the AP classroom; racism compounded the problem, as did colorism. Julieta was a low-income white Latina student who acknowledged the privilege afforded her due to her skin tone:

I think that at this school, and maybe in Bayside, or I really don't know how to generalize, but Hispanics mainly are not expected to do as well as non-minorities, so that was really interesting to see growing up because if you see my flesh, I am not tan, so people don't necessarily think that I am indeed a Hispanic, so I don't get that racial differentiation when I'm in a classroom, but I do see it with others and I think that kind of thing, if you expect something from somebody or you don't expect something from somebody, that person is going to follow that trend of non-expectation, so it was really interesting to see that growing up as a Hispanic but a white Hispanic, so to speak.

The fact that she was white meant that she was somewhat inoculated against the stereotyping her co-ethnic peers were experiencing, but that did not mean she did not notice the racism inherent in the expectations of underperformance for other Latino students.

Like the Asian students, stereotypes against Latino students affected both low-income *and* wealthy members of their community. Camila, a wealthy Latino student, recounted her experience moving to the area:

When I was in eighth grade entering ninth grade, the counselor I had, they call you in and say what class are you going to take next year. I had been taking two years of Latin, a year ahead of math, an all-around genius, I guess you could say. She calls me in, looks at my transcript, gets this weird look on her face like, "What? No." Looks at me, looks back at the transcript. She is like, you are Camila, right? I'm like what do you mean by that. It wasn't like -- no, I'm Camila. Personally, it felt like, wait. You are capable of this? It kind of felt like that. And it's not to say she meant it that way but it did come off that way. I'm like, really? I do live this side of, you know, town. But I mean, both of my parents went to law school. I'm not some dumb kid off the street. So there was that. So instantly, that was my first impression of the administration. Almost instantly it was like, "Great. This is what the next 4 years are going to be like." They are like, "You took Latin?" I'm like, "Yeah. It's Latin, yes, I understand, but if anybody tries they can get through it." "And you are ahead in math?" I'm like, "Yeah, in elementary school I was the best math student. I beat every competition, everything." So it's just like that is how it is being perceived at this second. There's that judgment already. She doesn't know me. And it carries through. There's that sense and it's like, Mexicans. You have to be bussed in."

For some adults, stereotypes that Latinos were not academically successful were so pervasive they were incredulous when they met Camila, a student who had completed Latin and math courses.

Middle Eastern Students

Middle Eastern students were sometimes the target of teacher's ignorant comments, as Aiden, a wealthy Asian student, told me: "[The teacher] was racist toward my friend who was Middle Eastern. He would call him a terrorist, or purposely call him the wrong name - like, Mohamad - to belittle him. When he turned in homework, he would copy my homework, and I would get 100, and he would get a C-. It showed it didn't matter what the quality of the

work was, but that he was Middle Eastern.” Middle Eastern students were the target of ignorant jokes and discriminatory grading practices by at least one teacher. As with Latino students above, these racist comments could have a deleterious impact on Middle Eastern students’ academic achievement (in the case of Aiden’s friend, his grades were literally lower than Aiden’s for the same work). In addition, the fact that Middle-Eastern students were few in number meant that they were a micro-minority within the school and would have fewer co-ethnic peers to commiserate with and band together with.

African-American Students

Similarly, African-American students reported feeling discriminated against by their teachers. Levi, a low-income African-American student, recounted a time he was unfairly accused of theft:

There was one time when I felt maligned or misjudged by a teacher or something. It was like a disruptive classroom, it was math, period 4, I wanna say, I’m not sure, and senior year, and - what happened - oh I think I was talking to someone, or someone asked me a question and I responded to them, and he was like, ‘Oh get out of my class, Levi’, and I sat out of his class, and he sent another girl out, and we were outside of the class, on the steps, you know, talking quietly to one another, but then when he came out and saw us talking, he was like, “See, you’re going to the counselor’s office” or whatever, so we had to go to the counselor’s office, and when I was in there, he came into the counselor’s office, and was like, “Oh these students are just very disruptive,” and blahblahblah, and. “I’ve had several calculators stolen from my classroom,” and all this stuff, which was not even part of the reason why I was sent out of the classroom, and I was like, “What does calculators being stolen have to do with any of this?” And the counselor was that guy’s friend, and thought lowly of me, I could tell, and I was just like, “Whatever,” I didn’t have any way of defending myself in that situation, and I was like, if I weren’t African American, would the calculators even be an issue? It honestly made me wonder.

While Levi was gracious about his experience, the fact remained that a small infraction – talking in class – quickly snowballed into unjust accusations that Levi could not defend himself against. Research has indicated that African-American students are, in fact, disproportionately

targeted by administrators for disciplinary purposes, often resulting in higher rates of suspensions and expulsions, which may in turn influence their academic progress in the classroom (Cortiella and Horowitz, 2014; Crenshaw, 2015; Ramey 2015; Morris and Perry 2016). This was particularly concerning because Levi and Adam’s friends were members of micro-minority groups. Latino students and the Asian students were part of minority groups that were large enough to provide a support network for one another when instances of discrimination arose; African-Americans and Middle-Eastern students were few in number and would find it difficult to find a similar strength in co-ethnic networks. They were often left to their own devices when they were treated unfairly by teachers, administrators, and other people in the school, a fact Levi mentioned when he ended with, “I didn’t have any way of defending myself in that situation.”

Unfortunately, racist assumptions were not limited to the teacher, but were shared by some of the other students in the classroom as well. Sofia was a low-income Latina student, but she mentioned a time she noticed students whispering about an African-American student in her AP class:

If it's a class where it is really rigorous, sometimes people do get surprised if there's Hispanic people or if there's like black people in it. There was a class – my AP Euro class – where it was my friend and I, and we were both Hispanic and obviously we hung out together in that class. And then there was a guy that was black and I remember people were just, like, surprised that he was in there. And everybody else was just white. People would just, like, for example, we would take a test and then the teacher would post up the results, everybody else looks for the lowest score or who scored the highest just because they want to be the one that scored the highest and they want to know who scored the lowest and then, but the names aren't posted. It's just like the grades and then our ID numbers and sometimes I would hear kids around me say it's probably that one guy and then, yeah. So I mean, I knew people were just surprised.

Sofia had mentioned earlier that such lists were highly stressful. This was especially the case for students of color who had to battle racist assumptions among the students in addition to the typical stress associated with class rankings. In Sofia's AP class, students assumed that the lowest score belonged to the sole African-American student in the room – an assumption that might explain why the effect of race on AP classes remained significant for African-American students and Asian American students, even after accounting for class in our model. Stereotype threat has been shown to have adverse effects on students' scores (Steele 1997; Steele 2003; Schweinle and Mims 2009; Alter, Aronson, Darley, Rodriguez, & Ruble, 2009; Schmader 2010; Shelvin, Hines, and Rivadeneyra, 2014). When faced with racist assumptions in the classroom and stereotype threat within, many Asian-American students may feel more pressure to take AP classes than other students, while African-American students may feel the same pressure to stay *out* of AP classes altogether.

Immigration

In addition to class and race, immigration added another complicating layer to the equation. Pop-cultural knowledge that was second-nature to native-born populations was a struggle for immigrant students (or the children of immigrants) to understand. Jay, a low-income Latino student, mentioned, "Sometimes, I see that a lot of the teachers talk about movies back then, and I'd be like, 'Oh, my parents never showed me that.'" While a shared cultural knowledge may serve to bond groups together and even initiate a form of nostalgia in the classroom as students and teachers bonded over movies, immigrant students feel left out of the conversation.

This feeling of alienation extended to the actual words in the conversation as well. Jay continued: "Sometimes I don't know what phrases mean, because, well, my parents never said

stuff like that.” Local diction and colloquialisms that were familiar to native-born populations were foreign to the immigrant students. In addition, depending on where students had immigrated from, many immigrant students struggled with a new language in the classroom. For those for whom English was a second or third language, speaking up in a classroom setting was a “nerve-racking” experience. Emelda, a low-income Latina student from Mexico shared that:

For me, in English, it’s difficult for me to express myself, and I have to really think about what I’m trying to say before I say it. I’ve been fussing with my hands a lot, I’m fiddling with my hands, and then I stop, and I don’t know, I - what’s the word - you’re choking on words. If I had to go ask for something, or even go and talk to a teacher, I would feel that same way. I felt like the words wouldn’t come out, like I would stutter. Expressing myself in English was difficult for me. I think being afraid to talk to teachers and just going up to the teacher to ask to go to the locker or to the restroom, I was still nervous. I was afraid I would pronounce the word wrong. It was very nerve-wracking, as if I was about to do public speaking.

For Emelda, and other English Language Learners, expressing herself in a new language was “difficult,” and made already fraught interactions with teachers even more stressful. She was “nervous” and “afraid” about her pronunciation, to the point where she felt like she was “choking on words”, and even temporarily stuttered. Luciana, a low-income Latina student, had a similar problem:

So I struggled in a lot of those classes because sometimes we would have to do projects and I wouldn’t speak, because I was so embarrassed of messing up or because my English would sound different. I don’t know. It was just weird. Yeah, I might be outgoing or whatever, but I still have those problems where I feel like my English is not good compared to other people, or maybe it’s because - I don’t know - sometimes I see their broad vocabulary, and I don’t have that, those words that you have.

Luciana was ordinarily gregarious and effusive (“I might be outgoing or whatever”), but found herself struggling to speak in class and “was so embarrassed of messing up or because my

English would sound different.” This meant she would end up staying quiet in the class, even though she had valuable insights to contribute.

Other students marveled at the ease with which native English speakers shared in class.

Sofia, a low-income Latina immigrant from Mexico, confided:

Well, also the way they speak. They speak differently. Their vocabulary is so much different. Just their choice of words and their thoughts are different Well, just, I mean, just their vocabulary. Their words are more, obviously they have bigger words that they use and yeah. I'm more quiet, just because it's more intimidating and I feel like if I can be in their level, then I just don't really say much. I mean, it's not like I'm ashamed of my background. I definitely am not, just because I feel like I have just to be there, I mean, to be where all of the, like the smart people are, I think I work twice as hard because, like, I have had to work, too, and I have brothers that, I mean, I'm practically like a mom to my brother. I have to, like clean his diapers and when he was born, when I was 12, so that made me grow up so much, too. Like taking the responsibility of taking care of a little kid. My sister, we had to take him to the mall but we had to take care of him so we had to take him everywhere, even to the stores, like when he couldn't walk so we took a stroller with us. So yeah. And then also, I mean, like when I speak, I have an accent, too, so I know people are always reminded that, like I'm Hispanic and, which I totally love because not everybody makes it as far as I have.

Sofia was awed by her native-speaking classmates' vocabulary, and she admitted being “more quiet” in AP/Seminar classrooms “just because it’s more intimidating.” She knew she had to “work twice as hard” because she had family responsibilities to take care of in addition to her work as an AP student, but she was proud to have made it as far as she had.

Family and language played a role in the lives of *children* of immigrants as well.

Rueben, a low-income Asian-American student, pointed out that his parents' experience in high school varied dramatically from his own: “I don't think my parents went through high school the same way I did just because they didn't know English or anything. So yeah. Just that perspective.” Because his parents had not been able to speak English when they went to high

school, Rueben felt that his parents did not understand his perspective as a second-generation Asian-American student at West Bayside High. There was also a cultural gap in their understanding, in addition to a linguistic one: “They don't understand the way kids are in America, so it's a lot different. Once I met their parents it's like, ‘How are you so understanding!’ They are like, I don't know, I would feel like it is a lot easier for them.” Rueben recognized that his native-born friends had parents who understood the way American society worked, which made it “a lot easier for them” since their parents were much more understanding of the culture.

For students whose parents were undocumented, immigration status was fraught with a particular sense of anxiety. Martina, a low-income Latina student from Mexico, shared the following:

And then I guess that would be a main part, but like I guess like now with like problems with immigration and stuff, it makes them work harder as well. Because they know at any given moment, somebody could come in and take their mom away or they could get caught and have to leave and you are going to be the one in charge. So I have a lot of friends that have to deal with that. Like their parents don't drive. You have to take those kinds of responsibilities and other people don't, so it's different. But it's just kind of the way it is.

Being the child of undocumented parents meant Martina had to take on extra responsibilities, such as the responsibility of driving their parents since they were not able to drive themselves. In addition, they struggled with the constant fear of having their parents taken away.

The immigrant experience was not merely limited to the low-income students. While wealthy white immigrants from English-speaking countries (like Australia) never mentioned any discomfort in the classroom, wealthy immigrants from non-English speaking countries had experiences that were somewhat similar to low-income immigrants from non-English speaking

countries. Kylie, for instance, was a wealthy Asian student who had recently immigrated from China. When Kylie first arrived, she admitted, “It was hard because I didn't know a lot of like vocabs. I had like a hard time reading the materials and like absorbing it so then I had to always check dictionary.” As a result, she was, “very quiet in class. I guess it's just the environment is still, like, not my own place, like I was in China and I guess I'm still scared. It's different. Like when teachers keep asking you questions and you don't know how to answer it. And I'm scared that if I don't understand what they are saying, maybe it would be embarrassing.”

Race and immigration played a role – sometimes an *outsized* role – in the lives of students of color (white immigrants from English-speaking countries did not share this discomfort). This was the case even when students of color were wealthy, but was particularly poignant when race- and immigration-related stressors were layered on to a low-income status. Stereotypes, lowered expectations, and outright racism compounded the feeling of ostracism and alienation that low-income students from underrepresented backgrounds were already feeling. A further analysis of the impact of race at West Bayside High is explored in greater detail in Chapter Four.

LOW-INCOME SOCIAL CAPITAL

Bourdieu (1984) may have focused exclusively on the cultural and social capital of the wealthy, but American sociologists have long acknowledged that other groups hold their own forms of capital, and advocate for a sociology that includes the positive familial (Stanton-

Salazar 2001; Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco 1997; Valdes 1996) and cultural (Carter 2006; Gibson 1988; Gibson 1991; Valenzuela 1999) aspects to social and cultural capital. Low-income students may have lacked some of the economic resources their wealthier peers possessed (access to tutors, etc.), but they were not lacking in capital of their own, notably social capital in the form of: family members who worked and sacrificed to get them into West Bayside High School, and neighborhood school teachers who had acted as institutional gatekeepers in their favor by steering them toward a different educational path.

Many were at West Bayside High School because they had family members (often a parent or sibling) suggest it to them. Adam, a biracial low-income student, commented that it was his parents who had chosen for him to come to the school:

I didn't make the choice to come here - my parents made the choice for me - cuz they said you can either go here, or you can go to Main Street High School - and I didn't want to go to Main Street High. Because three miles from my house, trying to walk that at night, downtown, and somebody who dresses like me, I don't feel like getting stabbed, shot, or either of those, or anything else along those lines. Or getting offered drugs. A few months ago, I almost got mugged walking home, which is like 8 blocks away from my house, from the bus stop, so - having that risk every single day from school isn't the best thing.

Transferring Adam to West Bayside High was a way for Adam's parents to protect him from violence and drugs. Adam may not have made the choice himself, but his parent's intervention allowed him to attend a better-resourced school. Similarly, Montana, a low-income Latino student, stated that:

My mom knew West Bayside was a good school and everything and she wanted me to go here. Same thing with all of my sisters and brother and then I don't really know why exactly here, but I'm pretty sure it was to keep us out of our neighborhood because she has probably seen the kids in our neighborhood that go to our neighborhood's school, and how gang-affiliated they are and stuff like that. I guess she just wanted me to have the best education I could get.

Montana's mom, also, used her resources to get her children out of a school that was "gang-affiliated" in order to help her children get "the best education I could get." The fact that his siblings also attended West Bayside High helped him as well; he would not be unfamiliar with the school because he could rely on their experience to help him prepare for his tenure there.

Siblings were actually a tremendous help for low-income respondents. Rueben, a low-income Asian student, said that, "My brothers came here so I kind of knew what to expect." Matilda, a low-income Latina student, echoed those sentiments: "My sister was here, so I was like, okay, I have a lot of friends but I still have my sister and I'm really close with my sister. She would tell me her little stories, her little gossip about what's going on in school, so I kind of knew what to expect coming in to West Bayside, so I wasn't really blindsided when I came in here." Ysabel, a low-income Latina student, had a brother who actively advocated for her to attend West Bayside High: "My impression was, like, only rich people come here and that it was going to be racist so I don't want to go here but my brother comes here and it was going to be easier. And then he was telling my mom to bring me." Parents and siblings were instrumental in not only getting respondents into a better-resourced school, but also in alleviating their concerns and smoothing the transition to a new school.

Often, parents learned about West Bayside High School from other people. Norma, a low-income Latina student, had a mother who tapped into her networks to find better educational opportunities for her kids by learning about it through work:

Well, my mom used to clean houses down here and she used to see the kids that she took care of as a nanny. They came here. And they would like always talk about how like the school was like, it was like the big school like the hard school to get in and how like many of the graduates go on to universities and like that is what my mom wanted for us to continue school so like my dad was like he is like education. He doesn't want us to suffer, not suffer, but struggle.

You know, life, working hard like they did. So he wants us to continue school so anything with school-related, education, he is fine by that.

Norma's mother learned about West Bayside High School while working as a nanny for children in the Bayside area, and subsequently utilized that information to help her own children get the opportunity to attend a high school with a high college-going rate.

Others students benefited from a teacher in their neighborhood school investing in them. While a few of the AP teachers at West Bayside High may have alienated low-income students and acted as gatekeepers who barred them from entry, other teachers – particularly teachers from low-income neighborhood schools – had gone out of the way to help their students. Mario, a low-income Latino student, said that, “Originally, I was going to apply to [the local school] and my teacher saw potential in me and thought I might get farther if I went to Palmland Middle. He said it was going to be different because there was going to be more cash Asians.” Not only did Mario's teacher intervene and direct him to a middle school that would help him succeed academically, but he also helped him ease into the transition by telling him about the students at his new school. Luciana, a low-income Latina student, had a teacher who went a step further: “My parents were really there because they don't know how the whole process goes. The teacher told my mom I was really good and he submitted all of the paperwork for all of the kids in my classes because he said we were too good for it or something or we had to better ourselves. It was just a teacher who really cared and wanted to push everybody.” Luciana's teacher went above and beyond his duties to help all of his students succeed. He talked to Luciana's mom *and* helped them with the paperwork – and then did the same thing for each of the children in the class!

Low-income students may have been lacking some of the economic resources they saw their wealthier peers utilizing, but it did not mean that they were lacking in resources themselves. Far from it: they had access to a variety of networks via their families and neighborhood schools that allowed them to navigate their specific circumstances in order to successfully access more educational opportunities.

LOW-INCOME HETEROPHILOUS GROUPS

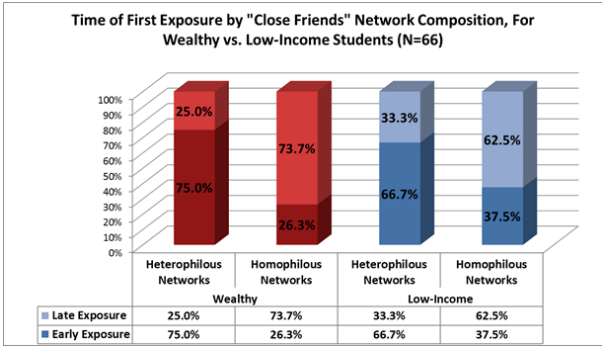
Low-income students could be further divided in a different way: those who chose to embed themselves in heterophilous networks versus those who chose to embed themselves in homophilous networks. Low-income students in heterophilous networks were students who chose close friends who were *different* from themselves, while students in homophilous networks were students who chose close friends with demographic characteristics that were *similar* to themselves. Unsurprisingly, the vast majority of students (as with most people in the population at large) stayed in homophilous networks and chose to maintain close friendships with students who were socioeconomically (and/or racially) similar to themselves. Birds of a feather flock together, as the saying goes.

“Heterophily” is a variable that is related to, but different from, “Early Exposure”. While the majority of low-income students in heterophilous networks certainly had early exposure to students who were different from themselves, the converse was not necessarily true: low-income students with early exposure (such as in elementary school) did not necessarily end up cultivating or maintaining close, heterophilous networks later on in their

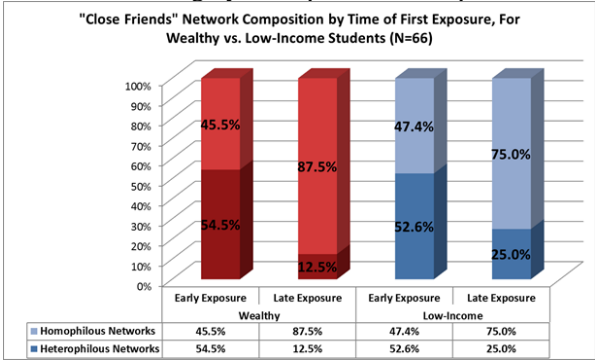
high school careers.²³ When presented with the opportunity to make new friends and form new networks at a new school (West Bayside High School), many opted for homophilous networks instead.²⁴

Low-income students in heterophilous networks differed from their low-income peers in homophilous networks in significant ways. Low-income students in heterophilous networks took two-and-a-half times more AP classes than low-income students in homophilous networks – an effect that was not only statistically significant, but also fairly strong. By contrast, the

²³ For both wealthy students (75%) and for low-income students (67%), we can see that the majority of those who chose heterophilous networks of close friends had had early exposure (in elementary school) to students who were different from themselves.



However, the converse is not necessarily true: for those with early exposure, only about half of the wealthy students (55%) and half of the low-income students (53%) later chose to be in heterophilous networks of close friends, while roughly half opted for homophilous networks in high school, instead (see chart, below).



²⁴ It was not uncommon for students with early exposure to students who were different from themselves in elementary school to seek out students who were similar to themselves in high school once they had the opportunity to do so. Students in homophilous networks often talked about the relief they felt in connecting with other low-income students who could “understand [their] life situations” and could “relate to where [they] came from.”

composition of a wealthy student’s networks was not significantly correlated with the number of AP classes they took (wealthy students in heterophilous networks took an average of 7.6 AP courses, while wealthy students in homophilous networks took 7.7).²⁵

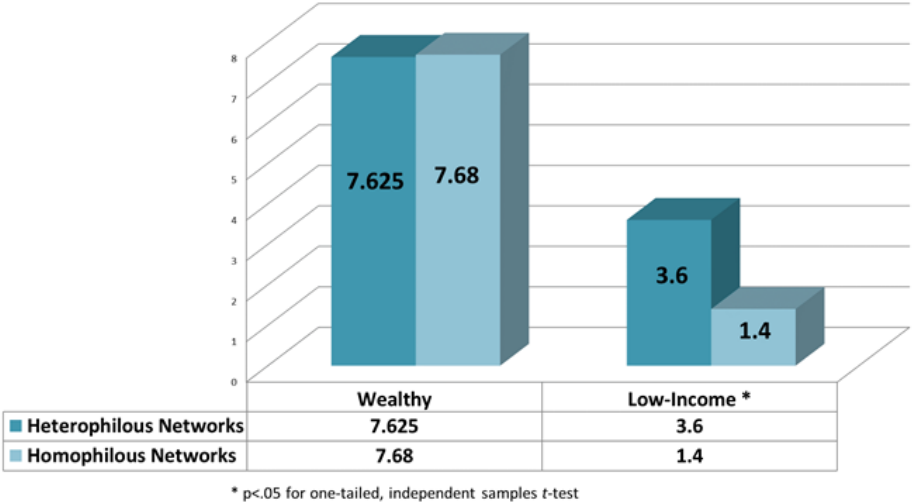


Figure 8. Average Number of AP/Seminar Courses Throughout High School Tenure, by Socioeconomic Status and Network Composition (n=60)²⁶

²⁵ Out of curiosity, I had run an analysis to see if there was a statistically significant difference between low-income students with early exposure vs. late exposure in terms of the average number of AP/Seminar classes they had taken (as well as between wealthy students with early exposure vs. late exposure). There was no statistical significance. This meant that, surprisingly, low-income students with early exposure to wealthy schools were not significantly different from those with late exposure when it came to the average number of AP/Seminar classes they had taken in high school.



²⁶ I ran this as a two-way ANOVA first to check for interaction effects between socioeconomic status and network composition but did not find it to be statistically significant, $F(1,56) = 1.288, p = .261, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .022$.

Secondly, the vast majority of low-income students in heterophilous networks of *close friends* (87%) indicated they also maintained a heterophilous network of *classroom friends*, while only 21% of low-income students in homophilous networks of close friends made the same claim. Instead, a majority of the low-income students in close, homophilous networks (67%) said they had a homophilous network of classroom friends. There was a clear, statistically significant difference between low-income students in close, heterophilous networks versus low-income students in close, homophilous networks in terms of the composition of their classroom networks. Wealthy students showed a similar pattern, with the majority of wealthy students with close heterophilous networks choosing to maintain a heterophilous network of classroom friends, and a majority of those with close homophilous networks maintaining a homophilous network of classroom friends, but the difference between the wealthy heterophilous versus wealthy homophilous groups was not statistically significant and may have been due to random chance.

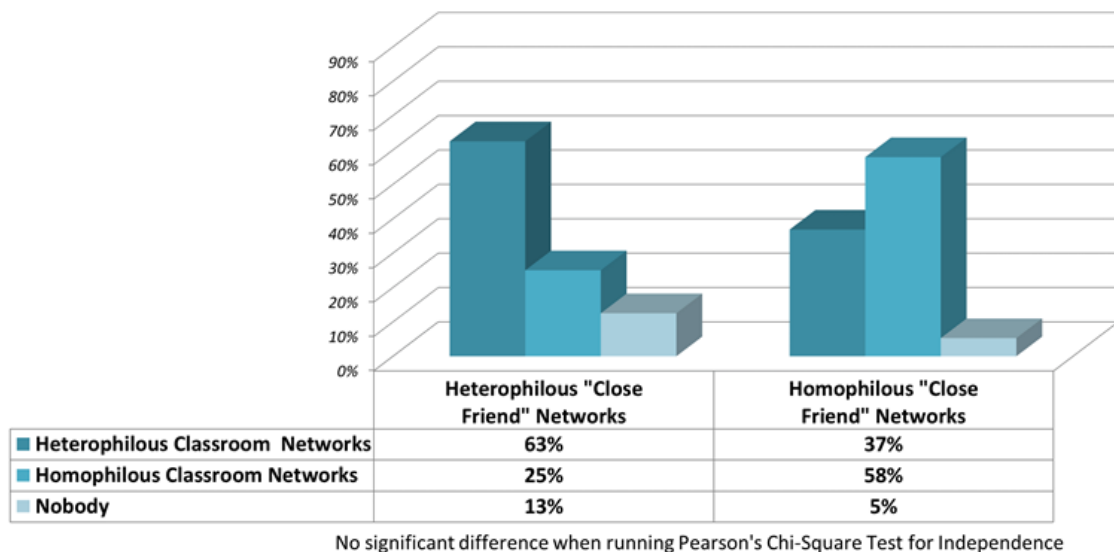


Figure 9. Composition of Classroom Networks by Composition of Close Friends Networks, for Wealthy Students (n=27)

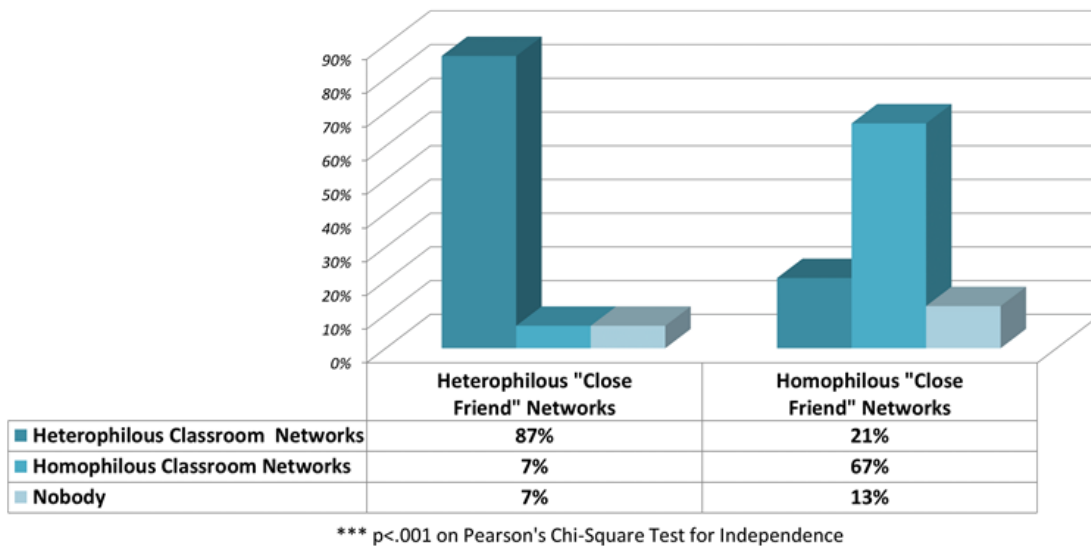


Figure 10. Composition of Classroom Networks by Composition of Close Friends Networks, for Low-Income Students (n=33)

Low-income students in heterophilous networks differed from their low-income counterparts in homophilous networks in other ways as well, namely: their ability to “pass” seamlessly when hanging out with wealthier students, and in their ability to embody the skill that wealthy students possessed when talking to teachers in the classroom. These examples are discussed in further detail, below. Finally, I conclude the section with a discussion with a unique subcategory of low-income students in heterophilous networks: those who chose to withdraw from school interactions entirely.

Low-Income Students Cultural Capital in Heterophilous Groups in the AP Classroom

Like their wealthier peers, low-income students in heterophilous networks felt an easy confidence in their AP classes at West Bayside High. Violet, a low-income Asian student in heterophilous networks, said that she felt, “Comfortable, definitely,” in her classes, and Rueben, a low-income Asian student in heterophilous networks, echoed that, “School is fine.

This year has been a breeze.” Martha was a low-income biracial student in heterophilous networks, and she also talked about how easy her AP classes were:

Well, I took honors American literature last year, but I took the AP test for language and composition and I got a 5, so that is credit. That test was really easy and apparently only two of my – my teacher also taught an AP class – and only two got a 5. She is like, “How did you get a 5?” I think if you know how to write essays well, you will go in and do fine. There's not much preparation. I took AP Spanish course and test. I don't think I got a high enough grade on the test to get credit, but I passed it. And I took AP history in 10th grade, not high enough to get credit. But I passed. And AP US history. Same story. And AP psych, I got a 5. I have an intro to 5, but I do want to take the class again in college since I do want to study that.

Unlike low-income students in homophilous networks – who often felt overwhelmed, out-of-place, and stigmatized in the AP classroom – low-income students in heterophilous networks felt “comfortable” and thought the school year “has been a breeze.” While Martha did not get a 5 on *all* of her AP exams, Martha sounded upbeat and confident about her performance, calling attention to the fact that she was only one of two students who had scored a 5 on an AP test for language and composition. She thought the “test was really easy” and “there’s not much preparation” – all sentiments that echoed the tenor of wealthier students’ comments about their AP classes.

Not all of the low-income students in heterophilous networks excelled in the classroom, similar to the way that not all of the wealthy students excelled in the classroom. However, when low-income students in heterophilous networks needed to explain underperformance, they often resorted to the same explanations that wealthy students used: procrastination and senioritis. Mario was a low-income Latino student with heterophilous networks, and he detailed his underperformance in school like this:

I was a lazy student in general. I'd procrastinate a lot, I always felt like I had senioritis, my freshmen year. I'd leave everything to the last minute. I feel like If I'd tried, I could have done so much better, but I'd just leave everything to the last minute. I'd get good grades, I'd have tests the next day, I would study, I'd just go over the chapters really quick, I'd get a b, so I wouldn't really try. I was an okay student. I could have done a lot better, but I just didn't try. It just wasn't my thing.

Unlike low-income students in homophilous networks, who explained underperformance in the classroom with explanations of racism or alienation, students in heterophilous networks used the language of the wealthier peers in their networks to laugh at their "senioritis."

Low-income students in heterophilous networks also sounded like their wealthier peers in the way they sometimes stereotyped students of color – even when they were low-income, co-ethnic peers. Alandra was a low-income Latina student in heterophilous networks; instead of feeling an affinity to another low-income Latina student in her class, she strongly criticized her classmate's school performance:

I think they feel fine because they are with the Mexicans. Like because you – they don't really mingle and if they don't mingle they feel safer because they are with the group. But academic wise, I have a friend who right now was like -- she was bawling her eyes out because she is not passing English and if she doesn't pass English she doesn't graduate. And I love her to death. But she doesn't do her work. And it bugs me. And like I have been on her back like – not really mean, but I have been like, "You need to do your work." Like our English class isn't hard and but she never does her work. And right now she is freaking out because she has like a 42% in the class and you need -- she needs a D to get school credit and you need 8 credits of high school, 4 years of English credit. And if she doesn't pass this class she doesn't graduate high school. And so she is freaking out... She is smart; she just is lazy.

Alandra viewed her co-ethnic friend as "lazy" and was frustrated that she wasn't doing her work. She also commented on the fact that some of the other Mexican students "don't really mingle and if they don't mingle, they feel safer because they are with the group." Alandra attributed this self-grouping tendency to a desire to feel safe. Other low-income students in

heterophilous networks took this further, and seemed to resent being grouped with co-ethnic peers in the AP classroom. Luciana, who is herself in homophilous networks, recounted the reaction of her friend Luna (who maintains heterophilous networks) when she was grouped with co-ethnic peers:

I never saw anybody else taking an AP class if it wasn't somebody who was living in Bayside. It was always Luna and me. Mario, maybe. Mario took one and he dropped it. Ricardo and me or something, and that was it. And they always put us together. Which I was grateful about. I'm not even saying - I'm not complaining about that. Luna would be like, "Oh my goodness Luciana, do you see this stereotype? Or racism?" She would be talking about all this, and I would be like, "Oh my goodness, thank you!" I would just be like, "I don't wanna be the only one, you know?"

Luciana, who often felt alienated and overwhelmed in AP classes, was relieved to be grouped with a fellow low-income, co-ethnic peer in the classroom; Luna, meanwhile, preferred to stick to a more diverse group of friends that reflected her heterophilous networks, and displayed dismay when she was grouped with other Mexican students instead, attributing the action to the teacher's supposed racism. This sentiment was actually not limited to low-income students in heterophilous networks – even wealthier students of color felt a similar desire to separate themselves from their co-ethnic peers if they normally maintained a close network of heterophilous friends. Katrina was a wealthy Asian student with a heterophilous network, and she commented: "And some classes I had, like, they, I was the only Asian in the class. I think that having so few Asians, it makes the Asians feel – or it often makes them feel uncomfortable to be around so many Asians because they are not used to it. They feel like they need to, like, distinguish themselves or break away or something." Katrina attributed her desire to "distinguish themselves or break away" to the fact that there were not many Asian American students in her class. Students of color therefore reacted differently to the fact that they were

few in number: those in homophilous networks gravitated toward other co-ethnic peers, while those who maintained heterophilous networks felt the need to “break away”.²⁷

Low-Income Students Cultural Capital in Heterophilous Groups and the AP Teachers

Unlike their counterparts in homophilous networks, low-income students in heterophilous networks rarely (if ever) complained about feeling uncomfortable in their interactions with their teachers. Instead, like their wealthy classmates, low-income students in heterophilous networks displayed an acquired cultural capital in the classroom in the ease with which they interacted with their teachers in face-to-face interactions, as well as in the freedom they felt to openly criticize teachers to others.

Rueben, a low-income Asian student in heterophilous networks, said that he was, “cool with some teachers... I guess I just talk to them. Mr. T. is my coach, so that's why I talk to him.” Julieta, a low-income Latina student in heterophilous networks, even went as far as to say that, “My closest teachers are still my friends. I call them on the phone and we get lunch with them. I see my history teacher, like once a year, we exchange mixed CDs and we have lunch together and it's really important to have a friendly relationship with a teacher because you respect them and they respect you.”

Displaying this form of cultural capital with their teachers proved to be an asset for low-income students in heterophilous networks. Martha, a low-income biracial student in heterophilous networks, talks about an example in which she is comfortable approaching a teacher for an interview about her career:

²⁷ This actually touches on the chicken-or-egg question: Do students in heterophilous react this way because they are already the sort of person who would naturally prefer a diverse group of friends, or did their heterophilous network influence their reactions? This is explored in further detail in the “Conclusions” section.

I did an interview with my psychology teacher on what you want to do with your future. And you had to interview somebody in that profession. I was like, “I want to study this. What do I do?” She explained the college process: get a BA in psych, find your way towards a PhD in social psychology, and you can be a researcher/consultant for organizations like UNICEF or other humanitarian groups and you get to travel and do case studies. So I talked about that. And I really am excited to do that with my life. I hope I get to.

Martha’s confident interactions with her psychology teacher gave her insight into the educational track she will need to undertake in order to accomplish her goals. For Martha, the cultural knowledge she had absorbed through her heterophilous networks allowed her to glean information with which to navigate towards her career goals.

How did low-income students in heterophilous networks connect with teachers? It turns out some of the students were cognizant of what they were doing. Alandra, a low-income Latina student in heterophilous networks, explained:

Students know – we all see what the teacher likes and what they’re leaning on. And you tend to go for those points, like, “Oh who does this right?” You see what the teacher most cares about and you care about that stuff too, so they see you have mutual interests. And then of course you’re nice. And you bring them goodies. Yeah, see. And it is everyone, like this sounds so – people are very easy to please – you kiss up to people.

According to Alandra, it was something that “students know”, and it involved observing the teacher, finding mutual interests, and being nice to the teachers – essentially “kiss[ing] up to people.” In another instance, Julieta gave a few examples of how she managed to connect with teachers:

I see that teachers are really open to kids who are always asking questions and they are interested and even in math and science – not my strongest points, and I don’t really care about them – I still ask for help. I still seek a relationship with a teacher. I have teachers who I have never even taken their class know who I am because I help around and I am like, “Mr. E!” – he told me he went to Coachella one year. I don’t know how this conversation started, but we started making

each other CDs and it's our friendship. He has never had me and I always make jokes with him. I have this accent we do. It's our Brooklyn mom accent and we act like a stereotypical Brooklyn Jewish mother and we call Mr. E by his first name and our relationship is like that where there is a mutual respect and line and you know where the line ends and you don't cross it with a teacher. Certainly not.

Julieta felt so close to one teacher that she exchanged CD's, swapped personal stories, and shared inside jokes with him. Not only did she try to befriend teachers she naturally connected with, Julieta also used the social knowledge she had gleaned from her networks to "seek a relationship with a teacher" in subjects she was not strong in, and to know where proper boundaries lay.

Low-income students in heterophilous networks may have felt comfortable approaching and befriending teachers – even if they were not particularly successful in a given subject or even in their classroom at all – but low-income students in homophilous networks did not share this skill. Alandra was a low-income Latina student in heterophilous networks who tried to urge her low-income friend in homophilous networks to reach out to her teacher over a bad grade:

That is what I told her: just talk to them. She is like, "I'm scared." And I was like, "Well just suck it up. Just talk to them. Like I'm sure they will be willing to help you, I just -- you need to do all of your work and you need to ask them," and yeah, we will see. Because I'm worried for her... And I was -- I asked her how all of her classes are doing. She says she is doing fine. But I'm still like, "Just come on!"

While Alandra may have gleaned a confidence via her heterophilous networks that allowed her to approach her teachers with ease, her friend in low-income homophilous networks did not feel the same way. Alandra attempted to coach her friend on how to talk to the teacher, but her friend responded that she was scared. Low-income students in heterophilous networks had crucial skills that enabled them to feel comfortable chatting with teachers; their cultural capital,

like that of their wealthier peers, was so internalized that she was perplexed that others could not do what she could do.

In addition to possessing an ease in interacting with their teachers, low-income students in heterophilous networks also felt comfortable criticizing their teachers. Their criticisms differed in content from those of their low-income peers in homophilous networks: while those in homophilous networks felt stereotyped and stigmatized by their teachers, low-income students in heterophilous networks echoed the ridicule of their wealthier classmates when they criticized teachers. Sometimes the criticism was benign and embedded in throwaway lines, such as Julieta's comment: "I'm in writer 's workshop, which is if you don't want to take AP English and don't want to suffer through Miss C.'s very, very futile class." Other comments were a bit harsher. For instance, Melissa, a low-income Latina student, had this to say of one of her teachers:

Look. Ms. L, no. That girl should be retiring. She doesn't know, half the time if you have noticed, half the time people are on their cell phones. That is including me. I do it, too. I will not lie to you, but she probably doesn't know where her grade report is at. I don't even know. She says I have 182 students. I can't get through these papers. No, no, no, no. You don't even go through the papers. You are all depressed about your husband giving you a divorce. I'm serious. It's mean, but...

Like her wealthier peers, she had been able to glean personal information about her teachers and included this information in her pointed remarks. Also similar to her wealthier peers, Melissa mentioned the incompetence of particular teachers and even declared, "That girl should be retiring." Similarly, Martha, a low-income biracial student, mentioned an assignment she did not enjoy:

It's kind of a bull assignment. Everybody recognizes that. Mr. K had us practice them in front of our class, so I had to hear like 40 senior exhibits and I hated it

so much. I was absent the day I was supposed to present mine, so I had already done my senior exhibition and I had to do it for my class anyway and it was just another one of those bureaucratic things you have to get out of the way that won't affect you later on in life.

Martha, like wealthier students and other low-income students in heterophilous networks, felt comfortable belittling the tasks her teacher assigned, calling it “a bull assignment. Everybody recognizes that,” and saying “it was just another one of those bureaucratic things you have to get out of the way that won't affect you later on in life.” There was no trace of the trepidation fellow low-income students in homophilous networks expressed; Martha sounded much more similar to her wealthier peers in the way she talked about classes and assignments.

Low-Income Students in Heterophilous Groups and their Attempts at Passing

Low-income students in heterophilous networks not only reflected the attitudes, dispositions, and ease that their wealthier peers possessed, but were also able to blend in seamlessly with their wealthier peers – and those in homophilous networks noticed. Luciana was a low-income Latina student in homophilous networks, and she recounted the times she saw her friend Luna (a low-income Latina student in heterophilous networks) “pass” in order to fit in with the wealthier students in the AP classroom:

Whenever people would tell you - especially in your AP classes - the teacher would sometimes be like, “Where did you go for winter break?” and kids would be like, I went to Big Bear, and I went to whatever, and you don't wanna be the only one to say I went to Tijuana, or I stayed here, or whatever. So my friend, she was sitting in front of me, and she's a very very smart girl, and I heard her say that - I knew she lied, I knew what she did over winter break - so I thought it was okay. I mean, I had her back, she better have my back with the lie, so I made up that I went to - what was it? - I don't even know - Mammoth, or something - I don't know - Mammoth was in Colorado - something like that - isn't it far away? It's not in California! And I made up that I went to Mammoth! And they were asking me: “How was that place? How was it?” And I was just like, “Oh my!” I was just like, I think I got caught - and the teacher - I felt like I got caught - but nobody said anything - it was just so embarrassing! And then this other time - this one was a horrible one - this one I will never forget -

during high school, I didn't have a cell phone. Honestly, why am I going to ask for a cell phone when my mom can't afford it? So this one time, it was my junior year - I was in some AP course, Coach P - and he asked the class - he was making fun of people with cell phones, and he was like, "Oh my goodness, my wife always wants me to keep my phone on, and I think it's ridiculous. This phone thing is making us lose interactions with each other, and now we're texting people instead of actually meeting people." Whatever. And then he's like, "Raise your hands if you have a phone," and then everybody raised their hand up, and then he was like, "Raise your hand if you don't have a phone," and I raised my hand up, and I was the only one. And this is my friend - this other friend - and I knew she didn't have a phone. And I was so mad. And I was like, "Luna!" and she just pretended not to listen to me! And I was like, "Luna!" and I wasn't obvious about it, but I was like, "Help me!" and I was pinching her. She just pretended not to listen to me - I was mad! This is the sad part: the coach was like - he was sitting down and then he stood up, and he was like: "Oh my goodness! You don't! How does that work? How do you live?" and I was just like, "Oooohhhhhh my goodness." I thought this guy was on my side! And then he was like - I don't know. I just felt so burned out. I was so red, it was so sad. And everyone's just looking at me. And they're like, "Why don't you have a phone?" and you don't tell them: "Oh my parents can't afford it". So I was just like, "It broke!" It was just so sad! It was just so sad. It was just sad. I was like, "Luna!" I raised my hand, because the day before, this had happened with the winter thing, and I was like, "Luna's going to help me with the winter thing," and I raised my hand, and I never expected her to not raise her hand, and I'd be the only one. I raised my hand and I was all honest about it.

Luna maintained a heterophilous network of close friends and knew how to answer questions like, "Where did you go for winter break?" and "Do you have a cell phone?" – fairly standard questions in certain circles. But these questions were an entirely new experience for Luciana, and she, like Nathaniel had mentioned earlier, felt a sense of panic at answering these sorts of questions. Luciana tried to answer "honest[ly]" and was dismayed to see that Luna preferred to lie to blend in with her classmates. When asked whether she had talked to Luna about the incidents, Luciana said:

That's just stuff you just don't talk about. It's honestly stuff you just don't talk about. Let's just say, you get caught in a lie, either the person has to be either super mean to call you out, or you just don't talk about it, you just forget about

it. Honestly, we talked afterwards, but that was never brought up. Just the same - I've caught a lot of my friends, we'd catch each other in a lot of lies, like fishing trips, going to Mammoth Mountain, whatever, trying to be smart - but you never talk about it. Even if it's so funny, you never talk about it, because they feel the same embarrassment. Whenever I would hear Luna, or some other friend, in a lie, just trying to fit in or something, trying not to look embarrassed or something, you even feel embarrassed for them, you just feel their pain, I guess - you just feel embarrassed for them, you just share that moment. It's so sad. It was just so embarrassing! That day was so embarrassing!

Luciana acknowledged that Luna was not the only low-income student lying about their vacations in order to fit in, and she graciously opted not to confront them about it.

Nevertheless, it seemed that low-income students from both groups – both heterophilous networks and homophilous networks – found the ordeal embarrassing.

Low-Income Students in Heterophilous Groups and Withdrawal

Another tactic low-income students in heterophilous networks took in the AP classroom was to withdraw. While this happened mostly around the school and is explored in further detail in the next chapter, several students mentioned withdrawing into themselves in the classroom as well – but with an important caveat. Most of the literature referring to an oppositional culture attribute its rise to a reaction against “acting white” (Fordham and Ogbu 1986; Ogbu 1974; Ogbu 1987; Solomon 1992). My interviews, however, were conducted with low-income students of color who were surrounded by wealthy, predominantly white classmates. Most low-income students in heterophilous networks had neither a strong class identity nor a strong racial/ethnic identity; advocating against “acting white”, therefore, did not make much sense. Instead, a handful of students withdrew into themselves as a way to deal with the shock of their new environment.

For example, Levi, a low-income African-American student, mentioned: “It just never appealed to me. I can hardly remember anything from school because I was kind of on auto-

pilot the whole time. I got decent grades, I got pretty good grades, I didn't pay any attention in class, I didn't really involve myself in anything going on around school – I was like a space cadet.” Despite performing well academically, Levi felt disengaged in the classroom, describing himself as a “space cadet” and being “on auto-pilot the whole time.” Rueben, a low-income Asian-American student, took his disengagement a step further: “I don't think I've ever stayed awake an entire period. AP bio – I have trouble staying awake a lot. I am a quiet person. I rarely talk. In all of my classes, I just sleep, basically. I just don't like sleeping because it's disrespectful to the teacher, but sometimes I can't help it – especially when they are lecturing and they see me sleeping, it's like the worst feeling in the world. I think pinching myself, water, nothing works, honestly.” Both Levi and Rueben reported a detachment from others in the classroom, with Rueben going so far as to fall asleep in all of his classes. This was a bit different from wealthier students and other low-income students in heterophilous networks (like Mario) who found it funny to talk about their “senioritis,” since their senioritis merely indicated they were tired of schoolwork but were otherwise engaged with others in the classroom and the school at large.

Esther, a low-income white student, also withdrew into herself in the classroom, but did so out of frustration:

When I'm in class, I am in class. I think that people are incredibly immature, so I ignore them. If you ever have kids, just tell them to ignore it all and pretend like you are somewhere else. Q. What happens when you do have to interact? A. I get really angry. It's like, even, my econ class, like right now I have to play a board game with nice people, but really dumb and immature, laugh at something that sounds like “butt”, and I don't know, they just, I get really snappy and just get frustrated and, I don't know. Like the girls at this school are very bitchy so I'll be bitchy back but most of the time I ignore it. I am only here for four hours and then I leave and last year I would really be in my own little world.

Esther called her classmates “dumb and immature” and “bitchy” and said she got “really angry” when she had to interact with them. While her withdrawal into herself stemmed from a frustration at the students around her, it manifested itself in the same way it did for Levi and Rueben: she was “in... my own little world.”

Low-income students in heterophilous networks were remarkably similar to their wealthier peers. When asked about their experience in the AP classroom, they showed no trace of the trepidation and apprehension expressed by their low-income peers in homophilous networks. Instead, those in heterophilous networks had acquired a cultural capital that allowed them to feel comfortable in the classroom and at ease interacting with the teachers. This even extended to instances in which they were not academically successful: low-income students in heterophilous networks attributed their low grades to senioritis and procrastination as their wealthier peers did, and were quick to make pointed, belittling remarks about the teachers in a manner that echoed their wealthier peers but which low-income students in homophilous networks generally found disrespectful. Low-income students in heterophilous networks were so good at acquiring the cultural capital of their wealthier peers that they were able to “pass”, undetected, during awkward classroom conversations that would have otherwise exposed them as low-income – a skill that low-income students in homophilous networks were often shocked and embarrassed by. However, a small subset of low-income students in heterophilous networks employed a whole other tactic to survive these awkward encounters: they chose to withdraw into themselves instead.

LOW-INCOME STUDENTS WITH BOTH HOMOPHILOUS AND HETEROPHILOUS NETWORKS

A few low-income students like Sofia occupy a liminal state between both homophilous and heterophilous networks. Sofia preferred to keep a tight-knit network of *close* friends who were similarly low-income and Latina, but she also took so many AP classes that her network of acquaintances in the *classroom* was actually heterophilous. This meant she often shared experiences that reflected those of both groups:

I think over half of my classes I would walk in and I didn't know anybody. For example, in my AP art history, I'm literally the only Hispanic student there and everybody is white or something like that. So then I just walked in and sat down wherever I could and now I mean, I'm friends with like the whole side of the class that I sit with, but yeah. At first it was intimidating because everybody says it must be one of the hardest in the school just because there is so much to memorize in little time. We would get tested; we had to learn 80 slides which is like a whole bunch of different paintings and sculptures and where they are from and who made them in like a week. And that's included with like all of our other 5 classes. So that was very intimidating at first. And then the teacher, I mean, the students basically teach the course because we get assigned slides and paintings and then we have to present them to the class, so I think that was very intimidating, too, just because if I would say something wrong, then I probably would have been embarrassed at the time. So I took that class because my sister took it. She said it was very great and the teacher was a great teacher and I agree. I am so glad I took that class. It's one of my favorites.

Sofia, like other low-income students in homophilous networks, had entered classrooms with trepidation; over time, however, she developed some of the confidence that came with the heterophilous networks she was developing in the classroom, even as she maintained a homophilous network of close friends. She may have found it “very intimidating at first”, but by the end of the year, she found herself “glad I took that class. It’s one of my favorites.”

That is not the only way her liminal status affected her experience. Sofia, like other low-income immigrant students, felt intimidated by the expansive English vocabulary utilized by her wealthier peers:

They use higher vocabulary. Of course when they want to because everybody has the way they speak with their friends and stuff. But with my friends, if I start speaking that way, they are just like, "Okay, wow. You are trying to speak differently," or whatever. And then they don't have it in their vocabulary. They speak more slang.

Sofia may have begun to absorb some of the "higher vocabulary", but when she would try to use it with her homophilous network, her friends would point out the difference. Her heterophilous network in the classroom was introducing her to new words and a different vocabulary, but it also served to alienate her from her homophilous network of close friends when she tried to use it around them.

The composition of most students' networks stayed steady over disparate network-types. Those in homophilous networks of close friends also tended to have homophilous networks of classroom friends, for instance. Those with heterophilous networks of close friends often cultivated heterophilous networks in the classroom as well. Students like Sofia provide an opportunity to see what happens when a low-income student enters a wealthy area like West Bayside High School for the first time and slowly begins to develop heterophilous networks in the classroom that differ from the homophilous networks they maintain among their close friends. Will Sofia continue to act as intimidated as her low-income peers in homophilous networks did, or will her heterophilous network within the classroom be enough to provide the cultural capital that her low-income peers in heterophilous networks of close friends had accumulated, allowing them to act like their wealthier classmates? Or will she combine traits of both groups in new ways? And what can her liminal status teach us about the

particular characteristics of each group? Such questions are beyond the scope of this dissertation, but provide a potentially fruitful avenue for further research.

CONCLUSION

Low-income students were few in number at wealthy West Bayside High, but their experiences there differed markedly from their wealthier peers. This difference began even before they had stepped on to campus for the first time. Low-income students who had never attended a predominantly wealthy school before were more apprehensive about their future high school in a way that wealthy students, and low-income students who were accustomed to attending a wealthy school, were not.

This apprehension was often compounded in the AP classroom. Wealthy students possessed an ease, comfort and a sense of belonging in their interactions with AP teachers and one another. By contrast, low-income students felt uncomfortable and alienated because they were able to recognize the cultural capital and the various class-based advantages their classmates utilized to help them succeed (such as access to tutors and after-school help), while simultaneously realizing that their peers' privilege meant that they could remain ignorant of the hurdles and struggles low-income students faced in completing the same course load (additional responsibilities, longer bus rides, etc.). This was especially the case for low-income students of color from underrepresented backgrounds. They often had to contend with stereotypes that were unthinkingly repeated by teachers and other students. Those who were immigrants or the children of immigrants had to face the additional daunting task of grappling with a new language and sometimes, the anxiety that accompanied family members' undocumented status.

Despite these difficulties, low-income students were quick to recognize and point out the various sorts of capital they brought to the table, even if it was different from the sorts of economic capital their wealthier peers possessed. Their social capital included hard-working parents/relatives/guardians and neighborhood teachers who helped them access opportunities that brought them to the school they were currently attending.

However, low-income students are clearly not a monolith. When discussing low-income students, it would be important to note the composition of their social networks, since the experiences, outcomes, and attitudes of low-income students often varied according to the networks they were embedded in. For low-income students in heterophilous networks, their experiences, attitudes, and interactions in the classroom often mirrored their wealthier peers. These students had learned a skill that taught them to initiate conversations with their AP teachers and to feel confident in the AP classroom, much like their wealthier peers. In addition, they had absorbed cultural knowledge that was necessary to fit in and “pass” during everyday conversations that normally alienated low-income students in more homophilous networks. This included, but was not limited to, cultural knowledge navigating conversation topics that might otherwise expose one’s low-income status; deeper cultural rationalizations to explain any bad grades (senioritis and procrastination); and a cultural vocabulary that included pointed and personal criticisms against teachers they did not like – all of which mirrored the cultural capital held by their wealthier peers but not other low-income students in homophilous networks. A handful of students in heterophilous networks, however, reacted to their situations by withdrawing into themselves in a manner that was more self-protective than oppositional. In both cases, low-income students in heterophilous networks exhibited behaviors that were

similar to their wealthier peers, indicating they had begun to take on the demeanor of their peers.

Outside the Classroom: The Impact of Heterophily on Low-Income Students' Experiences On-Campus and After School

I think a lot of the times it does hurt to know that people don't know how other people are living. Sometimes when I look at my friends, it angers me that they don't know how[sic] the real world is like. Most of the world lives check by check and most of the world is in poverty... But living here in Bayside, sometimes it does anger me that they don't know what it is really like and they don't know what other people are going through to be in the same level as they are. ~ Sofia

Walking around the West Bayside High School campus when students were supposed to be in the classroom was a stark change from the bustle of the crowds between classes. Tall Italian cypress trees solemnly guarded the school's spacious lawn, and if it was after lunch, an occasional piece of leftover food might dot the grass as well, attracting the attention of the dreaded seagulls that had been circling ominously overhead. The campus was never fully quiet even when classes were in session because there was always someone – an administrator, a student or two, a parent – wandering between the buildings. It was technically an open campus, which meant that students could go off-campus for lunch if they chose; it wasn't unusual, then, to see a few stragglers rush back a few minutes late, or to see a senior meander off-campus because she had finished her classes for the day.

It was, admittedly, an idyllic scene. A shift in the wind meant you could sometimes smell the salt in the ocean from a half-mile away; higher-floor classroom windows surrounding the quad even had ocean views – a fact the teachers carefully tracked in case a coveted room opened up. One of the buildings further back from the quad but higher up on the hills boasted

both a rooftop pool and a hot tub overlooking the ocean, accessible to students and adults alike during school hours as part of the gym curriculum.

But the experience of walking these halls and matriculating at West Bayside High School varied wildly among the students – particularly for low-income students who might be interacting with wealthy students for the first time. Low-income students repeatedly told me they felt like they “didn’t belong”, especially when they could not participate in *accidental conversations* that arose organically among wealthier students regarding some of their shared experiences. This low-income experience is explored in further detail in this chapter – including examining ways that low-income students worked to accommodate themselves to their new surroundings. Low-income students were astute observers of the markers of social class around them, and were able to talk freely and openly about the ways certain markers (such as brand-name clothing, cars, vacations, etc.) served to delineate group boundaries and reinforce their outsider status. I begin here. I then move on to a discussion of their extracurricular activities – a space that was theoretically open to all students, but was functionally inaccessible to low-income students for a number of reasons. Instead, many low-income students found their after school hours preoccupied with other responsibilities that were markedly different from their wealthier peers. Finally, I conclude with an examination of low-income students in heterophilous networks, and the ways their class markers and activities often mirrored the wealthy students in their networks.

THE EXPERIENCE OF BEING LOW-INCOME STUDENTS IN A WEALTHY HIGH SCHOOL

I can't remember if I liked going to school or not. Sometimes I didn't. I loved school, I loved what we learned; I love everything about it. But sometimes I just didn't feel like going. I hated it. Like, sometimes I feel like I didn't belong. I tried so hard to fit in, I mean it did work, yet I still wanted to quit. I still wanted not to go, I still wanted not to do anything. ~ Luciana

Entering West Bayside High School was a difficult experience for low-income students. Many sustained what Richard Sennett (1972) refers to as “the hidden injuries of class”: “the feeling of vulnerability in contrasting oneself to others at a higher social level, the buried sense of inadequacy” that affects “those who lose the most by being classified” (1972: 58). They suppose that “brushing against people of a higher class makes you feel... open to shaming” and postulate that “fragmentation and divisions in the self are the arrangements consciousness makes in response to an environment where respect is not forthcoming as a matter of course” (1972: 113, 214). Class injuries are the internal stigmas – “feeling of vulnerability”, “open to shaming” – that contribute to a loss of dignity (Lamont 2000; Lamont 1999; Sennett and Cobb 1972).

As mentioned in the previous chapter, low-income students were quick to note wealthy students' signals of their privilege in a way that often illuminated their own “class injuries.” Matthew, a low-income African-African student, stated: “I moved to a school in Bayside, and it was – I didn't know how to handle it. The way people carried themselves - it was very different. It took a lot of adapting.” Luciana, a low-income Latina student, explained that this was because, “The typical student at West Bayside is this wealthy kid with a nice house, with parents who graduated from school, but my experience is that I'm totally the opposite, whose parents hardly went to elementary school, who had a real crazy background, where they're not

really that sophisticated, I think that's what makes me different." She went on to expand on the ways the wealthy students were "sophisticated":

The way they talk. It was so different. So the accent. We have an accent. You could literally tell. She's (a wealthy) Latina and it was so different because I wasn't used to it. I was like, "My goodness. It is so perfect." For the first days I didn't want to speak because I was like, "What if I am mispronouncing something. I don't sound the same or anything." I have seen some people but it's like weird but all of the sudden you are in the middle of all of them and they are like the majority and it was just different. It was like, "Wow." And they use like, the first word I learned was "gnarly" and I couldn't use it—it was just crazy because I couldn't use it. I was like, "What is it?" It was crazy because I didn't know what gnarly is and I was like, "What is gnarly, what is gnarly?" I was so pissed. I learned it meant crazy. They use these words and they sound so professional and I was like, "What is it"? And I couldn't figure it out because I didn't even know how to spell it so—I couldn't look it up. And I was so embarrassed to ask, like, "What is gnarly?"

For Luciana, being "sophisticated" meant speaking in a way that was "perfect" and did not mispronounce anything. It also entailed a knowledge of the vernacular – something she had no way of preparing for beforehand since she lived in, and was being bussed in from, a different part of the city. All of this led to a constant feeling of discomfort:

I had friends, I was very outgoing, but I still didn't feel comfortable. Especially the way they dress, the way they talk, everything... These kids were younger than me and they were still using these good words - they knew words I did not even know. I didn't know about famous people. I didn't know who Brad Pitt was, honestly - it was just sad. It just felt really uncomfortable because I didn't know what they were talking about, what they were referring to... They're related to these weird people. One of these kids was related to Bill Gates. He was related to Bill Gates!

Luciana marveled at the ease with which the wealthier students deployed their expansive vocabulary, as well as the prestigious connections they had.

The feeling of being uncomfortable extended to the administrators in the school as well.

Martina, a low-income Latina student, shared what it was like to prepare for college applications with very little prior guidance:

I guess coming to a school where people just assume that you know things, like college applications. Like you would have to, I had to ask questions on everything because I didn't know because it was my first time doing it and I don't know. It was hard. A lot of counselors just kind of assume you knew where to apply to. And I didn't. And I don't know. It's like that kind of knowledge they get from their parents or stuff like that and we don't.

Luciana concurred in a comparison between West Bayside High School and a high school closer to her hometown:

Oak Forest High School, down in downtown, it's full of minorities, compared to West Bayside. When I went to take my SAT, I was lost. And literally, the teachers wouldn't just tell you, the map is right here. They would walk with you. So. I'm not saying that's bad or anything. They would provide you pencils, they understood where you came from. They understood that, for some parents, education is not important, they understood, they wanted to help you. In West Bayside, they expected parents to have education as a priority. And it was such a different treatment. Because in West Bayside... they didn't understand.

Both Martina and Luciana lamented the ignorance displayed by administrators in their inability to understand low-income students' unique struggles as first-generation college goers. As low-income students, most had parents who had never been to college and thus lacked knowledge about the college-going process. While teachers and administrators in their local schools "understood where you came from" and "they wanted to help you" – to the point of walking lost students to the appropriate classrooms – West Bayside administrators "didn't understand" and gave them "a different treatment" instead.

The low-income students were not wrong to sense that some of the members of West Bayside High School were viewing them askance. Most of the wealthier students claimed that

there was no real classism in the school (a finding I will develop in the next chapter), but a couple of them admitted that there was a difference when it came to low-income students.

Chloe, a wealthy white student, shared:

I really think there's a big difference between lower and middle (class), but between middle and upper, it's almost like you either have money enough to be like a normal person, whatever, or you don't. So it really doesn't matter how high you go. It's like you hit the threshold where you can do everything everyone else can. It doesn't mean you need to be buying expensive clothes. Just enough to probably get a car and that kind of level. People get shitty cars and no one says anything, like you have a 30-year-old Honda. People are not like that. But, like, if you got free or reduced lunch type thing. Not that anybody would look down on you but it would be awkward because you couldn't even eat with us.

Similarly, Aiden, a wealthy Asian American student, echoed Camila's sentiments:

For the most part, everyone is pretty well off because we're in Bayside. Money was never an issue for most people because everyone was rich. The significant difference was the kids who got free lunch from school. They were looked down on regardless of their ethnicity, so we knew they were poor. Even I would look down on them because I was like, "They are so poor they need free meals from the school." Everyone who brought their own lunch would eat on the grassy area. Everyone who got free lunch ate in the cafeteria near the line because they had distinct pink trays. In that sense, we could sense who was rich, and who was poor. People who are upper middle class vs. just middle class - you can't really tell. I don't think they were treated differently because they knew how to talk to people and how to get along.

Both were quick to note that socioeconomic class did not play a role among *most* of the West Bayside students; an exception was reserved for low-income students. In these two wealthy students' minds, the state of being low-income was defined by the receiving of free lunch, since, "they are so poor they need free meals from the school" and it indicated they did not "have money enough to be like a normal person." Identifying who might be low-income thus became reduced to the carrying of "distinct pink trays" and a specific location during lunch:

“everyone who got free lunch ate in the cafeteria near the line.” In addition, the difference between those who were low-income and those who were not went beyond a physical place to eat (since those who were low-income “couldn’t even eat with us”), but was also cultural, because they did not know “how to talk to people and how to get along.”

Most of the low-income students experienced this derision to varying degrees. Daniel, a low-income white student, shared:

There's this one kid, this is kind of stupid, but kind of *was* close to me. He posted on his Facebook like – this was last year when my dad was unemployed for like two years and he posted on his status that: my family works – or my parents work hard so that way people on welfare don't have to. Which for me is like saying people who are unemployed are not trying to get jobs, or (are) trying to live off your parents. And his parents are, like, lobbyists for the Republican party. After that in my head I'm, like, “I won't forget what you said...” I think a lot of kids here, not all of them, but some of them, whose parents, like that kid I mentioned, you know, might be very wealthy. I have a feeling they might, they don't have a lot of gratitude for what they have and don't think about what they say. And they may, you know, be friends with people who have less or whatever, but you still know it. It upsets me. My dad looks at certain people and, we all keep it to ourselves, though. I kind of don't want to judge people based on what they say, but sometimes that is what happens. Like, treat other people the way you want to be treated. If you are going to say that, if you are going to treat people with disrespect, I'm going to treat you with disrespect.

In subtle, symbolic ways (via the rhetoric employed by wealthier students on a Facebook post), low-income students were receiving the message that they were different, misunderstood, and sometimes even disrespected.

Through in-depth interviews (and with some students: *several* in-depth interviews if their schedules permitted), low-income students shared other specific ways they felt alienated at West Bayside High School, a school that was so filled with wealthy students that their low-income status often stood out in stark contrast (at least to themselves) – an example of a hidden

injury of class. Wealthy students were able to use various material goods (clothing, cars), excursions (trips/vacations, after school activities), and even their geographic location (neighborhoods) to mark their social class (Veblen 1973), which consequently worked to delineate their class status in a way that inadvertently resulted in excluding low-income students.

This chapter will focus on one of the three types of cultural capital that Bourdieu (1986) introduced: *objectified* cultural capital. They were “transmittable goods that... that require embodied cultural capital to be appropriated” (Lamont and Lareau 1988, 156) and included examples such as luxury cars and record collections (Routledge 2016). Because they are a type of cultural capital, these high-status markers inadvertently ended up excluding low-income students from high status, wealthier students at West Bayside High.

What follows is by no means an exhaustive list of these markers of social class; even if I were to successfully catalog every display of wealth and “conspicuous consumption” (Veblen 1973) at West Bayside High, socioeconomic class functions in such a way as to shift and morph over time, rendering such a list meaningless. Rather, it is an attempt to fill in the picture of the low-income students’ experience and to showcase their remarkable resilience in adapting and accommodating to the circumstances the students find themselves in.

Markers of Social Class: Clothing

Many of the low-income students mentioned the expensive clothing of their wealthier peers. Luciana noticed this on her first day, and recounted how confused she was that day:

It was just really hard because you just don’t know anybody, and they’re so different from you. I was so cold that day, and they were wearing shorts! With boots! I was just so confused! They were wearing these colorful shorts with these Ugg boots. I didn’t even know what Uggs were. So they were wearing these Ugg boots, with these sweatshirts - I don’t even know what kind of

sweatshirts those were - I thought it was a crazy experience, and I hated it. The first week, I wanted to go back [to her neighborhood school] so badly, but because my mom thought it was so good, and I knew my mom wanted a better future for me, that I just didn't say anything about it.

On top of all the usual things new high school students worry about on their first day of school – navigating a new campus, finding new friends, trying to fit in, adjusting to a new schedule – Luciana was struck by the clothing her wealthier peers were wearing, including brands she had been unaware of until that moment. For her, “it was a crazy experience, and I hated it.” In fact, she “wanted to go back [to her neighborhood school] so badly.” For Luciana, it wasn't just the clothes they wore, but the ease and confidence with which they could wear them:

They don't care how they dress. They are just like, they come to school and it's kind of like, they have good clothes, better clothes, better brands and stuff, but they are like, “Whatever.” They don't really care about that. And us, we do care a lot so that was so different. That was the weirdest thing in the world for me.

Not only were the wealthier students wearing “better clothes, better brands,” but they also “don't care how they dress.” It was perplexing.

It didn't help to try to buy knock-offs, either. Matilda, a low-income Latina girl, stated: “Clothes! Fashion was a big deal. For example, when there was Uggs - Uggs were very popular. People made fun of people who wore fake Uggs. People who wore Ray-Bans were also separated. And girls with designer purses were separated. People with designer labels; they would say you're trying to imitate them.” The low-income students might have felt intimidated by all the designer labels around them, but they were simultaneously sanctioned for “trying to imitate them” if they wore knock-offs.

Most low-income students resigned themselves to being unable to afford the looks they saw around them. Luciana shared: “And I just couldn't afford the things they afforded. For

them, it just came so easy, especially Bayside, affording, like, the Uggs. My mom works, and she can afford it to a certain extent, but I never put pressure on her for that. It's just... different. For them, it's like an everyday thing - you go shopping, you have these Louis Vuitton, Coach, whatever. They're not showing off, they're not braggers of it, but they still have it; it's still there; so it's just different." Whereas Luciana may have tactfully and carefully referred to the difference between her wealthier peers' clothing options versus her own, Paloma, another low-income Latina, took it a bit harder:

You can't - even if you tried, you could never be with them. I grew up on hand-me-downs, all the time, because my mom is a single mom with three kids. So I never had the fancy clothes that they had, and it was really hard to go in there with - I was bullied a lot in middle school, so going into high school with low self-esteem and having to watch these girl dress so nice was like, "Why can't I dress like that?" And when I asked my mom, she was like, "We can't afford it. We can only get what we can get." It was like that all throughout high school - wanting to look a certain way, but not being able to do, for lack of resources.

For Paloma, a girl who had already been bullied, arriving at a wealthy school but being unable to afford most of the nice clothes she saw around her was a difficult experience that hurt her already low self-esteem.

Like Luciana, several of the low-income students explicitly expressed a reluctance to burden their parents with their desire for nicer clothes. Luciana had said above that she would "never put pressure on her [mom] for that [Uggs]." Similarly, Emelda, a low-income Latina student, did not want to further tax her mom, who was already suffering from a work injury: "My dad was never really in the picture. It was hard for her to provide us with new clothes and new shoes. She was just receiving food stamps and whatever from the government because she was on worker's comp because she was injured at work. She always made sure I had school supplies, but sometimes clothes - at the beginning, I would see people where brand-new

clothes that I didn't have - it became pointless because clothes are clothes, and you'll outgrow them after a while." Emelda was unable to afford the clothes she saw around her, but comforted herself by reminding herself that having "brand-new clothes" was "pointless because clothes are clothes, and you'll outgrow them after a while." Sofia, another low-income Latina student, was concerned about the costs of school and worked extra jobs to save her mom the expenses: "I started working just because I wanted to cover my own expenses, for example, I'm paying for, like, my senior dues and my own deposit in college. Last summer I worked full-time over the summer, to save as much money as possible because I know how books are so expensive and I buy my own clothes. I never asked my mom for money." In addition to clothes, Sofia was also concerned about senior dues and college expenses and other school-related costs, and worked "to save as much money as possible." Family was never far from the minds of many of my low-income respondents, as we will see later on in the dissertation.

Other students adjusted to the wealth around them by finding comfort in, and becoming proud of, the hard work that came along with their low-income status, much like the working class men in Lamont's *The Dignity of Working Men* (2000). Paloma asserted:

I'd be wearing my ugly sweaters. I didn't really care though. No, I guess I really did. That's what I had to wear. I wasn't going to go to school naked. If I had to wear it, I had to wear it... We're all struggling. Without the struggle - I think it's better this way. I learn to appreciate it all the more. As opposed to being rich and being white and having it handed to me. I don't know. Then what would I learn? I couldn't appreciate all the sacrifices that I'm making, that everyone around me is making for me, and how tough it is to go to school and work full time, you don't get that when everything is handed to you and your dad pays your credit cards and stuff. I have to pay everything myself, but I enjoy it, you know?

Paloma viewed her circumstances as an opportunity to "learn to appreciate it all the more," looking down on those who were "rich and being white and having it handed" to them. She

was proud of the fact that she was working to “pay everything myself,” and stated that she enjoyed it. Similarly, Ysabel, another low-income Latina student, said she learned to be proud of what she had: “Since you could say I’m not rich, I know that for sure, but since I see people, like, they got these shoes and like this really cute bag and they always have money and stuff that gets me – like, why I can’t have that. But then at the end I’m, like, I’m proud of what I have.” Emelda, a low-income Latina student, felt that working to pay her own way – including a cell phone bill – helped her appreciate her possessions more: “For me, it taught me that working for my own stuff – since I worked for my own cell phone instead of buying other stuff - even though it was a pre-paid plan - I knew how to not abuse my cell phone. Phone plans cost a lot, I learned how to take it easy and how to appreciate it.” The experience of entering a wealthy school as a low-income student may have been a jarring one, but these students were proud of what they brought to the table: hard work and an appreciation for what they *did* have.

Markers of Social Class: Car

Ownership of a car was another frequently-cited indicator of wealth and prestige at West Bayside High School. Although the school did not have a designated parking lot for students to park in, many owned cars anyway and chose to park along the streets surrounding the school campus. Martina, a low-income Latina student, was not one of these students; she did not own a car and took the bus to school every morning. She shared about the time she overheard a classmate bragging about the luxury car her parents had given her:

And like I said, they live differently. They don't have the same struggles as we do. They don't – they have like two cars already and they don't even know how to drive whereas, like, you get a beat up car and it doesn't matter because you just want to drive. If I was in that situation, it would be hard talking about that to a West Bayside student that does come from a rich family, but, you know. Like I know a girl that doesn't even have her license and her parents bought her

an Audi – the recent one. She doesn't know how to drive. She is really nice, but it's not something you can – it's just like, “Wow.”

Nathaniel, a low-income Latino student, shared a similar story:

Yeah. Like, some kids at the school – the things they say! There's this, fifth period I was going to the office as a sophomore. She is like, “My parents want to lease me this BMW.” I was like, “Wow. You are 15. You are talking about getting a BMW??” Some people won't get a car until they graduate and are 19 and stuff and – some things they say!

Not all of the cars driven by students at West Bayside High were luxurious, of course; however, most students did own a car and, as Martina and Nathaniel shared, some of them were not afraid to show off those cars. An example of the “things they say” might be what Chloe, a wealthy white student, casually mentioned in her interview when evaluating cars: “If you have a C-class Mercedes, you are just trying to get up with the Mercedes people and you are not there. We call it, ‘the Crapper.’” In Chloe’s world, it wasn’t enough to own a Mercedes – the specific model of the Mercedes also had to be up-to-par.

Low-income students dealt with this lack of access to a car in different ways. Several of the students simply postponed applying for a driver’s license. Eli, a low-income white student, acknowledged that, “A car was big,” but went on to share that, “I didn’t get a license because I couldn’t get a car.” Similarly, Emelda, a low-income Latina student, admitted feeling “jealous, a little, because a lot of the students were driving to school – you’re able to get a license at 16 and a half.” However, she “didn’t get the chance to get a driver’s license at that age because it wasn’t a priority. (My mom) could do it (drive) and I was too young to be driving.”

A couple other students postponed getting a license until age 18. Rueben, a low-income Asian student, said he’s “getting my license at 18. My mom is like, ‘Wait until 18. There’s no

point of getting it at 16.’ All of my older brothers can drive so why do I need to drive.”

Nathaniel, a low-income Latino student, also stated:

I got my license. I'm 18. I was just one of the people who took forever. I just noticed that a lot of, like, Caucasian people, they always get it – the people that play sports always get theirs first because they need it and stuff. A lot of my friends that go to school, they only, there's only a few. But I would say that's probably because of money. Like the background. Because it is a lot, like insurance and just getting a car, you know, is a lot. I was like, “My parents didn't have money.”

Most students cited familial reasons for postponing – sometimes indefinitely – the acquisition of a driver’s license. Julieta, a low-income white student, opted not to get a car at all, and attributed her decision to her values:

I don't have a driver's license because I am moving to Portland and I figured, I was a late bloomer in the whole driving thing. I figured I would use my bicycle and transportation that is provided by the city. Hopefully that works out. I think because of my values. I don't need all of the material that people have. I can't afford car insurance. I don't mind, though. It's not a necessity. It's certainly a convenience. I don't know.

Julieta never got her driver’s license, opting for her bicycle and public transportation instead. Part of the decision may have been because she “can’t afford car insurance,” but she also attributes it to her values, saying she doesn’t “need all of the material that people have... It’s not a necessity.”

Markers of Social Class: Trips/Vacations

Another point of tension for low-income students regarded trips (either through the school, or with families) that wealthier students could afford. Rueben, a low-income Asian student, pointed out that money “just makes life a lot easier, especially with, like, field trips and all of that stuff. That is really expensive. It just, I feel like for some of our friends, it's nothing to them. Granted it was 100 bucks and it's like, ‘Crap!’ It's just, I feel like it is like not

a burden on them.” Even a field trip could be monetarily stressful for low-income students.

This is especially true for bigger school trips that required thousands of dollars. Luciana, a low-income Latina student, recounts how touched she felt by her mom’s tremendous sacrifice allowing her to join her classmates on a trip to Europe:

My mom doesn't have a big income. I think she earns less than \$21,000, so to give out \$5,000, that was a lot. And I remember the day that, I had to leave, my uncle was there and my mom was there and I didn't want to leave. I just didn't want to leave. I sat on the stairs and started crying and crying and crying and she was like, no, you have to leave and I was crying. I didn't want to leave just because I don't know. It was just so hard. I wanted her to come with me and she couldn't and that just really hurt me. Like she is not going to be there with me. Like you did all of this for me. How can you love a person so much to, like, give that. And I didn't realize how much a person could love you until that day. That day I was like, my goodness, how could you love me so much, sacrifice you not going. Like you could have gone. You could have left and gone and you would rather have me go. It was so different. I think that's why I appreciate it more than anyone else but that day she made me go, dropped me off and I was like, I won't go, I won't go. That's how I went. I didn't want her to see me cry... It was kind of like, just like if anybody could ask me, when was the day you had to grow up, that was the day I grew up, It was just kind of like you opened your eyes. It was so weird. It was kind of like I wasn't a little girl anymore.

Luciana was in tears as she told the story of how moved she had been by the love her mother had displayed by sacrificing so much of her own income to help her see new lands. For Luciana, and other low-income students, the ability to go on big school trips was an extravagant expense that they could only participate in if their parents had scrimped and saved every last penny. Paloma recognized that such trips might be out-of-reach for some parents:

They (other students) went to Coachella every year. And I don't think I'm ever going to be able to afford that ticket until I'm in my 30's. And their parents paid for it. And one time I asked my mom: “Mom, for my birthday, can I go to Coachella?” And she was like, “How are you going to get there? I can't afford that ticket. And how are you going to feed yourself? I can only buy you a

ticket,” and I was like, “Okay, never mind.” So when you’re poor, you can only do the poor things to do.

A trip to an event meant needing money that was additional to the ticket price; it also involved hidden expenses such as the cost of meals. Paloma recognized that “when you’re poor, you can only do the poor things to do.” Levi, a low-income African American student, made a similar statement: “There are things that I couldn’t do with people, that other people did together. Like a group of friends would all go to Hawaii, or some mountain somewhere in a different state over breaks and stuff, or weekends, and have like a lot of fun, but I didn’t have the money to do that kind of thing, but yeah.”

Moreover, it wasn’t just the low-income students who noticed the exclusive nature of some of these trips; Gwen, a wealthy white student noted that other students who “value(d) different things” went on expensive trips that others couldn’t, or didn’t want to, join: “I could tell when I was in other classes or other groups of friends, not close friends, that they value different things so certainly in some of them, money was the thing because they all wanted to do expensive things like they all wanted to go to Cabo for a weekend, so that excludes a bunch of people and creates its own thing.”

Observing the sorts of trips their peers were embarking upon was particularly hard for low-income students who compared the jet-setting lifestyle to their own parents’ humble conditions. Sofia, a low-income Latina student, stated: “It’s just – seeing how people’s lives are, and the differences. I mean, I see people that travel a lot and they are having a great time and then I see the people that don’t take a vacation in ten years because they are always working.” Martina, another low-income Latina student, compared the group trips undertaken by her schoolmates to the ones taken by others in her neighborhood:

I guess, so like Bayside students, from what I have heard, they go on a lot on trips. Like “Oh, I went to Hawaii.” And usually they all go to Hawaii together. Which I thought was really interesting. Because for, usually I guess the wharf (her neighborhood) people, people with less money, they like, it's usually just my family and that's it, or obviously your family doesn't have enough money for you to bring along your friends. Or if they do, it's because your friend chipped in. Whereas Bayside students, they kind of take each other on trips. And it's not even like small trips like road trips from here to L.A. or something. It's like a lot more extravagant, I guess. From like, going to Hawaii or Europe or stuff like that. And they can bond over that where it's like, another Wharf student isn't really going to take somebody else.

Both Sofia and Martina compared these big trips – trips that even included friends that were welcome to come along – to what their parents could (not) afford; Sofia mentioned that some people “don’t take a vacation in ten years because they are always working.” They recognized, too, that wealthy students could then “bond over that”, while low-income students who had not gone would miss out on these *accidental conversations* that would bond wealthier students afterwards.

Markers of Social Class: After-School Fun

Socioeconomic status made a difference not just in the types of vacations students could take, but also in the sorts of after-school activities they could participate in. Most obviously, a lack of resources meant low-income students could not accompany friends to excursions that included money. Levi, a low-income African-American student succinctly summed it up: “I don’t have money to go to like, you know, to go with people to places.” Even if they were hanging out on an ostensibly “free” outing (window shopping, walking around, etc.), low-income students could not buy all the material goods that their wealthier peers were buying. Paloma, a low-income Latina student, noticed that her wealthier peers “always had money on them. My mom would give me \$5 every week so if I wanted a snack at 7-11, so - that’s all she could give me. And I appreciate it now because that’s all she could give me, and

it's better than nothing." Paloma appreciated the fact that her mom was doing the best she could in giving her \$5 every week for snacks. Five dollars, however, often could not compare to the amount wealthier students were paying. Nathaniel, a low-income Latino student, stated: "Sometimes I saw it. Like I remember when I went out, a lot of them just bought things like crazy and I was like, well, I have to save mine for next time."

What exactly were they doing? Paloma said, "They always went to a gym. Up this day I can't afford to go to a gym." This was confirmed by some of the wealthier respondents, who said in interviews that they enjoyed working out together at local gyms and athleisure-wear boutiques. More often than not, however, students were usually just meeting up to hang out and grab a bite to eat. Luciana, a low-income Latina student, recognized that there was a disparity in the sort of meals that she could afford versus the sorts of meals her wealthier peers could afford:

I do kind of feel like, "My goodness, they could go do this!" They usually have plans like, "Hey, let's go eat somewhere," like, "Let's go to Dave and buster's," or, "Let's go to In-N-Out," or something. Well, where we live at, it's either you have to bus yourself somewhere and like go eat at Panda Express. That's the nicest thing you could get. But if not, you go to the taco shop right next to you. It's the people who live here – not just like white people because there are so many different people here, but they are the people who have more money that live here in Bayside. They are naturally here, doing that.

Luciana recognized that students from the Bayside area "have more money" and could consequently afford food that seemed more fancy to her.²⁸ Observing such ease with money made her gasp ("I do kind of feel like, 'My goodness! They could do this!'") and served to

²⁸ In-N-Out is actually a fast-food chain that is comparable in price to other fast food chains in the area. However, the fact that Luciana was unfamiliar with this fact serves to highlight her lack of exposure to the sorts of outings that were popular among the wealthier students at West Bayside High School.

underscore her – and other low-income students’ – lack of resources with which to participate in such activities.

The socioeconomic differences that prohibited low-income students from participating did not just mean they were missing out on fun times and the possibility of making new memories; more importantly, they were missing out on future *accidental conversations* during school hours in which students reflected on their past excursions. When such conversations organically emerged, Nathaniel felt disoriented and “lost”:

I mean, because, well, so we are all like humans so we are not that different. But it was kind of different. One thing that always, they always use like terms or words and I'm like what does that mean? I can't give you an example, but I can't think of one but they will say something kind of fancy and I'm like, “What is that?” Like, I don't know what it means. It is a word to, not describe, but a place. Blank places. Like restaurant and stuff. Like I have never been there. We went to places, places, places and I have never been here or heard of that. Well, I know a lot of the places now, but they talk about areas like Seaside Beach Street or some shops and stories that they always go to and I'm like, I don't know where that is. So you kind of feel, like, lost.

Low-income students were already feeling bewildered and perplexed as they navigated AP classrooms in which they were unable to afford the extra resources and help that came naturally for wealthy students via their parents’ means; with the additional inability to participate with their peers in after-school activities, low-income students felt doubly-isolated when they could not participate in – or even recognize some of the terms within – some of the conversations their peers held in the classroom regarding their excursions.

Low-income students found a variety of ways to adjust to the situation they found themselves in. Luciana came to terms with the experience and found joy in what she had: “And that's what bugs me the most. Okay, so my friends say they are jealous of their lives. I am not. I

like my life, my family, everything. I think I have fun my own different way. I don't get to spend and go shopping all the time.” Even though she could not participate in all the activities her wealthier peers participated in, she liked her life and her family and said she had “fun my own different way.”

Emelda, another low-income Latina student, devised her own creative method for paying for snacks:

When my friends would go down to 7-11, and they had money to buy themselves snacks, I would feel left out because I didn't have the money. To feel better about myself, I would show off that I had my mom's card, even though it was a food stamp card, and I would say, “If there's anything you want, let me know and I'll get it,” just to make myself feel better. Now that I think about it, they took advantage. Whenever they knew I was going down to 7-11, they would ask me to buy them whatever they wanted.

When Emelda was in a situation where her friends had money to buy snacks and she did not, she began using her mom's food stamp card to buy snacks for her friends – and her friends took advantage of her situation.

Access to after-school hangouts with wealthier students was often out-of-reach for most low-income students – students who were already feeling alienated – because of the costs that were required for such excursions. Low-income students found creative ways to accommodate themselves to their situation, whether that meant coming to terms with their new conditions in emotionally healthy ways, or whether it meant using whatever resources were at their disposal to try to temporarily fit in. Unfortunately, not being able to participate in said excursions meant that low-income students were missing out on all the experiences and insider knowledge that accrued during such outings. When wealthier students reminisced together in *accidental conversations* during the school day about their fun times, referring to specific locations and

events amongst themselves, low-income students felt further alienated because they did not recognize the places or terms they were referring to.

Markers of Social Class: Neighborhood

Another difference the low-income students found intimidating was the sheer size of the houses their wealthier peers resided in. Martina, a low-income Latina student, shared: “It was kind of hard, like I used to sleep over at their houses, and it was like, ‘Wow, this does not compare to my apartment.’” Rueben, a low-income Asian student, echoed her sentiments:

It was pretty mind-blowing just seeing houses that big... Just because I lived way far away so it was like, I never, like seen houses like this big and so I went to like my friend's house and it was like a 40 million-dollar house and I was like, can you show me around and he like showed me around and he is like, wait, I've never been in this room before. He has 8 rooms and it's only him and his mom. I was like, “This is ridiculous.”

Low-income students found the experience “ridiculous” and disconcerting to enter in to such large abodes. Doing so would often mean they felt a compulsion to act differently, as Emelda, a low-income Latina student, pointed out: “I’d know I’d have to act a little more proper, if they’re wealthier, you know. I guess it depends on the type of person, cuz yeah, you have to always be polite, that’s a big thing, but you have to be more - etiquette - if you were going to a wealthier type of home.” All three students commented on how big Bayside homes were compared to the homes in their neighborhood, which was intimidating enough to pressure them into self-consciously acting “a little more wealthier [sic]... to always be polite... if you were going to a wealthier type of home.”

Emelda was not wrong to feel like she needed to act differently when she was inside one of the Bayside homes. Part of Lamont and Lareau’s definition of objectified cultural capital is that they “require embodied cultural capital to be appropriated” (Lamont and Lareau

1988, 156). Simply being there, or even buying one of the homes there, was not enough; one had to know how to act within the homes as well. This became especially clear in an interview with Chloe, a wealthy white student, who wanted to discuss the embarrassment she felt when her lower-income friend did not know how to behave while visiting her:

She doesn't have money. Even socially – she asks my neighbor how much she paid for her dog. Lower class people don't learn that it's not polite. It was embarrassing. Like we all have golden doodles in my neighborhood. And she knows, like, they are like pretty expensive, like two thousand a piece. She asked my neighbor and it was really awkward. She doesn't, like, have good table manners, for lack of a better term, and instead of using the word big, she uses the word fat. Like, “I just ate this fat sandwich” and stuff like that. My parents give little looks and they don't understand why I'm friends with her. They don't think she is beneath me but they feel we are on different paths. They have never said anything but I definitely have some tension with being friends with her.

Chloe felt that some of her friend's actions were “embarrassing” and “not polite”, and attributed these behaviors (and others, such as table manners and different vocabulary), and an ignorance of a more “polite” way of behaving, to her friend's lower class background. In other words, her friend lacked the embodied capital she possessed to move through the neighborhood with ease.

Interestingly, as Montana, a low-income Latino student pointed out, these subtle differences between their embodied cultural capitals contributed to a general feeling of the Bayside area as being “unsafe” to them by comparison, even if the Bayside area technically had lower crime rates than their own neighborhoods:

It is very different, even though it is kind of weird because whenever me my friends walk out in Bayside we feel like we might get mugged more than in our neighborhood, which is weird. It's the sense of feeling our home is, we are used to things that Bayside doesn't seem like it's exactly like it. Like, we are used to where we are and it's just uncomfortable walking around Bayside with the people that are around there. Just doesn't feel right. Honestly, I don't know. It's

just a weird feeling me and all my friends get whenever we walk around, we are like, honestly, we don't feel safe. I don't know why, but we just don't. Where we live it's just mainly just small houses and everything. We are not used to seeing the big houses all around here and it's completely different from where we live and it just doesn't feel as safe as where we live, which is kind of really weird considering where we live is not as safe at all.

Montana used various adjectives to describe his feeling of unease while walking around Bayside: “uncomfortable,” “just doesn’t feel right,” “weird feeling,” “don’t feel safe,” even going so far as to say, “we feel like we might get mugged more than in our neighborhood, which is weird.” Montana actually *was* mugged in his neighborhood in a traumatic incident that landed him in the hospital; despite this, “seeing the big houses” and noticing how “it’s completely different from where we live” combined to make him feel *less* safe walking around Bayside.

Different students dealt with this feeling of unease in different ways. Luciana, a low-income Latina student, was too embarrassed to let wealthier students in to her house, even going so far as to ask wealthier students to pick her up at a location that was several blocks from her actual home, even if they knew where she actually lived:

Yes, this is the only joke I would actually - they would sometimes be asking, “Hey let’s sleep over at Luciana’s house” and I’ll be like, “Yeah, but I guess we’re all sleeping in the living room!” I can’t fit my sister - are you kidding me? My room’s small. So I’ll be like, “Nope, my house isn’t available. Not even available for parties.” The kids, you don’t bring home with you. Oh yeah, I have friends I do bring home. Are you kidding me? They come from the same thing. They’re from the same thing, or even worse. Geo’s more than welcome to my house, Sarah, everybody else. They know how I live, I know how they live, everything else. Let’s say Lisa, right there - I don’t bring her in. well I have brought her in, because she’s very humble. Her parents make \$170, \$120,000 a year, she’s pretty cool, she has her own very nice car. I let her in. Yet, there’s this other kid, his name is Francisco, it’s not like he’s a guy cuz I’ve let his friend in - but not him! So Francisco’s house is huge! He lives in Appleview; he

has a ginormous house, he has a very nice house, his parents speak English - they're more Indian than mine, but alright - they speak English or whatever, and his friend - well I'm very close to both of them - Francisco's house is so big, so they rent out little rooms that already come with its own stove, like studios - inside the house, isn't that crazy? I let his friend in, because he lives in the studio with his mom, but I just feel like he wouldn't judge - but I've never let Francisco in. Francisco's the one I talk to, the one I come to school with. Yet his friend, I've only met him through Francisco, through parties or whatever, but I don't let Francisco in. I let Ramon in, but not Francisco. He's always been like, "What the heck?" but I don't know. I don't know why. I'm not embarrassed of my family but sometimes I make myself feel like I were, but I'm not. I'm not because I think I have a super cool family, my mom's side is super cool, but sometimes I feel like I'm embarrassed of my family but I'm not, and I don't understand why sometimes I just can't let them come in. it's just because they're different, or they're used to different things, sometimes I feel like they'll feel weird or awkward at my house. Isn't that weird? I hang out with the other kid more, but I let his friend in but not him. I always tell him, "Pick me up over there". He knows where I live and everything! I'll just be like, "Pick me up over there." Like, two blocks away. Not even two blocks -three, four cars away. Everybody else I'm hanging out with, he knows, he's seen, but I wouldn't let him in. but when Ramon comes, I'm like, "*Esperate*, wait, I'm not ready!" but with him, I'm like, "nope, you're not coming in." I should let him in one day. I know! Honestly, I just - I don't know why I'm not comfortable! I honestly don't know why I don't feel comfortable with certain people, they're not stuck up, they're actually very nice - but I don't know why. I just don't feel comfortable with certain people.

Luciana felt a strong class affinity towards others in her situation and allowed low-income students in to her house (though she also admitted to letting in a wealthier friend because this friend was "humble"), but made a point to deny entry to an acquaintance who was much wealthier than herself. She was not doing it to hide her house, or to pretend she lived elsewhere, since her friend "knows where I live and everything." However, she felt uncomfortable with this friend and left him on the porch while allowing everyone else into her home – even going so far as to jokingly force him to pick her up several blocks away. Luciana was not mistaken to feel self-conscious. Most of my wealthy respondents did not have any

interactions with low-income students – much less visit their homes – but a handful did, and they did not always have positive things to say about the homes they entered. Chloe, a wealthy white student, shared: “Well, obviously when I went to her house, I can tell she doesn't have money. She lives in a house, but she had to share a bedroom with her sister and it is run-downish and their sink gurgles and keeps me up at night. Don't get me started with that. I hate going to her house because of her sink. I don't care it's not super nice. I know it's not social and probably don't care for your project, but it's horrible.”

Nathaniel, meanwhile, was a low-income Latino student, was delighted by the chance to “take it all in” when he visited wealthier homes: “Well, here we always go eat at my friend 's house. I go to my friend 's houses because they are so nice. It's like what you see in magazines. I'm like, it's Disneyland. It's so nice and stuff. Which I always -- I like hanging out. I said that, but I would rather stay at the house, take it all in.” For Nathaniel, wealthy houses were similar to what “you see in magazines” and were like “Disneyland” in how “nice” they were, and he seemed to enjoy his times there.

Paloma, a low-income Latina student, found a lot of joy and pride in her own neighborhood:

You can go to the taco shop. You can walk around and take in the perspective of the neighborhood. As opposed to - let's go to the mall with the credit card that my dad gave me. Let's buy a bunch of stuff. I could never do that. I can't do that now, so.. I'm happy being poor I guess, It puts other things in perspective. I live in the Wharf and it's a working class neighborhood, so you learn to appreciate things that are free - like art. There's so much art in that neighborhood, and you learn to appreciate that because of the lack of funding there that they have, which is ironic because they have a lot of free classes - free classes for this, free classes for that - you learn to take advantage of that, because it's there for your community - whereas they charge you so much money to do the same thing that we're doing in the community. The library

holds so many activities. The library sends out a newsletter that says, at the McDonalds, we're going to support the local school, and we're going to have this, and we're going to have that. And you go and you support the community and you don't need a lot of money - you need like \$10 to hang out in the neighborhood and enjoy yourself, and take in the culture. If you're Mexican, you learn to appreciate all the hard-working Mexicans that are around you, and the stay-at-home moms that sacrifice one whole income to stay and take care of their children, because their culture says that's right to do, where in the white community - and I might be wrong, I might be right - a lot of the moms that come into the salons, they live off their husband's income, and they're able to make it - and they're stay-at-home moms and they're happy, and these other moms they have to struggle a lot. So you learn to appreciate the struggles that they make, you learn to appreciate the sacrifice that everyone in the neighborhood is making to make it a better place. Little mom and pop shops, and little places that I support, this little tattoo shop - I only have one - and you go in there and everyone's so chill, they're like, we have this activity, you should come in - they'll dye your hair for free. I go in there a lot to get my hair tested - it's free, most of the time it's okay - except last time they tried to do an ombre on me - It's lighter on the bottom and it's darker on top and it fades in, so the girl did it to me, and I have really long hair, and I had waited four years to grow it out, so she did it to me, and it looked good for about four days, but then my hair started to dry up, and I was like, "What happened??" And she was like, "Oh my God!" and she tried fixing it and it made it worse so I had to cut my hair. I don't know. It was free.

She relished the communal feel to her neighborhood and the fact that so many free activities abounded for residents to join and participate in. Paloma may have been insecure elsewhere in the interview about her inability to measure up to her wealthier peers in terms of material possessions, but she was fiercely proud of the neighborhood she came from, and the neighbors she was surrounded by.

Low-income students were astute observers of their social milieu. Their experience at a wealthy school allowed them the opportunity to experience firsthand the objectified cultural

capital of their wealthier peers, which often resulted in the sustainment of “class injuries”; nevertheless, low-income students exhibited creativity and ingenuity in the ways they learned to adjust to their new environment without giving up a fierce pride in where they had come from and the hard work it entailed.

LOW-INCOME STUDENTS IN EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

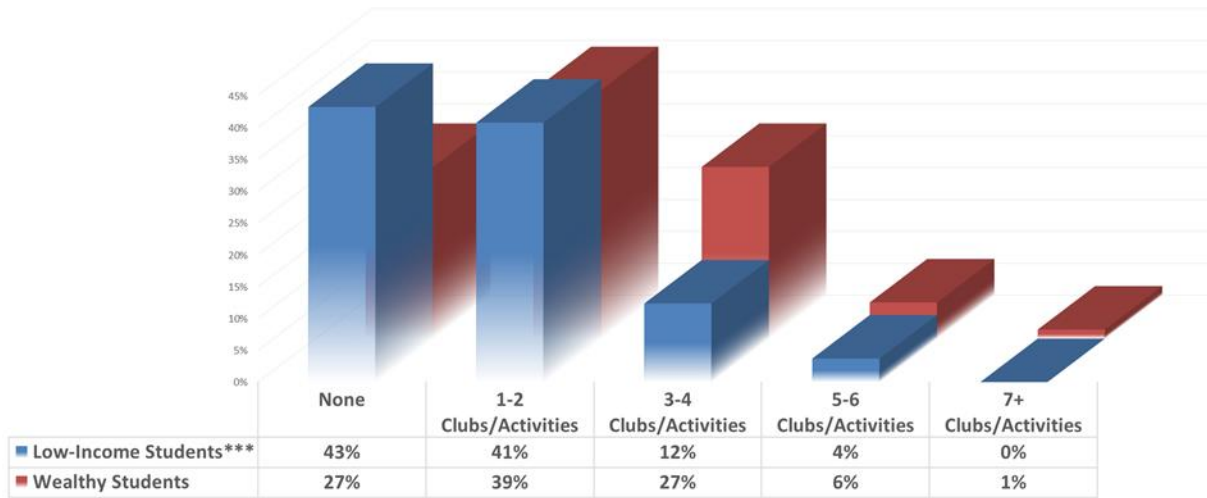
It kind of defines who we are, not being able to afford all that stuff. ~ Emelda

Clubs, after-school activities, and sports were alternative ways to get involved at West Bayside outside of the classroom. Unfortunately, some of these spaces were also places in which the socioeconomic divide played itself out. Wealthy students in the senior class²⁹ were statistically significantly more likely to be involved in clubs and activities than their low-income peers. While a plurality of low-income students (43%) had participated in no clubs or activities, a plurality of wealthy students (39%) had participated in 1-2 activities.³⁰ The typical wealthy student had participated in an average of 2.6 clubs and activities, with the median

²⁹ There were no statistically significant differences between interview respondents and survey respondents in terms of their participation in clubs/activities and/or sports. Therefore, when appropriate, I referred to data and tests derived from survey results (which had an N of 223 students) to get a broad understanding of the senior class on general questions, and relied on data and tests derived from interviews to better understand more specific questions, such as those pertaining to their networks. For more details, please refer to the data/methodology section of the dissertation.

³⁰ I ran an independent samples t-test to test whether there was a statistically significant difference between low-income students and wealthy students in terms of the total number of clubs and activities they participated in throughout their high school career. A Shapiro-Welk test indicated that the dependent variable did not have a normal distribution for each category (violating one of the key assumptions of the independent samples t-test), so I also ran a Mann-Whitney U test. Median number of clubs/activities was statistically significantly higher for wealthy students (2 club/activity) than for low-income students (1 club/activity), $U = 4167$, $z = -3.452$, $p = .001$.

number being 2, while the typical low-income student averaged 1.1 clubs and activities, with the median falling to 1 club/activity.



*** p < .001 on two-tailed, independent samples t-test, and p = .001 on Mann-Whitney U test

Figure 11. Number of Clubs/Activities Taken by Low-Income Students vs. Wealthy Students (n=222)

This was especially unfortunate because clubs and activities were not only spaces within which to bond with other students over mutually shared interests, but also places where one could pick up other school-related information via informal and casual interactions with other students. Martina realized this when she overheard other Key Club members casually discussing the importance of community service for college applications:

Like for classes I was never told anything about like the things I had to do to, like have a good application to look well for when I apply to college and stuff. Luckily I kind of just, like, I found out sophomore or junior year and I hurried myself into doing a whole bunch of community service. I didn't know I was supposed to. If I had not heard a conversation between some girls, because we have club days – there's key club and interact and stuff.

Martina, a low-income Latina student who had earlier complained that administrators were unsympathetic to the particular struggles of first-generation college goers, stumbled upon helpful information while participating in a club that met after school. Consequently, she “hurried myself into doing a whole bunch of community service” even though “I didn’t know I was supposed to.” She credits her new knowledge to a conversation she had happened to overhear between two girls at a club meeting.

Participation in clubs and activities may indeed be beneficial for students, but not all of the students felt welcome. Koraima, a low-income Latina student, noted that very few minorities were represented in ASB, West Bayside High’s version of student government. She acknowledged that it could be “partly our fault as well, but we don’t go do it because we’re scared, or we won’t be accepted. I would be scared. It would feel so awkward.” While Koraima seemed intimidated enough to avoid even attempting to join ASB, Luciana whole-heartedly attended ASB meetings in the hopes of joining their organization. Like Koraima, she found herself intimidated by the other students and marveled at the confidence with which they presented themselves:

Interviewer: Where do you think confidence comes from?

Luciana: Knowledge. Honestly, because I see these people that I want to be involved with, or whatever, that they were already put on the spot, they were already put in that position, that they already overcame that obstacle or whatever. Or people that travel a lot, that know - and I don’t know. I sometimes feel that I don’t know. That I don’t have it. That I don’t wanna put myself in that position. I always go into the ASB meeting. I wanted to be in the - president’s cabinet. I stopped going because I was like, “I don’t fit in, these people are different,” and I have two friends in there, two friends in the ASB position, and I still felt like I don’t fit in. Two great friends of mine, and I still felt that.

The implicit social knowledge displayed by other students in ASB and the President's Cabinet (attributes she attributed to knowledge, previous experience, and past travels) made Luciana feel like they were different from herself and that she didn't fit in – even when she had friends who were part of the club. As a result, she eventually stopped attending ASB meetings.

Interestingly enough, while there was a statistically significant difference between low-income students and wealthy students in terms of the total number of clubs/activities they participated in, there was *no* statistically significant difference in terms of the total number of sports they participated in. A typical wealthy student at West Bayside High School was involved in 1.5 sports activities (with the median student having taken one sport in their high school career), while a typical low-income student had participated in .6 sports activities (with the median low-income student having participated in zero sports during their time in high school). This difference was not quite significant at the .05 level for a two-tailed independent samples t-test, so this difference may have been due to random chance (though it's worth noting that there *is* a statistically significant difference between wealthy students and low-income students in terms of the sports participation in a *one*-tailed, independent samples t-test).³¹ While there may not have been a statistically significant difference between wealthy students' and low-income students' average participation in sports, there was a statistically significant difference between students in heterophilous networks versus those in homophilous

³¹ I ran an independent samples t-test to test whether there was a statistically significant difference between low-income students and wealthy students in terms of the total number of sports they participated in throughout their high school career. A Shapiro-Welk test indicated that the dependent variable did not have a normal distribution for each category (violating one of the key assumptions of the independent samples t-test), so I also ran a Mann-Whitney U test. Median number of sports was not statistically significantly higher for wealthy students (1 sport) than for low-income students (no sports), but it just barely missed significance at the .05 level, with $U = 4906$, $z = -1.912$, $p = .056$.

networks for both wealthy students *and* low-income students, a difference I will explore in further detail later in the chapter.

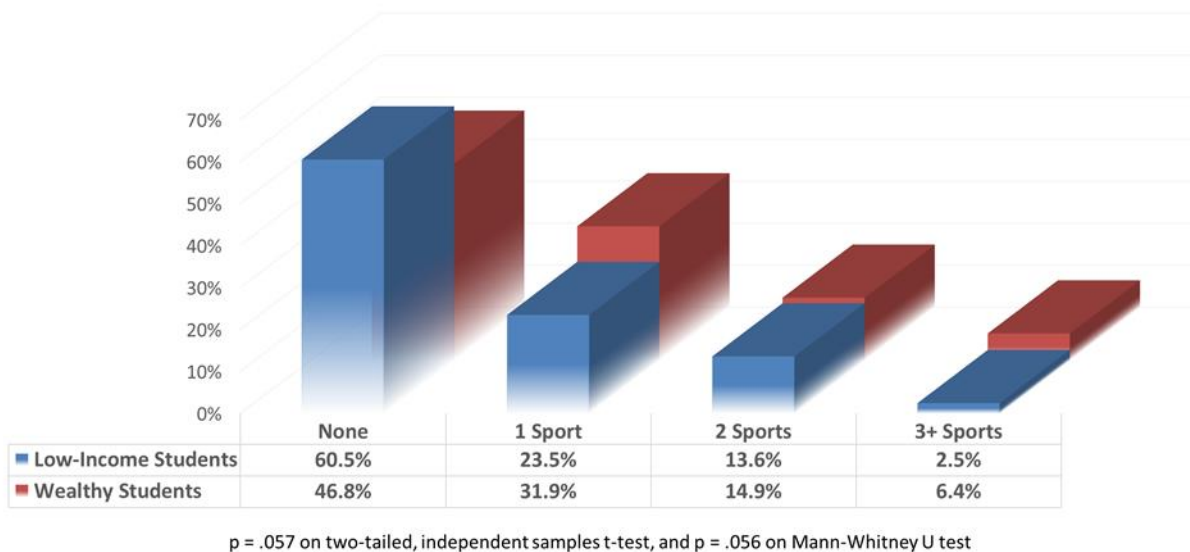


Figure 12. Total Number of Sports Taken by Low-Income Students vs. Wealthy Students (n=222)

The fact that there wasn't a statistically significant difference in sports participation may help explain why low-income students shared that sports helped them feel a sense of belonging in the school, sometimes going as far as to say it was their favorite part of West Bayside High School. Adam, a low-income multi-racial student, loved wrestling: "My favorite thing was wrestling. A lot of things, when I compare to West Bayside High School, I go back to wrestling because it's done so much for me. It's both physically and mentally made me a stronger person, and it's actually boosted my confidence and gotten me to talk to people." Similarly, Damita, a low-income Latina student, echoed Adam's sentiments: "Sometimes I hated high school. I just got fed up with it. But I guess what I liked about it most was wrestling. Just how I became really close with them and I had people from school who took care of me.

And just the coaches. The coaches are really young, so they wrestle with you. And so you become really close to the coaches, too, and I think they made my high school experience better to have [something] to look forward to during the day.” For both Adam and Damita, sports provided something to look forward to and allowed them to bond with other people at West Bayside, whether it was coaches (in Damita’s case) or other students (in Adam’s case). Mario, a low-income Latino student, felt a similar bond to upperclassmen because of his time playing football: “I remember in football, when we were freshmen kids, juniors or seniors would try to pick on us and when the Varsity players would see that, they would be like, ‘Hey! Leave them alone. He’s with us.’ So they would have our backs and be like, ‘We got you guys.’ We are like brothers.” Mario was able to avoid being picked on because of the connections he had made through football – connections that went beyond friendship to a feeling of being “like brothers”.

Paloma, a low-income Latina student, noted that sports was a place in which one’s low-income status, as displayed through clothing, didn’t impact the friendships within the team: “I don’t think my teammates – I think they knew I wasn’t as rich as them, but it didn’t really matter – we were all in a sport – we all worked out – we all sweated, so it’s not like we were all showing off fancy shoes.” After all, they were all on a team together, and bonded over their time working out and sweating next to one another. Esther, a low-income white student, goes so far as to say that sports may help other low-income students stay out of trouble:

When I was 14, when I met the gothic boyfriend, and he was my support system because he was the first person to ever come to my place. After we were homeless, we were in a studio, and he actually came to visit. And he smoked cigarettes, and he used to do drugs. I was a very good student, and I was like, “I don’t want to do weed, I don’t want to smoke” - but the cigarettes were there, and it was a rush, and it was a reward, and I got light-headed. Looking back, if I

had been on a team, or if my mom had put me on a team - I think that's why a lot of low SES students get into drugs and smoke.

Not only was sports participation a helpful way to build confidence and connect with people at West Bayside High (coaches, upperclassmen, wealthier students), but it might have also been an avenue through which students may have been able to stay out of trouble.

A couple of students mentioned one other benefit to participating in sports: it helped facilitate cross-race friendships as well. Paloma, who had made cross-SES friendships through sports, also made cross-race friendships: "Basically, the only white friends I had were from cross-country and track - and they were my friends - we were teammates - we were kind of forced to be friends - but that's okay - we were really good friends - all throughout high school we were always, like, 'Hey what's up,' and we would say hi in the hallways." Elijah, a low-income Asian student, also noted this benefit: "If you are in the sports grouping, then race doesn't play a role. There is the football group and the water polo, volley ball, and baseball groups, but I am not sure why race - I guess because they know each other and hang out with each other." Despite being "forced to be friends", the time spent "know(ing) each other and hang(ing) out with each other" allowed students to form connections with other students who were outside of their racial/ethnic groups.

If participation in sports came with so many benefits, why didn't more low-income students participate? Respondents listed a variety of answers, namely: high costs, a lack of early exposure to sports, and the distance the school was from home.

Barriers to Participation: High Cost

Alandra, a low-income Latina student, had a succinct explanation for why low-income students weren't participating in school clubs and/or sports: "Money. Because you need money

to purchase your equipment and stuff like that.” Esther, a low-income Latina student, explained further: “You had to pay dues for the team – the swim team was, like, \$200 – and soccer was more – so that was expensive.” Even wealthy students recognized that participation in sports could get expensive. Camila, a wealthy Latina student, stated that: “Lacrosse is one of the most expensive sports. You don't see any Mexicans on those teams. You only see like the whites. It's also a cultural thing, again, because lacrosse is more of, like, an Ivy-league kind of thing, but then there's that pool. [Money's] not the be-all, end-all, but you have to have money. It is a public school so they try to keep it even for people, but it's still tough.” In Chloe's mind, certain sports team were not only more expensive than others, but also carried a certain prestige. She acknowledged that even in a public school, it was “still tough” to afford certain sports teams because “you have to have money.”

Paloma, a low-income Latina student, knew that her socioeconomic status played a role in not being able to participate in a cross-country team trip to Mammoth:

I couldn't really participate in the things they were participating in - so it made a difference in the negative way - it was just like, “Why can't I do that?” Every year the cross country team goes to Mammoth for the summer, but it was about \$700 per person. My mom couldn't come up with that money both years. So I wasn't able to go. And they would ask: “Why not?” It was really weird to tell them, “I can't - I can't afford them.” I was only in it for two years. My freshmen year I was too late, but my coach asked me, and I said, “No it's too late, I can't sign up now.” But my sophomore year, he was like, “You have to come up with the money by so-and-so time,” and I asked my mom and she was like, “I can't. I wish I could but I can't.” But it was alright. I still participated. I just didn't go to some dumb mountain.

Paloma may have been able to afford some of the basic costs of participating on her cross-country team, but additional expenses – such as a trip to Mammoth – was too much for her and her family to afford.

Barriers to Participation: Lack of Early Opportunities

Another reason low-income students didn't feel comfortable participating in school-sponsored extracurricular activities such as clubs and sports was because they lacked the early opportunities the wealthier students had. Martina, a low-income Latina student, explains: "I don't do sports because I never really got to do sports and mostly everybody from here has done sports since they were six and stuff." Matilda, a low-income Latina student, elaborates further: "They (wealthy students) had more free time and were given the opportunities to do stuff like sailing and row-boating – they were given opportunities like that. And trying out for sports - a lot of the low-income students learned how to play sports at YMCA while others went into specific clubs with money. So even in school sports, there was this difference in level of experience. They were taking people who had more experience vs. taking people who were playing the sport for fun."

Recognizing that other students were bringing years of practice and experience to the games was an intimidating prospect for some of the low-income students. Zamora was a low-income Latina student who was such a good goalie for her neighborhood soccer team that she would travel around the city to compete against other teams. She was so dedicated to her sport she walked for miles to participate in games when her parents, who didn't want their child – a girl – to be a goalie, refused to drive her. When I asked her if she had ever considered joining West Bayside High's team, she demurred:

I kind of feel, like, inferior because everybody has played club since they were little and I've never played club. Always little leagues here and there at local parks... Because it's like I felt like they were better, had more experience and it's like, you know, the feeling like the underdog. So, I'm like, "Aaahh!" I never really wanted to go for it. I was like, 'Next year, next year. Senior year.' No more next year.

Despite Zamora's talent and love for the game, she still felt "inferior" to the West Bayside students, assuming "they were better [and] had more experience." She continually pushed off the prospect of trying out for the team until it became too late.

Barriers to Participation: Distance

A third reason the low-income students gave to explain their lack of participation in extra-curricular activities at West Bayside High involved the difficulties it took them to procure transportation between the school and their neighborhood. Isaiah, a low-income Latino student, explained: "Sometimes I have to stay here because I can't get a ride, like I have water polo and practice is from 6-8 and I have to stay here because my mom can't pick me up. I get home at, like, 9, and I have to take a shower..." Most low-income students recognized that their wealthier peers had parents who lived nearby and possessed schedules that were flexible enough to pick up their children after practice. Paloma, a low-income Latina student, observed:

Well, they lived in the area, with stay-at-home moms, or parents that worked flexible hours, so I had to wake up at 5:40 in the morning to be able to catch the bus at 6:00 to get to school by 7, and then if I had sports in the afternoon I didn't get home until 7:00. I had a couple hours left to do homework, and then I had to go to sleep to do it all over the next day, and these kids, they could walk to school, they had their parents drop them off, they had way more time than I did, and those kinds of parents that actually did have flexible hours to be there, to support them in their school activities, be in the PTA, so it wasn't easy to go through all that and see everyone, and kind of just jealous of them. The way that they were brought up, the way that they were able to go to school.

While most of the wealthier students lived nearby and did not have to worry about commuting times between their homes and West Bayside, Paloma's day started much earlier and ended much later than her peers because it took her so long to travel to and from the school. In addition, she was "kind of... jealous" of the ease with which her classmates could go about their day, affording them more free time because they could walk to school or be dropped off

by their parents. Her mother, meanwhile, was not able to attend many of her events because of the hours she was working, further alienating Paloma from her teammates: “My mom’s never going to be able to go to any of my sports events with me... I’d have to go by myself to a lot of events, without a parents. Most of the moms were like, ‘Hey, where’s your mom?’ and I’d be like, ‘She’s working,’ and it’d be like, ‘Yeah...’” Esther, a low-income white student, also noted the amount of time it took her to commute from her home to school, as well as the role that wealthier parents played in their child’s participation: “Another thing that bothered me was that I was on the swim team - it was horrible because I had to give so much to the swim team - it was three hours after class - school ended at 2 and swim team ended at 5. I had to take the bus home so I got home at 6 or 7, so I only had a few hours to do homework. But those who had higher SES had mothers or nannies come pick them up. They would have dinner cooked for them, they had stay-at-home moms. I had to cook my own dinner. I ended up quitting swim team.” All of the commuting made Esther’s schedule hard to juggle; she ended up quitting her swim team as a result.

The difficulties of commuting were best articulated by Martina, a low-income Latina student, when she described her attempts to actively participate with the Key Club:

I did key club for a while, but it's kind of hard to do stuff like that because most of the activities West Bayside does are here in West Bayside. But, like, for example, I couldn't do community service 9th or 10th grade because I didn't drive. My parents couldn't take me and most of them were in the morning and here in West Bayside. While my parents were working, how was I was supposed to get here? I could take the bus, but it takes two hours. And for only an hour of community service, it's not worth 4 hours on the bus for one hour of community service, and it's also like 5 bucks now so every single time that they had an event going on, I would have to pay like that amount. And then come here, two hours, and get home in like two hours, so it would be until most of the afternoon. If it started off at 8, I would have to leave my house at like 5:30 or

something to go on the bus at 8 and be here for an hour and it would be 9, but I would still have to get home in two hours. So it would be like most of that morning. And then I also had responsibilities at home, so, like, taking care of my sister, so what am I supposed to do with her? And it wasn't until I started driving that I did a lot more community service here or whatever. Key club. Because most of the activities are here, like I said. And instead of versus all of San Diego or like at least downtown or something like that. Because then it would be easier, like it is only a bus ride away. Not two hours of the bus, then trolley, then bus, then bus.

Martina was an enthusiastic supporter of community service and the values of Key Club, so she genuinely wanted to participate in their activities in order to contribute to others in the surrounding community. Unfortunately, the distance from the school and the lack of transportation made it difficult to participate to the extent that she would have preferred. Her commute included *hours* on not just one bus, but several buses, as well as a trolley. An hour of community service would sometimes require four hours of travel – and bus fees – just to be able to participate.

Barriers to Participation: Other Responsibilities at Home

Another common reason students were not able to participate in extra-curricular activities is because they often had other responsibilities at home, such as working jobs to help support their families, and taking care of family members.

Responsibilities at Home: Jobs

Most low-income students recognized that wealthy students did not need to work at an after-school job in the same way they did. Nathaniel, a low-income Latino student, stated: “I remember I noticed that a lot of the kids at this school, they are wealthy and they don't have jobs. They don't need to get jobs. I notice more with the Mexicans: ‘I need to get a job, help out’ – stuff like that.” Matilda, another low-income Latina student, also talked about the differences between low-income students and wealthy students:

Students who grew up on welfare, and students who grew up - our goals are different. We have this mentality to survive. A lot of kids in high school start getting jobs because they want to help their parents out. Instead of thinking about education or applying to college, it gets put on the backburner because they're worrying about taking care of their family. But students who have money don't have to worry about them. Instead they have parents who will support them and will pay for these opportunities to help them get into college so they don't have to worry about money.

As Matilda noted, low-income students “have this mentality to survive” and end up “getting jobs because they want to help their parents out.” This inevitably takes away from time that could be spent on academics, including “thinking about education or applying to college... because they're worried about taking care of their family.” This was a stark contrast to the wealthier students who did not have the same sorts of worries because their parents are supporting them.

A huge part of the reason low-income are working is to help out with bills around the house. In fact, as both Nathaniel and Matilda noted, most students don't even keep their money; they often give it back to their parents “to help their parents out.” Often, this is in the form of helping with bills. Esther, a low-income white student, began to count out the bills she paid for with her two part-time jobs: “Gas. I pay for my own food. I pay for my cell phone bill. Help mom with insurance and what is the other one? Registration. It's not really fair that she pays for all of it because she doesn't do well.” Alejandra, a low-income Latina student, needed to begin working when her mom became disabled:

My mom is disabled right now. She got in a car crash while she was working. So she got back surgery and shoulder surgery twice, so she can't work because - she can walk, but she like drags her leg and she is not physically in a good condition. It is because now everything is like cut so it's just my dad 's income and my dad doesn't receive any benefits no more. They said that she has been on worker 's comp for two years now, so they said that she has she reached her

limit of money, so now she is trying to fight her case because she is like what am I going to do, like what am I going to live off? Air? So I had to start working. I did to help them out and my other sister is going to start working, too.

Her mother's accident and ensuing disability and surgeries meant that bills were piling up even as the source to pay for those bills – work and worker's comp – dried up. As a result, Alejandra began working "to help them out"; her other sister was also planning on working. Penelope, a low-income white student, was working two jobs – one as a nanny and one at a tanning salon – to help out her mother, being careful not to burden her with extra expenses: "My, like, my mom, once my dad left, she is supporting like me and my sister, like by herself and she has to pay her rent. I don't like asking her for money. I am able. I can work. I can make my own money. I don't feel like I should be putting that on her. Like all of my friends if they ask, "Mom, I need this," and they will get it, but I don't want to put extra stress on my mom, I guess." Low-income students cared deeply for their families, and helping with the bills was a tangible way they could help their parents. It was also an effort on their parts to alleviate the stress their parents were under; Esther and Penelope explicitly talked about how it would "not [be] really fair that she pays for all of it" and "I don't want to put any extra stress on my mom."

It is worth noting that low-income students – especially those in homophilous networks who had little to no real, meaningful interactions with wealthier students – were painting with a broad brush. Several of the wealthier students also reported working after school at various part-time jobs. The difference, of course, is that they did not *have* to work. They could keep their paychecks. And, as Matilda had pointed out above, since they did not *need* to be working and the stress of caring for families was not eating into their time, they had the luxury of

mental and emotional bandwidth that allowed them the opportunity to focus on their college applications and their education.

Responsibilities at Home: Families

Low-income students were helping out their families in other, tangible ways after school, as well. Montana, a low-income Latino student, would take care of an uncle with a disability for a couple hours every day:

Right now I'm actually working to take care of my uncle. It's the HSS, in-home social services. I take care of my uncle for two hours every day and I just make him his food and set up his pills and everything. I was trying to get another job so I could help my mom more so she was just on disabilities, it was a little difficult to start paying the bill and everything, so it has been kind of hard since my dad left, mostly.

It's worth noting that Montana was spending several hours every day as a caretaker for his uncle, yet was *still* considering taking up an additional part-time job to help his mother out. This is not to say that *only* low-income families had family members with disabilities (though an accident or a disability can quickly cause downward mobility for those without the means to pay for it); in fact, several wealthy students also talked about parents or family members with disabilities, including one student who spoke movingly and beautifully about family dinners spent together on her mom's bed as she struggled to recover after an accident. Rather, low-income students were disproportionately expected to shoulder more of the burden if an accident occurred. Wealthy families have the means to afford caretakers and nurses; low-income families needed to tap other family members (such as my students) to step in and help out.

Luciana spent her after-school hours taking care of her siblings since her parents were working, which she describes in detail:

So my daily life is pretty much kind of like you go to school, wake up extremely early like at 5 and then you get the bus at around 6 and then you bus yourself over here, get here at 7. And then you have 30 minutes to do whatever you have to do in the library--computers, eat breakfast, whatever. And then you have to go to classes and you go to classes and whatever and after school you have to go back home. You get home at around 3, 3:30. When the buses, school ends here. So okay. You get home and then you have to clean because most--okay. I can say the majority of the people have two, both parents working so they have to help around the house so you have to clean, make food, do your homework, take care of your siblings, clean at night before you go to sleep if you are like me. And then yeah. It starts all over again. What I say, the people around here, I'm not 100% sure, but I imagine they wake up whenever they want to because they are so close, like around 6:30. And I don't mind. And then they get here right before the bell rings. They go to classes, they have their lunch, they had their breakfast and everything so they can go to classes and then after school they just walk home. They get picked up or just walk home. And after that, they get to do whatever they want, like their homework, go with their tutors all the time, sport practices, club meetings or something and it's kind of like they have so many opportunities that they don't take advantage of or they don't actually see how lucky they are unlike me like I have to literally, when I want to go to karate classes I had to stay after school with 3 of my friends to try to like make it for one karate class and that's only if you are not lazy enough or you don't have to do something with your parents or translate something for them. And they have all of these nice things like, yeah, we went to dinner with our families last night and it's like, I made dinner for my siblings last night.

In many ways, the lives of the low-income students – particularly their hours outside of the classroom – looked very different from their wealthier peers. While many of the wealthier students had the luxury of going home whenever they wanted (because they lived so close to campus and/or had access to a car) and the free time to focus on extracurriculars and homework, low-income students had to travel a greater distance, “clean, make food, do your homework, take care of your siblings, clean at night” or “do something with your parents or translate something for them” or make “dinner for my siblings.”

Immigrant students, and the children of immigrants, sometimes had the additional burden of worrying that their parents might be deported. Sofia, a low-income Latina student, explained:

So I have a lot of friends that have to deal with that. Like their parents don't drive. You have to take those kinds of responsibilities and other people don't... I have a friend that, her dad was deported, so it's now just her mom, her, and her brother. She has to take a lot of the responsibilities that somebody here [in the Bayside area] won't have, like they will have housekeepers that come every so often and clean the house or stuff like that, but it's – or other people that they pay to do stuff for them. Whereas we don't because we have to do everything ourselves or stuff like that.

Not only did many students struggle with the fear that their parents might get deported, but they also dealt with the day-to-day effects of having a parent who was not defined as a legal citizen, such as having to drive their parents around (since their parents could not get a driver's license). For the students whose parents actually *were* deported, they would suddenly have “to take a lot of the responsibilities that somebody here [in the Bayside area] won't have.”

All of these extra familial responsibilities could take a toll on students. While mental illness and depression is randomly distributed throughout the population – low-income and wealthy alike – it is worth noting that the additional stress of working extra jobs, taking care of family members, and worrying about illnesses in addition to all the stresses that naturally come with high school could become too much for students. One wealthy student volunteered that he had attempted to commit suicide (due to his depression), while three of the low-income students shared that they, too, had attempted to commit suicide during their tenure at West Bayside. While the wealthy student attributed his suicide attempt to his depression, low-income students cited the stress of family situations – including being asked to “become the man of the house” to contribute more to the payment of bills – as the reason for their suicide

attempts. Clearly, the additional responsibilities at home could become emotionally burdensome – something that would affect the amount of remaining bandwidth students had with which to focus on schoolwork and college applications.

Here and elsewhere in this dissertation, I focus on the ways that the composition of low-income networks is associated with disparate behaviors and outcomes. While the next section continues along this vein by showing how low-income students in heterophilous networks differ in their extracurricular participation from low-income students in homophilous networks, it is worth noting that one’s social class – and its attendant access, or lack thereof, to economic capital – plays an outsized role in limiting low-income students’ ability to participate in extracurricular activities. This is particularly troubling because such activities contribute to a sense of belonging in the school and are often the source of “accidental conversations” that pass along important school-related information. Agentic actions such as the cultivation of particular network structures may help attenuate some of these effects (as noted below), but they do little to offset the very real financial realities associated with their class status and social location.

LOW-INCOME STUDENTS IN HETEROPHILOUS NETWORKS

Low-income students were not a monolithic group. While low-income students often differed from their wealthy classmates in a number of ways, a small subset of low-income students – those who opted for heterophilous networks – actually differed significantly from other low-income students on a number of measures. In the end, they often looked and sounded

more like the wealthier peers in their networks than other low-income students with whom they shared a social class background.

Low-Income Students in Heterophilous Networks and Markers of Social Class: Clothing

Low-income students in heterophilous networks also began to physically *look* like their wealthier classmates. An easy way to notice the change was in the clothing they chose to wear.

Matthew, a low-income African-American student, said he, “for whatever reason, was more adapted to West Bayside High... I would wear V-necks, military style jackets. Jeans, slacks.

Boating shoes – yacht shoes.” Levi, another low-income African-American student, began to wear plaid flannel:

I remember hating plaid flannel so much when I was in high school, cuz I just associated it with the most douche-baggiest of people. Now look at me, I wear plaid flannel every day! (laugh) As soon as I started wearing plaid flannel, someone was like, “You look like a lumberjack!” I don’t think anybody on the west coast wears plaid flannel, and I was like, “What? I thought I was assimilating!”

After spending time in the Bayside area and hanging out with wealthier peers who were part of their heterophilous networks, both Levi and Matthew began to wear clothing that was similar to their classmates: boating/yacht shoes for Matthew, and plaid flannel for Levi, who wore them thinking he “was assimilating”.

Luna, a low-income Latina student, admitted she, too, started dressing like her wealthier peers, though she said she wasn’t doing it consciously:

It’s not like they force you to do it, but you notice the differences, so in your mind, even though you don’t do it consciously, you just start doing it - so it’s like part of the group. I don’t know. There’s only the little subtle things. I only wear sandals, and I will never wear closed shoes unless they’re boots, and that’s something the West Bayside people do. Even if it’s raining and there’s a storm, I will be wearing my sandals, and you look around and you’ll see other people,

and it's usually only the white West Bayside people who are wearing the sandals too. Freshmen year, I would even wear shorts sometimes, and not bring a sweater, but that's because most of the other West Bayside people did that too, so I would walk into class and it wouldn't be weird - we would all be soaking wet, and it's bound to be okay. But I would get on the bus, and everyone would be wearing those thick furry jackets, and all covered up, and I would just be like, "Ooookay, well."

Luna wasn't consciously trying to emulate her wealthier classmates – in fact, at one point in the interview, she explicitly stated: "It was never like, 'Oh I have to go out and start imitating these rich people, and start buying these ridiculous clothes that I can't afford.'" Despite this, she was acutely aware that she looked and dressed differently from her low-income peers, opting instead to wear sandals and forego sweaters, which were things "the West Bayside people do." She noted elsewhere that, "The way I dress, too, is different - it's just there. I blend, I guess by the way I talk and by the way I do my hair - cuz I don't even sometimes brush it, which is what some of the West Bayside kids do - they just put it up in a ponytail and that's it." Luna had subtly picked up on the social class markers of the peers in her networks – the casual way they forgot to brush their hair, or forgot to cover up in the rain because "it's bound to be okay" – and incorporated some of those actions into her own routines. How did Luna know what to wear?

I would always go shopping with the white girls - I would never shop with the AVID girls, so you would ask, "Does this look good?" or, "Does this not look good?" And you kinda go based on what the other person is picking out, and stuff like that, and in that sense, I was a bit white washed, but it's mostly just cuz I was with them when I shopped.

Luna brings up race here when she talks about "shopping with the white girls" – most of whom were wealthy – while saying she "would never shop with the AVID girls" – girls who would be the first in their families to go to college, and therefore, came from low-income or working-

class backgrounds. Still, the result is the same: by “shopping with the white girls”, Luna learned what was acceptable to wear at West Bayside High.

Wearing the clothing of the “American and higher-income students” did not go unnoticed by other low-income students in homophilous networks. Matilda is a low-income, Latina student in homophilous networks who noticed a friend of hers in heterophilous networks beginning to wear different types of shoes to fit in:

One girl made it on the softball team, and the softball team was primarily American and higher-income students, and she tried to fit in with them by wearing Rainbows and TOMS, and the lower-income students made fun of her for trying to fit in with them instead of the lower-income kids. In her mind, she didn't see it as she was trying to fit in, she thought she liked the brand, and she didn't see it as wrong. She wasn't trying to fit in. It was personal taste. But yet, she was called out on it by her friends who hung out outside of that softball team.

Matilda admitted to social sanctioning of this unnamed classmate: when this girl began to wear Rainbows and TOMS like her higher-income teammates, “she was called out on it by her friends who hung out outside of that softball team.” Whether Matilda's friend was consciously picking shoes to try to “pass” as higher income among her teammates is unclear; Matilda thought that “in her mind, she didn't see it as she was trying to fit in, she thought she liked the brand.” Nevertheless she, like Luna and Matthew and Levi, ended up wearing clothing that matched the higher-income friends in her new circles.

Some of the other low-income students were more explicit about their desire to fit in and found other, creative ways to adjust to the world they found themselves in. For instance, Julieta, a low-income white student, turned to thrift shops:

I'm a thrift store goer myself, so I don't see the point in spending so much cash in something that could rip if you tripped on your knees and I hear so many

stories about \$500 jeans and so many kids could be using that money for education. That freaks me out. The rich kids you see, you would think with everything that is kind of handed to them, because of their background, and you are just born into it. It's not anything to do with the person themselves. I'm not judging them.

Julieta, an open-minded and accepting girl, tried hard not to judge what she viewed as excessive spending around her – extravagance that she admitted sometimes “freaks me out.”

Because her values included things like “using that money for education”, she opted to spend her money at thrift shops instead. Eli, another low-income white student, took yet another tactic:

I did this thing where I shoplifted a lot because I was obsessed with image, but I couldn't afford Abercrombie or Hollister, so I would go to Nordstrom and steal clothes. I would wear them myself - and other times I would sell them to my friends and gave the money to my mom. I was a pretty smart kid and she was never worried about me. One time I got caught - and I was with my mom - and this time I was stealing make-up, because make-up was a really big thing at school. And I got caught. And she was like, “why are you doing this?” Needing to fit in was so important - especially Vans. You had to have a pair of Vans - everyone had one.

Esther decided to shoplift and either wear her new clothes or sell her newly acquired goods in order to fit in because “needing to fit in was so important.”

All of these low-income students utilized a variety of tactics to be able to wear the clothing their well-to-do peers wore – from shop-lifting to shopping at thrift stores to opting to shop exclusively with wealthier friends – but the results were the same: students in heterophilous networks often ended up dressing like their wealthier peers.

Low-Income Students in Heterophilous Networks and Markers of Social Class: After-School Activities

Having wealthy connections came with its benefits. Heterophilous networks provided low-income students with the opportunity to experience vacations and after-school excursions

with their friends that they might not have experienced otherwise. Elijah, a low-income Asian student, was able to participate on expensive trips by befriending wealthier students: “Because some of us have gotten really close. One of my friends have invited me to a couple of family vacations, which was really nice.” Esther, a low-income white student, was able to “piggy-back off” her friend’s wealth: “And there was another girl who was Australian, and we were both like, ‘Sweet!’ and she was really rich, and that affected me. And that was the same scenario because I got to live in luxury, kind of like my boyfriend, with her. I got to piggyback off of her wealth... I would stay at her house, and it was always really nice, and I would go to really expensive places, and they would pay for me, and it was really nice. I got to piggyback off of it.” Befriending students with more substantial means allowed low-income students the chance to go on family vacations, “go to really expensive places and they would pay for me,” and “live in luxury.”

In Esther’s case, wealthy friends provided more than just an occasional meal out or a vacation; a wealthy boyfriend meant she would have steady housing for a while:

In the beginning at West Bayside high, I stayed at my boyfriend’s house, because my boyfriend’s mom lived in the boundary of West Bayside. I stayed there. They had good food. My mom had frozen stuff. I don’t have good food. And they had cable! That was a luxury item to me. That was so exciting for me. When my boyfriend went to sleep, that was my time to watch “Law and Order”. That was my reward. And my mom noticed – she said, “I let you stay at your boyfriend’s place, even though it probably wasn’t a good thing to let a 14 year-old stay with a boy, because I know you’re getting good food at Holly’s place,” or, “I know you’re happy at Holly’s house.” My mom let me do what I wanted, because I got good grades. I remember when we were going downhill, I mean, I’m a girl – I loved him and I didn’t want to lose him, but really I didn’t want to lose Holly, and the house. I didn’t want to lose all that. Then the next boyfriend also lived in the boundaries of West Bayside – and I was thinking he could get me more into West Bayside – because I could go to parties. I guess that’s my

strategy: I would date guys and make my life better by dating somebody, I guess.

After bouncing from homeless shelter to homeless shelter and then living out of a van, cable and good food felt like luxury items to Esther. Watching “Law and Order” was her reward after her boyfriend had gone to sleep. Esther’s heterophilous networks provided steady housing, and even when the relationship soured, Esther didn’t want to lose her connection to the house (understandably). Thus she developed a “strategy” for navigating West Bayside: “make my life better by dating somebody.”

Daniel, a low-income white student, was able to procure free tickets to Coachella through his dad’s networks via his old job, even though he had been unemployed for several years: “Since my dad was on radio and has been on radio for a long time, a lot of his connections didn’t really change. He was able to go to Coachella for no cost because he knows the owner at Coachella. I think it, what was different was that it would just be different to, a lot of people didn’t necessarily know. You know, I’m not going to go around telling people.” While Daniel was excited to participate in Coachella with his wealthier friends, he was understandably reluctant to answer students’ questions about how he’d acquired the tickets, given his dad’s unemployed status. In Daniel’s case, his family’s heterophilous networks opened up new possibilities (such as attending Coachella) while simultaneously exposing him to “hidden injuries of class” (Sennett 1972).

Low-income students in heterophilous networks differed from their low-income classmates in homophilous networks both in their rates of participation in extracurricular activities and in their acquisition of cultural capital (both objectified and embodied) that allowed them to interact with, look like, and otherwise pass as being wealthier than they were.

Low-Income Students in Heterophilous Networks and Markers of Social Class: Neighborhood

Neighborhoods were a tricky subject for the low-income students to maneuver because most of the students were bussed in from lower-income areas around the city. Admitting they lived in a different neighborhood was tantamount to acknowledging they were not as well-to-do as their peers. Luna dealt with this problem by telling her classmates she lived in a nicer neighborhood than she actually did:

See, I'm not in the Wharf, but I'm not downtown, and I'm not in the Columbia Heights area, so I'm in between all those, but I say near Aperture Island cuz Aperture's nice. Most people say, "Oh, Aperture! That's a nice place!" It's a nice area, but it has no name, and you don't want to say the Wharf, cuz then everyone's like, "Oh my God - this girl!" and you don't want to say downtown, cuz it's, like, downtown, and then Columbia Heights - most of the West Bayside people who don't live in Bayside live in Columbia Heights, so you don't want to say that either, because they'll be like, "Where do you live? I live right there!" and so you just say Aperture, but not - just near it. The Wharf just has that horrible connotation - you think shootings and gangs. And downtown is sort of the homeless bum area. Aperture? Oh, it's the rich people! But I say I'm not in Aperture, I say I'm near it, so they're like, the so-so rich people, but not really, but it's a nicer place than the Wharf. When I say Aperture, they're like, "Oh! That's such a nice place!" and I'm like, "Yeah, but not in Aperture - near it."

Claiming she lived near Aperture Island allowed Luna to save face in front of her wealthier peers. Esther employed a similar tactic to cover up the fact that she was homeless:

I had a best friend and her mom wanted to meet my mom. They wanted to know where I live. At one point, they had to take me home. I was only 13 so I was at the age where I listened to everything your mom told you. So she told me never to tell anyone where I lived because I had to be in the West Bayside boundary, and I had to figure out how to do this. So I had them drop me off nearby and walk toward the house to pretend I lived there hoping they would drive off. I waited for someone to open the door and I pretended to talk to them for a while

and waited for them to drive away. Then I was like, “Thank God!” and I turned around and walked to the bus stop. I never really told anyone after that.

Misrepresenting where they lived allowed both Esther and Luna to continue with their friendships with wealthier friends without worrying about some of the obstacles their low-income classmates faced when they told the truth: stereotypes about the condition of their neighborhoods, parents’ refusal to drive to their part of the city, etc. They quickly learned that it was easier to avoid a potentially awkward reaction (“Oh my God – this girl!”) by fudging their home’s location.

Low-Income Students in Heterophilous Networks and their Participation in Extracurricular Activities

Both wealthy students in heterophilous networks *and* low-income students in heterophilous networks participated in more clubs/activities than their socioeconomic peers in homophilous networks. The difference may not have been statistically significant and may therefore be attributable to random chance,³² but a clear pattern emerged in my dataset: the typical student in a heterophilous network had participated, on average, in more clubs/activities.³³ For instance, wealthy students in heterophilous networks averaged

³² First I ran a two-way ANOVA to check for interaction effects between socioeconomic status and network composition on total number of clubs/activities, but did not find the interaction to be statistically significant, $F(1,55) = .542$, $p = .465$, partial $\eta^2 = .010$. I then ran a two-tailed, independent samples t-test to test the effect of network composition on clubs/activities for wealthy vs. low-income students. The Levene’s test indicated we could assume homogeneity of variances ($p = .143$ among the wealthy, and $p = .327$ among low-income students), but did not find a statistically significant difference between those in heterophilous groups and those in homophilous groups for those who were wealthy nor for those who were low-income. Among wealthy students, those in heterophilous networks participated in a higher number of clubs/activities (3.5 ± 3.9) than those in homophilous networks (2.3 ± 1.9), but this difference may have been due to random chance, with $t(24) = -1.029$, $p = .314$. Similarly, among low-income students, those in heterophilous networks participated in a higher number of clubs/activities (1.3 ± 1.3) than those in homophilous networks ($.89 \pm 1.0$), but this difference may also have been due to random chance, with $t(31) = -.943$, $p = .353$.

³³ In case this difference between heterophilous networks and homophilous networks is actually due to early exposure rather than network composition, I checked to see whether early exposure played a statistically significant role in club participation (perhaps because students with early exposure may be both more likely to be in heterophilous networks *and* also participate in more clubs because they are more comfortable in the school).

participation in 3.4 clubs/activities, while wealthy students in homophilous networks averaged only 2.3 clubs/activities. Similarly, low-income students in heterophilous networks averaged participation in 1.3 clubs/activities, while low-income students in homophilous networks averaged 0.9.

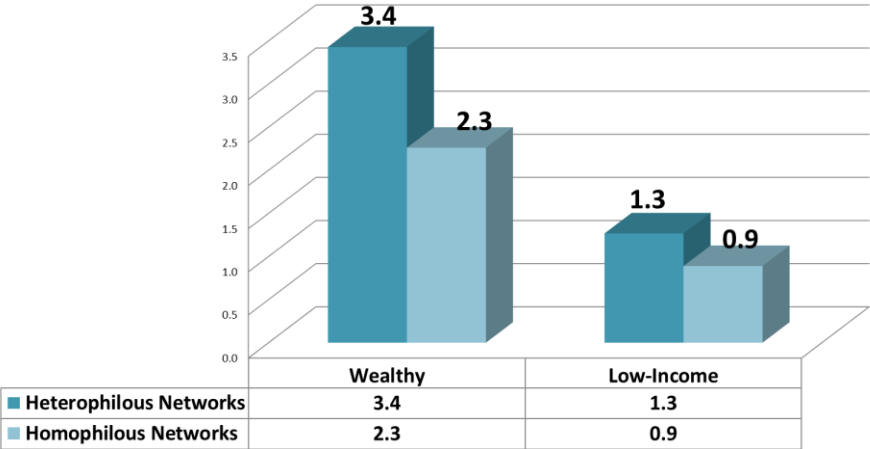
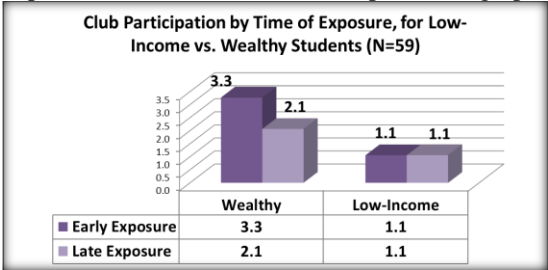


Figure 13. Total Number of Clubs/Activities for Heterophilous vs. Homophilous Networks, by Socioeconomic Status (n=59)

Students in heterophilous networks were also more likely to participate in sports than their peers in homophilous networks, and this difference was statistically significant for both

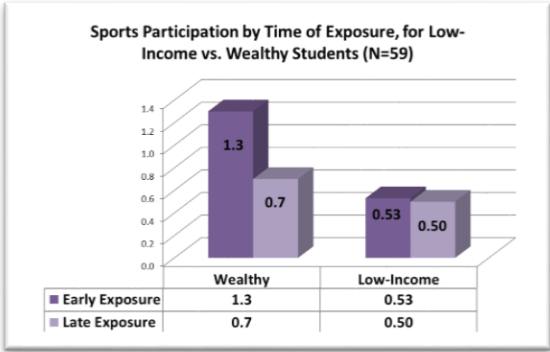
However, there were no statistically significant differences in club participation between students with early exposure and students with late exposure. A graph of the results is below:



wealthy students and for low-income students.³⁴ On average, wealthy students in heterophilous networks participated in 1.6 sports, while other wealthy students in homophilous networks only averaged .7 sports. Similarly, low-income students in heterophilous networks averaged .8 sports, while low-income students in homophilous networks only averaged .3 sports. In the case of sports participation, then, there may not have been a statistically significant difference between low-income students and wealthy students in terms of the average number of sports they participated in, but there was a statistically significant difference between those in heterophilous networks versus those in homophilous networks.³⁵

³⁴ First I ran a two-way ANOVA to check for interaction effects between socioeconomic status and network composition on total number of sports, but did not find it to be statistically significant, $F(1,55) = .644$, $p = .426$, partial $\eta^2 = .012$. I then ran an independent samples t-test to test the effect of network composition on sports, controlling for socioeconomic status. The Levene's test indicated we could assume homogeneity of variances for the wealthy ($p = .801$), but need to assume heterogeneity of variances among low-income students ($p = .022$). I found a statistically significant difference between those in heterophilous groups and those in homophilous groups for those who are wealthy *and* for those who are low-income. Among wealthy students, those in heterophilous networks participated in a higher number of sports ($1.6 \pm .98$) than those in homophilous networks ($.68 \pm .89$), a difference that was statistically significant on the two-tailed test, with $t(24) = -2.208$, $p = .037$. Similarly, among low-income students, those in heterophilous networks participated in a higher number of sports ($.8 \pm .86$) than those in homophilous networks ($.28 \pm .57$), a difference that was also statistically significant on a one-tailed test, with $t(31) = -2.005$, $p = .029$.

³⁵ In case this difference between heterophilous networks and homophilous networks is actually due to early exposure rather than network composition, I checked to see whether early exposure played a statistically significant role in sports participation (perhaps because students with early exposure may be both more likely to be in heterophilous networks *and* also participate in more sports because they are more comfortable in the school). However, there were no statistically significant differences in sports participation between students with early exposure and students with late exposure. A graph of the results is below:



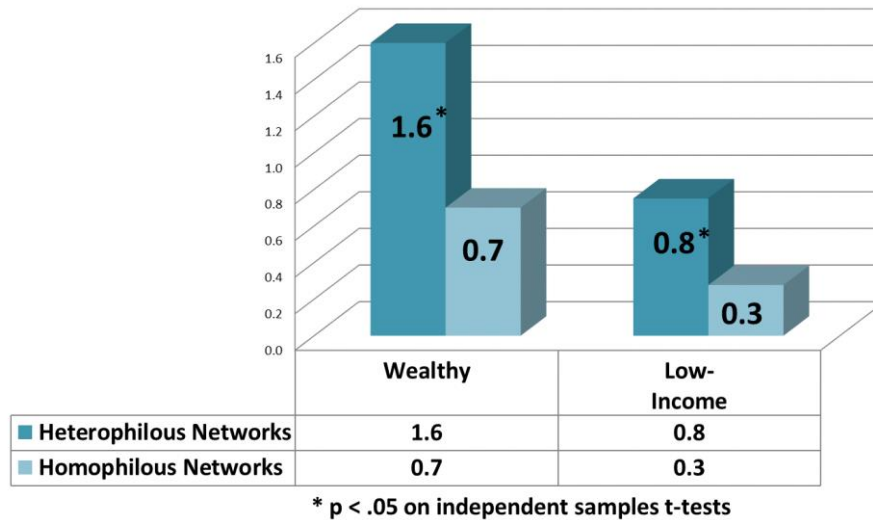


Figure 14. Total Number of Sports for Heterophilous vs. Homophilous Networks, by Socioeconomic Status (n=59)

There are a few reasons this might be the case. Students often talked about the grueling nature of sports practice – an activity that took up hours of time every day. This time together meant they could not only practice and hone their athletic skills, but also build close friendships with one another. In fact, Allport (1954) mentions sports as one of the top avenues through which students can develop a sense of belonging at the school and friendships with other students. Thus, sports participation may lead to a tendency to form heterophilous networks, particularly for sports teams with diverse teammates.

The direction of the causal arrow may run in the other direction as well: as students become more and more familiar and comfortable with other students who are different from themselves at West Bayside, they might feel more apt to join sports and other activities that continue to foster a sense of belonging at the school. It is not surprising, then, that there is a statistically significant difference between heterophilous networks and homophilous networks

in terms of their average rates of participation in sports, a difference that is significant for wealthy students as well as low-income students.

CONCLUSION

The experience of navigating the social terrain of a wealthy high school was fraught with class injuries for many low-income students. Wealthy students deployed markers of their social position in both conspicuous and quiet ways, wielding their objectified cultural capital in a manner that inadvertently ended up excluding their low-income peers. Some of these examples included material goods (designer clothing, luxury cars, large houses), and others involved experiences (after school activities, vacations), but both required an embodied cultural capital to be fully appropriated, as evidenced in the clear discomfort low-income students faced when they tried to participate with their wealthier peers in various after-school activities or when they entered their affluent neighborhoods. This was even the case with material goods, since low-income students might lack the nuanced understanding of the differences between various luxury cars, for instance, or designer clothing that some of their wealthier peers enjoyed expounding upon.

This discomfort and consequent lack of participation (whether ascribed or self-imposed) in extracurricular and leisure activities meant that low-income students were not present when accidental conversations conveying information, inside jokes, and other forms of bonding occurred. This only served to further alienate low-income students: not only were they unable to participate in some of these class markers to begin with, but they felt doubly excluded when they could not partake in later conversations about those activities. Low-income students in homophilous networks, however, found creative ways to come to terms

with, and even take pride in, their situations, whether it meant opting to postpone acquisition of a driver's license; or taking pride in the hard work that went in to buying the material goods they could afford; or appreciating the unique, positive traits of their own neighborhoods, even if their houses were smaller.

Furthermore, low-income students differed significantly from their wealthier classmates in the number of extracurricular activities they took part in. This makes sense given the high cost of participation (which often included club fees and extra supplies); the dearth of early opportunities available to low-income students; the extra time it took to ride the late bus if they chose to stay after school; and other responsibilities they held after school which included caring for family members and holding extra jobs.

Low-income students in heterophilous networks continued both to look different from their low-income peers in homophilous networks, and look similar to their wealthier classmates. They came up with creative ways to dress like their wealthier classmates (from shopping with wealthier students to know what they preferred, to shopping at thrift stores, or even shoplifting to afford pricier items) and participated in sports at a significantly higher rate than those in homophilous networks. While low-income students in homophilous networks may have been intimidated in more well-to-do neighborhoods – even going as far as to say they felt “unsafe” – they were, for the most part, quite proud of where they had come from. Low-income students in heterophilous networks, on the other hand, went to great lengths to hide where they lived – even going so far as to pretend to live elsewhere. They also went to great lengths to participate in the sorts of after-school activities that their wealthier friends participated in, such as tapping in to their parents' social networks or dating strategically. Acquiring this objectified cultural capital helped them to blend in with their wealthier friends.

Race and Class: The Impact of Heterophily on Low-Income Students' Experiences of Race and the Adoption of Race Frames

But the culture is like – being a minority and being poor – as opposed to being rich and being Caucasian – is a huge difference – and how can you compare to that? How can you walk side-by-side with someone and feel as good as they feel, going to school for four years, and not feel like you're – you know – feel like you're an outlier? ~ Paloma

Lunchtime is when the West Bayside High campus comes alive again. Students come pouring out of their respective classrooms and settle all over campus – and because this is Southern California, students often choose to lounge in the beautiful weather outdoors rather than cloister themselves away inside. Students can be spotted everywhere – spread out on the quad, dotting the stairs, and even tucked away in narrow passageways between buildings.

Except for the low-income students.

Low-income students who receive free or reduced priced meals often choose to sit together in the indoor cafeteria, ostensibly to be closer to the lunch line. A closer examination of the lunchtime arrangements on campus betray other groupings as well: Asian-American students of various ages and income statuses sitting together at the tables directly outside the cafeteria, for instance, or wealthy Latino students congregating around the perimeter of the quad.

While this dissertation is primarily interested in the experiences of low-income students at West Bayside High, social class intersects with race in ways that compound upon the experience for certain groups. This chapter explores this intersection between social class and race in greater detail. I begin by examining the low-income experience for various racial and ethnic groups, and then touch on the

treatment of parents of color in addition to the students of color. I then shift to an examination of the various frames (Bonilla-Silva 2003) that are utilized by wealthy students versus low-income students to explain the racialized groupings they find on campus (such as those that occur during lunchtime). I move on to a discussion of low-income students in heterophilous networks, who sound like their wealthier peers both literally (by adjusting the way they speak) and figuratively (because their frames regarding racialized groupings reflect the frames their wealthy classmates employ). They are interesting examples of *embodied* cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986), which Lamont and Lareau describe as “the legitimate cultural attitudes, preferences, and behaviors that are internalized during the socialization process” (1988, 156) and can include examples such as one’s accent or dialect (Routledge 2016). Low-income students in heterophilous networks are able to pick up and employ some of these embodied examples of cultural capital. Finally, I conclude with an examination of students who occupy an interesting liminal space: those who have cultivated heterophilous networks of acquaintances while maintaining a homophilous network of close friends. As expected, this group of students possess traits and utilize frames that reflect this unique combination.

RACIAL STEREOTYPES AND THEIR INTERSECTION WITH SOCIAL CLASS

The experience of being low-income was not a monolithic one. Socioeconomic status intersected with race to produce difference experiences for different groups.

White Students

For low-income, white students, for instance, race did not play a particularly salient role. Esther, a low-income white student, acknowledged: “Yeah – I was a little shaded because I’m white, because no one looks at me and thinks I’m poor... When you go to a wealthy school, and you’re a different color, or you don’t have the intellectual capability - I think that’s worse. People respected me. They thought I was one of them, even though I wasn’t. They

thought I was from Bayside.” Esther had been homeless for portions of her life and had lived out of a van and several homeless shelters with her mom. However, being white acted as a shield from being recognized as low-income, since people at West Bayside assumed that Esther, a white student, would not be poor.

Of course, this didn't mean that white students were immune from all stereotypes. Gwen, a wealthy white student, admitted she preferred not to hang out with too many other white students because she did not want to drink or do drugs at parties: “I do run into a lot of Asian people because they are in my classes and also because, like, I personally don't drink or do drug or any of that and the number of people who don't drink or do drugs are pretty much all Asian.” Teagen, a wealthy Middle Eastern student, also commented on her white classmates' penchant for drinking when she compared their house parties to her own:

They are like little 10-year-olds, I'm not even kidding. They wear like, literally, nothing. They get drunk. We all go to this party and it's like little kids and other people from school and they pretend to be cool because they are drunk, quote unquote drunk, and they are like, “Hold the beer,” and are like, “Ha, ha, OMG!” and start making out with the guy. How is that fun? There's no music and the cops come. Everybody is just there to show off what they have, which I guess is being drunk. Mom is like they don't know how to party like us. My mom throws the sickest parties ever – like, Persian crazy-ass parties.

Aiden, a wealthy Asian student, shifted gears. Rather than talking about white classmates' parties involving drugs and alcohol, he talked about different morals and values:

Yeah, I guess it's race because one of the reasons why I didn't want to hang out with the, with my previous group was because of their morals and, like, like my white friends, their thoughts on girls were completely different from what I was raised upon, which is just sleep with them and have the best-looking girlfriend, but I was taught to have a, what is inside counts. So whatever they did was always conflicting with mine. So senior year, I decided to find some Asians

again because we shared the same morals, so it would be more comfortable hanging out with them.

Gwen, Teagen, and Aiden relied on stereotypes of white students' behaviors and morals to justify friendships with students who were non-white. Despite these stereotypes, white students had the privilege of walking around West Bayside High without these stereotypes adversely affecting the treatment they received from administrators or otherwise impacting their high school careers.

Asian-American Students

While stereotypes of Asian American students existed within the classroom setting, such stereotypes did not have much of an effect outside of the classroom. Jennifer, a wealthy Asian student, said that, "No one has pushed me away because I was Asian. The school is very accepting towards Asians. I guess there's like the stereotype of Asians working hard. And it may have contributed to the fact that people think I'm really, really quiet." Violet, a low-income Asian student, concurred: "West Bayside High seems more like an open-minded kind of school. Everyone just accepts each other and everyone is sort of like a family. I like that, like, here." Both Jennifer and Violet felt that West Bayside High was "open-minded" and that people were "accepting towards Asians" and "accepts each other" – to the point that "everyone is sort of like a family" While Jennifer mentioned that some of the stereotypes about Asian American students within the classroom (being quiet, hard-working, smart) may have followed her out of the classroom, she did not report any adverse treatment for her race.

Similarly, Anthony, a wealthy Asian student who had immigrated to the States seven years ago, said his time at West Bayside High School was, "cool. You are a minority here and you stand out more, I guess. You are just different from everyone else because the majority of people here are, like, white." Asian-Americans were indeed a micro-minority at West Bayside

High, which Anthony seemed to appreciate because it allowed him to “stand out more” and be “different from everyone else”, going so far as to say his experience at the school was “cool”. Like Jennifer and Violet, Anthony reported warm feelings for his time at West Bayside. As noted earlier, Asian-American students did not always experience the same levels of discrimination or stigmatization that other students of color experienced, and as a result, ended up treating their ethnicities as voluntary ones (Waters 1990) that could be taken on and off according to their whims (such as a desire to be “cool” or to “stand out more”, as in Anthony’s case). This was not the case with other students of color, which is explored in further detail below.

African-American Students

African-American students were another micro-minority at West Bayside High School, and as such, were often hard to locate. Ava, a wealthy white student, and her sister had even gone so far as to ask an African-American friend where he and his friends hung out, and “he was like, we’re just, you know, under the radar. We are not into participating in this school because they are not really, like, encouraged or welcomed, I guess. There are a couple who stand out and are really involved, but the (rest) just kind of hide. They do their own thing. They stay under the radar.” African-American students were opting not to participate because they did not feel “encouraged or welcomed”; at one point, Ava even mentioned that “there are quite a few but they hide from the white people.” One of the reasons African-American students might opt to “stay under the radar” and “do their own thing” might be because they were not always treated respectfully in group situations. Levi, a low-income African-American student, shared that:

It was annoying being an exotic anomaly in every group I was in, and having that even be a subject of discussion. I don't know. Just that it was so interesting to people. It was like, I don't know, 2000 something, why does everyone still expect me to pull out a bucket of chicken and just do whatever? It was weird.

While being an "exotic anomaly" as a micro-minority may have been "cool" for Asian American students like Anthony who reveled in being different, the African-American experience was a markedly different one, with the topic of their race being so salient in students' minds that it was sometimes the "subject of discussion." Moreover, the experience of being stereotyped manifested itself in concrete, uncomfortable encounters with other students:

Another reason I hated being among different groups of people was, there would always be one spoiled white kid in every group, that would be like, "Oh, you're a n---, huh, you like fried chicken and watermelon, oh," and I was just like, "Yuck, get me out of here, please, God!" (laugh) and it was just like, yeah, every group would always have some guys that were not facetious enough, racist humor, which I'm like, you know I can appreciate a good ethnic joke from time to time, but it's like, you know, poor taste, not really well thought out, or whatever. So, that was annoying.

Humor has long been employed as a tool with which to draw in-group and out-group boundaries, and that was clearly the case for Levi's white schoolmates who would use racial epithets and rely on antiquated stereotypes to elicit a laugh and, purposefully or not, serve to alienate Levi for his race.

Engaging in alienating behavior was not just limited to the white students. Ava shared a time when she noticed a white administrator ignore an African-American student:

I think it's interesting the way the teachers and administration teach. Or treat the kids who are bussed in. I saw like this black guy was super happy and walked past an administrator and held up his hand to give her a high five, like totally nice and friendly, and she just like stares at him and walks away... They are just like everybody else. Treat them normally. The administrator walked past the guy with the high five. Like he is giving you a high five. High five him

back and it will make him happy and he will probably like you and respect the administrators but I feel like the administrators don't respect them so why are they going to show respect. Most of the administrators here are white.

According to Ava, it is not just other students who are disrespectful to African-Americans, but white administrators as well. Instead of treating the African-American student attempting to high-five her “normally”, the white administrator “just... stares at him and walks away.” All of this contributes to a culture at the school in which African-American students are not being treated with respect.

In order to accommodate this environment, low-income African-American students in heterophilous networks such as Matthew ended up adjusting his speech patterns to be less “intimidating”: “Speech patterns play a part in it. Just different slangs and colloquialisms. Nothing in particular comes to mind - it’s just something you instinctively know. I think African-Americans are more dominant in their expression and it kind of intimidates white people: somebody who looks different but also acts different to go with it – that’s intimidating.” Matthew changed his slang terms and colloquialisms to make others around him more comfortable; interestingly, he was unable to pinpoint particular examples because “it’s just something you instinctively know.” Matthew had been doing this for so long that it had become second nature to him. In addition to adjust his speech patterns, Matthew also regulated his mannerisms:

Not being as expressive, in a sense. It seemed like blacks are stereotypically loud, I think because in our culture we’re loud - and it comes across as competitive, more competitive than it is. The people who are actually being competitive are in the spotlight so it creates a stereotype. Lowering your voice. Not using your hands as much. Very much lowering your voice. Not playing music as loud. It’s a major part of black culture, and dancing in public... Having an understanding - even though I was moving around a lot - I knew what movements to not do so that it wouldn’t be offensive to other people. I had an understanding of when I had to reign it in versus when I could be more

expressive. I was able to tone down my excessive energy, because I knew it would have social impacts.

Over the years, Matthew had gleaned information through his heterophilous networks about interacting in places such as West Bayside High: “Lowering your voice,” “not using your hands as much,” “not playing music as loud.” He made an effort to adjust his behavior because he had come to realize “it would have social impacts” and because he didn’t want to “be offensive to other people.”

African-American students in particular had a difficult experience at West Bayside High School because they were a micro-minority – they were few in number and therefore had very little opportunity to form friendships with co-ethnic students. African-American students who were also low-income had it doubly hard: not only were they stereotyped by others because of their skin color, but they were also stigmatized because of their socioeconomic status. Students like Matthew and Levi ended up forming heterophilous networks out of necessity (there were very few low-income African-Americans to befriend) and ended up adjusting their mannerisms and behavior to better fit into the school environment.

Latino Students

Unlike the Asian-American and African-American students, the Latino students did not comprise a micro-minority group; instead, they were large enough to be the second largest ethno-racial category in the school (after white students) and to represent a variety of socioeconomic backgrounds within their ranks. However, Latino students also experienced derogatory comments from fellow students and administrators, much like their African-American counterparts.

Some of these comments were benign and were rooted in ignorance of others' cultural traditions. Jaime, a low-income Latino student, remembers the time his schoolmates were confused about a staple food from Mexico: "When you talk about food, for example, tamales, they don't really understand what that is. They're like, 'What is that?' It's kind of hard because they don't really understand our culture." While there is nothing wrong with being genuinely curious about a new (to them) food item, questions about said items sometimes served to reinforce the idea that they were foreign and exotic and different. Luciana, a low-income Latina student, recounts an instance when she was embarrassed to admit she had eaten Mexican food for Thanksgiving:

My group is like: the minority in the school. It was pretty much Mexicans, yeah from other Latin American countries, and Europe, and whatever, but no, I'm talking about the minorities. People from my culture. People from my roots. We eat tamales, and we do this, and we do that. You know? We didn't even know what Thanksgiving was! Honestly, one day, we were just talking about it, and one girl was telling us how at her house, people were eating pozole for Thanksgiving, and we were so embarrassed to say that! We were also eating pozole and tamales and stuff like that. Cuz other people have turkeys, but her parents didn't know how to make the turkeys, so it was just weird. It was just sad. (laughter) It's just kinda like, embarrassing to say, you know? And you make up all these stories saying how your Thanksgiving was - how they made mashed potatoes, and all this stuff.

While cultural items such as food served to bond together members within a particular cultural group, they also ended up excluding those who wouldn't, or couldn't, partake. The fact that Luciana and her friends ate pozole and tamales for Thanksgiving was a fun fact they delighted in bonding over afterwards, but Luciana also recognized that most of the white students were eating turkeys and mashed potatoes – which her parents and her friends' parents did not know how to make. Since she was a cultural minority at the school, she was "embarrass(ed) to say"

she had eaten something different, and instead “ma(d)e up all these stories saying...how they made mashed potatoes.”

Sometimes the Latino students experienced micro-aggressions that were less benign. Guillermo, a low-income Latino student, recalled that, “One year, I was asked if I had papers, legal documents,” and Jaime, another low-income Latino student, concurred: “Yeah, I’ve heard bad things from kids... I think it was two weeks ago or something, there was this Mexican kid that said something and then this white kid said, ‘I’m contacting immigration.’” While some of these comments may have been made in jest, they were also inappropriate. Levi, a low-income African-American student, confirmed that such stereotyped comments were spoken not just *to* the Latino students, but behind their backs as well:

I would hear a lot of white kids complaining about the Hispanic kids at our school, saying it would be such a better school if there weren’t like Hispanic people here, whatever, because they have terrible grades and they’re bringing everybody else down, and I was like, “What are you talking about, man?” It would always make me feel uncomfortable, cuz you just switch Hispanic with African American, and you know, it’s the exact same deal, and uh, yeah, and I was like, “*You’re* bringing the school down, man, with your bad vibes and everything! (laugh)”

Levi tried to make light of it, but such comments “would always make me feel uncomfortable” because “you just switch Hispanic with African American and... it’s the exact same deal.”

Latino students reported that it was also adults, and not just other students, who would treat them differently based on their race. A common complaint was that administrators “dress coded” Latinas at a higher rate than white students – in other words, that administrators were stricter with their enforcement of dress code violations for Latinas, while letting violations slide when it came to white students. Franco, a low-income Latino student, recounted: “For

example, last time, Mr. F just told a girl out there, ‘Oh, put a sweater on...’ A couple of minutes later, he sees a Mexican girl and he dress codes her – for the same (rule) – spaghetti straps.” Teachers, too, treated Latino students differently. Jaime mentions a teacher who often trafficked in stereotypes against Latino students: “There’s this teacher here, he says things and I feel that he encourages kids to believe those stereotypes. He says those jokes and stuff and you’re only going to give them (other students) bad impressions and stuff. I don’t think he should be working here... I think it’s more like a world-wide thing more than a school-wide thing. I think it’s a bigger problem than just here.” As authority figures, teachers hold a level of power and sometimes influence over their students; as Jaime noted, repeating stereotypes from that position of power can “give them (other students) bad impressions” and “encourage kids to believe those stereotypes.” Unfortunately, West Bayside High is a microcosm and merely a reflection of the broader world around it; the race problems there were “a bigger problem than just here” because “it’s more like a world-wide thing more than a school-wide thing.” This is true; the literature notes that students of color are disproportionately targeted for discipline and suspension (Cortiella and Horowitz 2014; Crenshaw 2015; Morris and Perry 2016; Ramey 2015).

Parents also viewed Latino students as problems to deal with. Ava, a wealthy white student, shared:

I have also heard there's kind of like a controversy between whites and the Mexicans here because the PTA parents are upset they are bringing down our test score or whatever but I think if the teachers and administrators treated them how they treat everybody else and accepted them for who they are, I think they would try harder. So that is something I didn't really like coming in was the way that, I don't know. Not all of the different background and races of people at the school kind of mix as well.

According to Ava, “PTA parents are upset they are bringing down our test score”, and as a result, “teachers and administrators treated them” differently. She astutely pointed out that if adults “treated them how they treat everybody else and accepted them for who they are, I think they would try harder.” It seemed that parents, teachers, and administrators were playing off one another in their concerns over test scores and school prestige, and Latino students were being treated worse as a result.

How did all this antagonism against Latino students play out in extracurricular activities? Sometimes they resulted in micro-aggressions that served to further alienate Latino students who were already isolated to begin with. Paloma, a low-income Latina student, shared:

I was the only Mexican girl on the team both years. There was never a Mexican person, which was really sad. They would make fun of Mexicans a lot. And I was always just like, (fake chuckle). You know, in the back, like, “Yeah, that’s so funny” – but it wasn’t. They would ask me, “How do you say this?,” or “How do you say that?,” and I would be like, “You really don’t know?” Or sometimes they would make me talk to them in Spanish, so it was a little degrading, but it was okay – at the time, I was like, “Okay, I’ll do it, because I’m your teammate.”

Since Paloma was the only Mexican girl on the cross-country team, she became the token Mexican student for her teammates to joke with about racial matters – something she didn’t really appreciate, but went along with “because I’m your teammate.” Moira had the advantage of bringing several friends along with her when she joined the Orphanage Outreach Club, but that ended up being an alienating experience as well:

I recently joined the Orphanage Outreach Club. In the meetings, it’s usually just white girls, and just two Mexicans, so at the beginning it was awkward and what we do is go to Tijuana and help the orphans. So we met in West Bayside and it was all white girls and we really don’t talk to them, so we joined the club

for a good reason and when we met up with them, they were in their little group, so it was kind of weird, because later on we had to be in a car together and when we got over there, we really didn't interact with one another. It was weird, like an awkward position, but I was with my friend, so it made it more comfortable. If I was alone, I probably wouldn't have joined. They really didn't speak Spanish, so they would use movements and stuff, but me and my friend knew Spanish. When it came to talking to the girls in the club, we didn't; it was weird. Not enough Latinos join clubs... But when I read that they were going to Tijuana, I thought it would be a good one.

Moira had been excited to join the Orphanage Outreach Club and participate with the group members on a trip to Tijuana, Mexico, but found that “when we met up with them, they were in their little group” and that “we really didn't interact with one another.” She was relieved to be there with her friend because “it made it more comfortable” and admitted that if she had been alone, “I probably wouldn't have joined.”

It's important to note that the Latino experience at West Bayside High is not a monolithic one. While Latino students across the socioeconomic spectrum shared some experiences in common, there remained a divide between low-income Latino students and their wealthier counterparts. For instance, Camila, a wealthy Latina student, had frustratedly shared in an earlier chapter that teachers and administrators often assumed she would be lagging academically and were surprised to discover that she had taken advanced classes. Her wealth was not enough to shield her from the assumptions people made of her based solely upon her race – the same sorts of stereotyped assumptions that were made of her low-income counterparts. Like Luciana, above, Maricio (a wealthy Latino student) found himself bonding with other Latino students over shared food and other cultural similarities:

I mean, like the fact that we are both Mexican, we enjoy the same type of Mexican foods, and all of that type of stuff. Same culture aspects. It's different when you go to American parties from Mexican parties. The Mexican parties I

have been to are a little smaller, they are closer friends and stuff like that, and it's just that you are not in an environment where you are with people you don't know. You know everybody and it's enjoyable and everybody is getting along. Everyone is speaking Spanish. Different vibes compared to how English is. It's not -- I think it's more fun in my opinion. Speaking Spanish and English. But I mean, so yeah, it's nice to be able to have people that relate to you in that aspect.

The fact that he and his close friends were all Mexicans meant that they could share the same food, speak the same language, and enjoy the same “vibe” at similar parties. However, despite sharing the same culture, wealthy Latinos did not mingle with low-income Latinos often, a fact that was highlighted by several low-income Latino respondents. Martina, a low-income Latina student, talked about where the wealthier Latino students congregate:

I know a specific little corner where – I think it's in the front of the cafeteria – where it's, they are Hispanic, but they actually live in Bayside and you don't ever see them really talking to the Mexicans because I don't think they really identify themselves with us. They are wealthier Mexicans. So you would think that they would, like, talk more to the Mexicans but they don't. They have more money so they stick together in the little corner over there and they don't really talk to us... At first I thought they weren't Hispanic because they have light skin and light colored eye and I heard them speak Spanish. I think their accent is different, but they come from, like, wealthier families. So they kind of stick together.

Race and culture functioned as a social glue to bind together Latino students with one another, but socioeconomic status made a difference, too: despite sharing distinct cultural traits, wealthier Latinos preferred to segregate themselves off from low-income Latino students. This did not go unnoticed by the other low-income Latino students. Luciana shared the discomfort she felt, both by the way they separated themselves from her and her low-income friends, and the way she felt in front of them:

It was such a weird school that even some of the Mexicans - well I'm talking about the Mexicans, you know I'm Mexican, that's why I noticed - but even people who came months ago - the rich Mexicans who go to West Bayside -

would even look at you down (sic) - honestly. They weren't - when I say West Bayside people - they were nice - when I say you didn't fit in, I just meant you didn't feel comfortable. Even if I tried fitting in, I wouldn't feel comfortable, because they were just so different. But these people who were so stuck up - they were Mexican. But they were rich or whatever. So they would look at you like - they wouldn't fit in either - but they would just look at you so differently. I just hated the way they were. Because they had more money. Everyone knew that the kids that rode the bus were just kind of - you know - very few of us had cars. Very few of us. A lot of us were illegal. They kind of knew that. Everyone knew that. They would never say anything about that, but they kind of knew that. So it was just like, whatever. So these rich Mexicans - they wouldn't - they had a lot of culture, a lot of language, whatever whatever - and they had money - I don't know - they would make their own group. Not even hang out with West Bayside kids, or us - they would just be their own little group and not talk to anybody. That was weird.

Luciana felt as if the wealthier Mexican students were looking down on her and looked at her differently, and she attributed this to the fact that they had more money and could not relate to the particular trials she and her friends faced as low-income Latino students who were sometimes illegal citizens and were often bussing into the area.

Socioeconomic status played a role in the interactions amongst Latino students, a group that was large enough to represent students across the socioeconomic spectrum. Racist assumptions against Latino students were unfortunately pervasive, and were promulgated not just by other students, but also by parents, teachers, and administrators; these stereotypes were leveled against Latino students, regardless of their socioeconomic status. Despite this fact – or perhaps because of this fact – wealthier Latino students opted to separate themselves off from their low-income peers, choosing to eat and socialize separately such that their paths never really crossed at the school.

Treatment of Parents

Problematic encounters were not just limited to the students; parents experienced it as well when they interacted with the school and its administrators, a finding that is echoed in the broader literature. Annette Lareau (2004) and her colleagues (Horvat, Weininger, Lareau 2003) have noted that parents from working class backgrounds often possess a habitus that does not map easily on to interactions with schools, and are sometimes sanctioned because of it. This is compounded for low-income parents of color (Gonzalez, Stoner, Jovel 2003; Lareau and Horvat 1999).

Unsurprisingly, given the assumptions described above, white and Asian-American parents did not have a difficult time with administrators. Esther, a low-income white student, even bonded with a secretary who was delighted to learn she was from Australia:

I had lied a lot to get into West Bayside, and my address changed a lot. And when it came time to send the report cards out, this secretary called me and had me pick it up. And she loved Australia because her daughter was in Australia, so she talked to my mom about Australia, and I don't know for sure, but I think my mom told her we didn't live in the area, and she said that's fine. She said she'd call me to give me my report card.

The fact that Esther and her mom were homeless and unable to procure an address within the school's boundaries did not deter a secretary from bonding with them over the country they were from (Australia) and going out of her way to help them pick up Esther's report card.

Similarly, Aiden, a wealthy Asian student, thought he and his family were treated well because a positive stereotype of Asian-Americans existed at the school:

I think they treated us very nice because we're an Asian family and our parents are nice people. When it comes to the community and faculty, they're nice to us. The middle brother - he was the one in ASB and the partiers - he was caught during the CIF (California Interscholastic Federation) tournament intoxicated - drinking. The principal had to come. They can tell we're just a normal Asian

family and our brother is going crazy. It's not normal for the typical Asian family, so they were very understanding. They could tell how distraught my whole family was. I think in general, the Asian stereotype pervades - at least in West Bayside. They're hard working, they get good grades, they try hard in school. They tend to give us higher grades. Not only do we work hard for it - it's because we're Asian.

When one of his brothers was found intoxicated after a tournament, the administration treated them with compassion and respect - "they can tell we're just a normal Asian family and our brother is going crazy." The administration was "very understanding", and Aiden attributed this to "the Asian stereotype... in West Bayside. They're hard working, they get good grades, they try hard in school." As a result, they were granted the benefit of the doubt and his brother was given the chance to turn his life around.

Despite these advantages, socioeconomic class caused a strain on low-income white students. Esther, who had been able to enter and attend West Bayside in part because she and her mom had been able to bond with the white secretary, had nevertheless felt judged by her teacher when she learned of Esther's homeless background, which was due, in part, to her mom's mental illness:

Ms. V was going on a rant about how my mom is insane and used the word insane and I broke down because my mom is not insane. She is an amazing person and what she did, she had to do. Imagine, I was like, I kind of wanted to say, "Imagine if you were put in that position"... Ms. V met my mom. And because my mom was so appreciative of her - my mom was like, "Thank you so much for teaching Eli!" and "She always talks about it." I feel like Ms. V was judging her in a way. She kind of just brushed her off when she was being grateful. Maybe she thought she was crazy or not worth her time, and that was one of the times I felt judged.

A student's low-income status often meant they had life experiences and life circumstances that were different from those normally encountered by their solidly middle-class teachers,

who were accustomed to teaching wealthier students. They did not always exercise discretion in their choice of words, and their reactions to their low-income students' stories often belied their shock and sometimes, disdain. When this translated into a derogatory treatment of students' parents and a dismissal of their attempts at expressing appreciation, low-income students noticed – and “felt judged.” In Esther's case, her race and socio-economic status intersected in such a way as to simultaneously open up access to academic resources due to her race, while also opening her up to the “hidden injuries” (Sennett 1972) of her class background.

Other families from other ethno-racial groups had different experiences at West Bayside. While Aiden and Esther's parents had mostly positive interactions with the administration, African-American and Latino students described a somewhat strained reception for theirs. Matthew, a low-income African-American student, reported that his parents felt a little uncomfortable:

I feel like there was a little bit of discomfort. All the black families that were there - they had a better idea of how the whites work - they were able to approach the whites the way they were so they made them more comfortable. They were able to approach whites to make them more comfortable. They had lived with them their entire lives, so they knew how to interact with them, they knew how to create a full relationship. It kind of just comes instinctively - it's just something you know. Other parents there had other children who went there before, so they had an understanding of how things worked here, so they could talk about other stuff because they already knew how things work. They already knew the campus, they already knew how things work.

Matthew recognized that wealthier black families – families that “had lived with them (white families) their entire lives” – felt more comfortable at West Bayside High than he and his family did. Wealthy black families “instinctively” had a variety of skills at their disposal when it came to interacting with the white faculty and administrators: “they were able to approach

the whites the way they were so they made them more comfortable,” for instance, and “they knew how to interact with them... how to create a full relationship.” This, combined with the fact that some of the families had had prior experiences with the school via older siblings who had matriculated there earlier, meant “they already knew the campus, they already knew how things work.” As a result, “they could talk about other stuff because they already knew how things work.” His own parents, meanwhile, felt “a little bit of discomfort” because they lacked some of the habitus and earlier exposure their wealthier co-ethnic peers possessed. Luciana describes just how uncomfortable her uncle felt when he dropped her off at school after she had missed the bus:

So we just called my uncle, saying, “We just need a ride to school.” My uncle wouldn’t even get out of the car. Honestly, he was an adult. He had to come from Mexico or whatever, he doesn’t speak any English or whatever, but he was an adult, but he didn’t want to come out of the car. He was - it’s not just a little teenager thing - it’s also an adult thing. You just don’t fit in. He didn’t speak English, he was darker, he was just - he was like, “No, no, no, no,” he stayed in the car, he was like, “Nope”. He wouldn’t get out. “Nope, *you* fill out the paperwork and whatever.” And he’s like a very cool uncle, so it was very weird to see him not even want to get out. It’s not just like a child thing – not fitting in – it’s an adult thing as well. My mom, I would have a lot of scholarships and stuff, and my mom would literally send my aunt. She wouldn’t go with me. She would send my aunt. So, I mean, I guess, I never wanted to make her feel uncomfortable or anything, but it was just different

Luciana’s family members were also low-income and had arrived from Mexico, but they, like Matthew’s parents, felt discomfort at the prospect of interacting with the West Bayside High administration; unlike Matthew’s parents, however, Luciana’s uncle couldn’t speak English, so he, despite being “a very cool uncle,” refused to get out of the car to accompany her to the office. Luciana’s mom was also uncomfortable about the idea of coming in to West Bayside; when Luciana won scholarships at the school, her mom sent Luciana’s aunt to go in her stead.

Part of the discomfort lies in the fact that English was a second language for them. Koraima, another low-income Latina student, shared: “My parents came and tried to communicate and then were disappointed when nobody spoke Spanish. They left.” Koraima’s parents, like Luciana’s family members, were not able to communicate in English and became “disappointed when nobody spoke Spanish.” They, like Luciana’s family members, left the school without interacting with many adults or getting their questions answered.

Another reason low-income Latino parents chose not to participate at West Bayside was due to the time it took to drive to campus – time they did not always have if they were working extra shifts or extra jobs. Martina, a low-income Latina student, explained further:

I don't think any Hispanic person does PTA here in West Bayside. Because it's far and because they work those double shifts and they have a hard time paying the rent, or they have like so many other stuff they have to pay for and their job is not enough. They don't pay enough. So obviously, the parents that have the stable jobs and have – they can afford the time to do it. Or even stay-at-home moms that have their husband make enough money for all of them so their mom can join the PTA and do that kind of stuff, and they can drive, and they can come here to West Bayside whereas, like my mom, she had a job and now she doesn't. She is a stay-at-home mom, but she doesn't drive. And if she came on the bus, it would be that whole problem all over again. My sister, she goes to school, but she still has to pick her up.

Many low-income parents were working minimum-wage jobs for long hours every day – and sometimes working several jobs – so they had precious little time left over to drive to a high school on the other side of the city. That is assuming, of course, that they had a car; those that did not have a car, like Martina’s mom, would have to take the bus (which would eat up even more time) or arrange rides with her daughter. This meant that many low-income parents who lived far away lacked crucial face time with the administration. Because the distance meant it would take parents longer to arrive at the school in an emergency, Isaiah posited that that may

be one of the reasons the administrators are ruder to Latino parents: “I’ve had different counselors. She’s [the counseling secretary] so rude... She’s all nice to them (white kids)... Their parents can come down faster than ours, so they would be more easily contacted.”

The experience of being a low-income student at a wealthy school in a wealthy neighborhood was already a stressful experience fraught with insecurities and misunderstandings due to the socioeconomic differences. These could be mitigated somewhat for low-income white and Asian-American students who were not always presumed to be poor. Unfortunately, this was not the case for African-American or Latino students, whose racial and linguistic differences as a racial and linguistic minority meant the disadvantages and discomfort they felt at the school was compounded. This experience was reflected in their parents’ experiences as well; while low-income white and Asian-American parents were often (but not always) given the benefit of the doubt, low-income African-American and Latino parents felt uncomfortable about interacting with the school and would often avoid coming to the school altogether.

EXPLANATIONS OF RACIALIZED GROUPINGS: WEALTHY STUDENTS

Low-income students differed from their wealthier peers in a number of ways – the average number of AP classes they matriculated in, for instance, or the average number of extracurricular activities they participated in – but they also differed in the way they approached issues of social location in the school. When confronted with topics regarding race and socioeconomic class at West Bayside, most wealthy students displayed an ignorance of

classism at the school, and employed various frameworks (mainly naturalisation and cultural racism) to explain racialized groupings at the West Bayside. Low-income students also used the naturalisation framework, but relied more heavily on structural reasons to explain segregation even while resorting to an elision of class and race in their discussions.

Frames Employed by Wealthy Students: No Classism

By virtue of their class privilege, most wealthy students at West Bayside remained unaware of classism, or even the role of social class, at the school. Ava, a wealthy white student, stated: “I don't think there's as much of an issue with social classes just because, you know, we live in Bayside, so everyone is pretty well-to-do and then the ones who don't live in Bayside, they still, like, you know, still are pretty privileged. But I don't think there's as big of, like, a class issue.” Kayden, a wealthy biracial student, recognized there was a distribution of wealth at the school, but agreed that socioeconomic status did not play a factor at the school: “But I don't think it plays any part into the quality of the students here. You are going to have a couple of snobby kids, but I feel like that happens at any school. There's going to be a distribution of wealth. Some are higher, some are lower. I don't think it plays a factor into how the kids are.” Khloe, a wealthy white student, acknowledged that wealthy students comprised most of the student population, but insisted that most students opted to play down their wealth: “I mean, people can try to make it a thing, but for the most part, I mean, because there are people, I knew people that did not look or seem rich at all, did not act rich and they have this giant house by the beach, so I don't think, not really.” All three students acknowledged they were “still... pretty privileged”, but insisted that, save for “a couple of snobby kids” or a few people who “can try to make it a thing”, most of the students played down their wealth because they “did not act rich” and money didn't “play a factor into how the kids are.”

A few of the other wealthy students had different ways of expressing the same sentiment. Marc, a wealthy Latino student, drew on his experience at a neighboring private school to claim that classism existed elsewhere – but not at West Bayside High:

If anything, I feel like the kids here are more – I went to private school. It's expensive, a lot of wealthy families go there, too. It's {West Bayside's} a little less snobby, almost. I feel like people don't look at that, how much money you have here, compared to other schools, like a private school. I knew friends that were only friends with them because they were wealthy. I know one kid, I'm not going to say his name or anything but his father is a politician running for Congress this year and they live in Bayside, very wealthy, but the kid was in rehab, did all of these things, but they are friends with them just because of the fact he is going to be in Congress. And yeah, so I do value that aspect of West Bayside High, that they are not as picky on money or whatnot.

Chloe, a wealthy white student, was even more blunt: “There’s a big population of snobby rich kids that are kind of stupid and intelligence-wise, below average. If you are smart and have money, you go to Sunnyside and if you are stupid and have money, you go to Pleasant Valley. It's like a thing.” It was a truism expressed over and over again among the wealthier students: that the truly wealthy students were attending other private schools. The students who were at West Bayside High were therefore presumed to be “a little less snobby” and “not as picky on money” since they were students who played down their wealth.

Frames Employed by Wealthy Students: Naturalization

In *Racism without Racists*, Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (2003) interviews white respondents about their interpretations of various examples of persistent segregation and other measures of racial inequality in the United States and finds that most interviewees respond using specific

frames.³⁶ My respondents used several of the same frames to explain the racial segregation they saw on campus, namely: naturalization and cultural racism. Naturalization, according to Bonilla-Silva, “is a frame that allows whites to explain away racial phenomena by suggesting they are natural occurrences (2003: 28).” This was the most common explanation West Bayside students gave to explain the way students were segregated in separate racial groups at lunch and between classes. Khloe, a wealthy white student, shrugged when she explained: “A lot of the races tend to group up. I mean, there are people that are friends with a lot of different ones, but for the most part, I think each one sticks to their own race. It's just how it is.” According to Khloe, such groupings were “just how it is.” It was natural. Other students got more specific. Anthony, a wealthy Asian student, specifically used the word, “natural”, in describing the way various ethnic groups were clustered together: “The Mexicans in our school tend to hang out in the same group. The Asians tend to hang in the same group and, like, yeah. So it's not tension, though. We are kind of separate, though. It's natural. Somebody from the same race. You can easily relate to that person automatically. It's natural.” Anthony explained why he felt such groupings were natural: “you can easily relate to that person automatically.” Amanda, a wealthy Asian student, even claimed it was “easier” to be partitioned off by race:

I think it's just easier sometimes, especially, at this school people just kind of fall into those categories. Like they, I don't know. I think it's something that has just been going on a lot at the school. Especially like Asians are only 4% of the population, apparently. And whites are the majority. So I think it's just natural for that to happen, in a way – segregation. But it hasn't really bothered me that much. I'm used to it because elementary school I was one of the only Asian girls until third grade and then middle school is the same, like, what is the word. Population.

³⁶ Bonilla-Silva (2003) discovers four frames utilized by his respondents: abstract liberalism, naturalization, cultural racism, and minimization. Abstract liberalism never came up because West Bayside had not implemented any policies for students to assert their freedoms against.

Amanda referred to the school's demographic breakdown to explain why she felt students "just kind of fall into those categories," claiming that segregation was natural because 'Asians are only 4% of the population,' insinuating that it was therefore natural for them to cluster together.

Frames Employed by Wealthy Students: Cultural Racism

Cultural racism, according to Bonilla-Silva, is "a frame that relies on culturally based arguments such as 'Mexicans do not put much emphasis on education' or 'blacks have too many babies' to explain the standing of minorities in society (2003: 29)." These sorts of sentiments were occasionally echoed by my white respondents. Savannah, a wealthy white student, employed a mixture of the naturalization frame and a few stereotypes to explain segregation on campus:

I'm friends with a bunch of Asians. A lot of the smart Asians were in seminar. A lot of Asians sit together at lunch but I have close friends who sit with us anyway. I haven't noticed that much, but I will say, not to be rude or anything, but a lot of the Mexican kids at our school, I am friends with a few but the one whose are bussed in and they don't want to be here, I feel personally – why should they be here if all they do is lower our test scores. That's not exclusive to them, but I know a lot of them who are just like, "Whatever, I'm here," and they don't try and they don't care. So I've noticed that. But, I mean, not that much. I would say: definitely they have their groups, but there's not that much trouble mixing except the Mexican and white students don't mix much. They kind of sit to themselves and we sit to ourselves. I wouldn't say it's like an animosity type of situation. It's just like what is.

Frames can be combined and re-combined to underscore a point, and Savannah does just that: she incorporates stereotypes of Asians as "smart" and Mexican students as kids who are "lower(ing) our test scores" (African-American students, who comprise a micro-minority at the school, aren't even mentioned). She attempts to soften her words by claiming she has "close friends" who are Asian who sit with her at lunch, and mentions, "I am friends with a few

(Mexicans)”, but the thrust of her message is clear: “Mexican and white students don’t mix much.” She ends by tacking on a naturalization frame: “It’s just, like, what is.” Chloe, a wealthy white student, offered more specific examples:

A low-income white student would never be with a low-income Mexican. The Mexicans, which is what they are referred to as, they are the bussed-in kids and they all stick together and purposely. I’ve never openly separated myself from them. In PE class is when you are ever with remedial students and they purposely call me names for no reasons and purposely separate themselves. There’s this one guy named Eddie and he passed people the ball and he was nice. There’s a purposeful separation. Maybe it’s a defensive thing so they purposely exclude themselves because they don’t want to be excluded but, like, there’s no interaction between a white person and Mexican at the school unless it’s kind of the white-washed thing, but for a Mexican. There’s this girl named Sofia and all of her friends are white. Unless it’s a situation like that – they probably are a little bit smarter. It’s not even smarter. It’s an attitude of caring, like get straight C’s. How hard is that? How could you not get C’s? I would have to literally never show up to school, ever, zero times. So it’s kind of like a level of, like, a little bit of caring – not a lot.

Chloe reiterates some of the same tropes described above: Mexican students supposedly do not care about school, and those who show “a little bit of caring – not a lot” end up with “straight C’s.” Rather than claiming the separation is natural, as most of the wealthy respondents did, Chloe asserts that “the Mexicans... the bussed-in kids... all stick together... and purposely separate themselves.” In her mind, the separation is deliberate, and is perhaps a “defensive things so they purposely exclude themselves because they don’t want to be excluded.”

This sort of stereotyping did not go unnoticed by low-income students of color.

Martina, a low-income Latina student, shared the following explanation:

Here in the cafeteria is where all of the Mexicans sit and if somebody, a white person, were to come in and walk to the cafeteria, everybody’s eyes would just turn and would be like, “What are you doing here?” And it’s just weird. Most of it is staying here or we will, like, be around this area. But, like, for us to go on

to the grass, it would be the most awkward thing ever. Because you just don't do that. Kind of, I mean, you could. You technically can sit in front of the grass, but it's not really like where, what would you do. Strange. And then I think everybody just clumps together. Like, I mean, even I say we understand each other, so like that's why Mexicans are friends with each other, but I think that's the way it is for white people as well. They are not going to talk to a Mexican because either they are scared of them or they think downtown, therefore, gangsters and violence and stuff like that or also maybe because they just don't have anything in common with like their lives.

Martina admitted that there seemed to be a willful separation between the Mexicans who sat in the cafeteria and the white students who sat on the grass during lunch, and thought “it would be the most awkward thing ever” for her to attempt to sit on the grass: “You just don't do that.” She utilized some of the naturalization frame to explain “Mexicans are friends with each other” because “we can understand each other,” but her words also reveal that she is cognizant of the cultural racism espoused by some of the other students when they associate Mexicans with gangs and violence.

Wealthy students were not only unaware of any evidence of classism on campus, but also employed a shifting combination of the naturalization frame and the cultural racism frame to explain racially segregated lunch groupings on campus. This is not surprising since, as Bonilla-Silva notes, “informal expressions of ideology are a constructive effort, a process of building arguments in situ. Therefore, the examples of how whites use a particular frame may be mixed with other frames” (Bonilla-Silva, 30). Low-income students, meanwhile, utilized a combination of a different set of frames.

EXPLANATIONS OF RACIALIZED GROUPINGS: LOW-INCOME STUDENTS

While wealthier students denied classism existed on campus, low-income students were much more likely to see the salience of socioeconomic class in their lives (though they often

conflated explanations of class with explanations of race). In addition, low-income students, like their wealthier peers, used the naturalization frame to talk about segregation on campus, but were much more likely than wealthier students to attribute the segregation around them to structural reasons.

Frames Employed by Low-Income Students: Classism and an Eliding of Class and Race

Low-income students of color are socially located at the intersection of socioeconomic class and race. Unsurprisingly, then, their explanations of racial groupings on campus were laced with references to, and sometimes code for, social class. Paul Gilroy (1991), in *There Ain't No Black in the Union, Jack*, makes the argument that while residents of the UK might find it difficult to talk about race and therefore resort to the language of social class to code their discussions of race, Americans have the opposite problem: we have no language with which to discuss social class, so we resort to racialized rhetoric to express ourselves. Low-income students, unlike their wealthier peers, were all too aware of class issues (and classism) on campus, but they often used racialized language to express this, often resulting in an elision of class and race.

In one instance, Luciana, a low-income Latina student, explains: “When I talk about Bayside people, it’s not just white people. I just like to say that. It’s just people who - there were a lot of Asian people, there were a lot of Indian people, there were a lot of Latino people, and I thought they were bigger. What I mean by white people, are people I felt were higher than me, people I felt had more power over me, you know?” She explains that when she was talking about various race/ethnicities, she was not actually referring to the cultural group themselves, but the relative class/status they were presumed to represent. When she used the term, “white people,” for example, she was actually talking about “people I felt were higher

than me, people I felt had more power over me” – i.e., people of a higher class, even if they were not white (“there were a lot of Asian people, there were a lot of Indian people, there were a lot of Latino people, and I thought they were bigger.”) “White people” was a term she used to express class status. By contrast, Luciana explained later, when she used the term, “ ‘Mexicans’, they didn’t own a house. Usually their parents were divorced or remarried or whatever, they didn’t have a college education, or even a high school education, or whatever, they all spoke Spanish, or whatever.” While the use of the Spanish language was a clear example of a cultural trait particular to Hispanics, the rest of the associations she had for the term, “Mexican”, were actually class-based and represented social class traits (not owning a house, for instance, or not having a high school education) racial group attributes. When Luciana was pressed further about her distinctions (“What about wealthy Mexican students?”), she replied:

Honestly, they were so stuck up, they were so mean - just the way they looked at you was very obvious they looked at you down (sic), was very, very obvious, and I hated that. I honestly did. I would feel much comfortable talking to a white person, to somebody else from another race, than them.... So this kid – just the girl – sometimes, I know I’m smarter than her, but just the way she acts, is just so different. It’s much more sophisticated. Just the way she looks, the way she looks at you sometimes, she’d be like, “Why are you talking about that?” I don’t know, I don’t know, I don’t know. So I think I’d much rather talk to a normal person from any race than somebody from my own culture who’s rich.

For Luciana, wealthy Mexican students such as the girl she mentioned, were just as intimidating as the other wealthy students at the school whom she considered to be “higher than me.” As a result, she would “much rather talk to a normal person from any race than somebody from my own culture who’s rich.” Luciana felt more comfortable with another student of another race if they shared a similar class position than she did with a co-ethnic peer

who was wealthier than herself. Sofia, a low-income Latina, shared Luciana's hesitation about some of the wealthier Latino students, stating, "So I know somebody actually that is Hispanic and is wealthy, but she just hangs out with white people. So I don't know. It is still as intimidating just because she associates herself with like the same clique as like everybody else that is in the class that I'm talking about, which is white and they are all like very smart and out go to great schools like Columbia or University of Chicago." Like Luciana, Sofia felt a wealthy co-ethnic peer was "intimidating" and associated her with class-based traits (going to "great schools") rather than shared cultural traits.

While wealthy students claimed classism did not exist at West Bayside High and were more likely to admit the salience of race rather than class in campus interactions, low-income students had a fairly robust class identity which often superseded their racial identity, even if they sometimes elided the class and race in their conversations. Luciana was not the only student who felt alienated by some of the wealthier students of color on campus and preferred to associate instead with anyone with whom she shared a class identity. When low-income students were asked whether they would be more likely to befriend a wealthy student of the same race or a low-income student of a different race, low-income students in homophilous networks almost unanimously responded that they would end up befriend a student of a different race who shared their social class background. For instance, Martina, a low-income Latina student, realized:

This person, I'm friends with them and even though they are white, they still come from, like, low income. I think it was Savanna. She is a little bit more middle class and she is white, but she is not like, Bayside. And she has to work. So, you know, it's more of a middle class kind of thing. And I am friends with her. I get along with her pretty well and we can always talk about stuff and she will always talk about work and how hard it is and the things she has to put it

up. I think it's funny. I don't have a job. So it's her. And then there's, like, other people that, like, take the bus. I think she is Chinese? I'm not really sure. She also takes the bus. They being take the bus so it's easier to talk to them versus somebody from Bayside, that's Hispanic.

Martina had friends and acquaintances who shared her social class background rather than her race or ethnicity (white, Chinese), and she felt she got “along with her pretty well and we can always talk about stuff.” In fact, she felt it was “easier to talk to them versus somebody from Bayside, that’s Hispanic.” Levi, a low-income African-American student, stated:

I’d probably end up gravitating towards the kid who lives outside of Bayside, and is poor, maybe. Just because, I feel like, we’re both not from Bayside, really, we’re not born and raised here or whatever, and I don’t know. I feel like I - actually, that’s a really good question, I can’t say with certainty what would happen but I definitely wouldn’t automatically just associate with the African American guy just because he’s African American and stuff, or feel like I have more in common with him automatically. I don’t know. I guess the poor kid (laugh).

While he had to think about it for a moment, he realized that he would be more likely to befriend “the poor kid” and that he “definitely wouldn’t automatically just associate with the African American guy just because he’s African American.” He felt that they would have the experience of bussing and coming from a non-affluent area in common. Likewise, Martina, a low-income Latina student, concurred:

Race doesn't matter as much as money does. Because for that reason, all of the people that have the most money and hang out with those people, but you will never see, somebody from, like, Bayside that does have a lot of money in their family go to the Wharf or, you know, hang out. So yeah. I think it plays a large role.... Because it, like, if you are from the Wharf, it is rare that you hang out or that you even talk to somebody from Bayside that does have a lot of money or comes with parents that do make a lot more because you don't have the same kinds of things in common. They have different lifestyles so it's hard to be friends with. Sometimes there are some that won't really care, I guess. But usually, those that have more money hang out with those – which is I think

reason all of the Bayside people stick together and the people from the Wharf don't. I mean, they hang out with people from the Wharf, but they don't really mix... And like I said, they live differently. They don't have the same struggles as we do. They don't – they have like two cars already and they don't even know how to drive whereas, like, you get a beat up car and it doesn't matter because you just want to drive. So and if I was in that situation, it would be hard talking about that to a Bayside student that does come from a rich family.

She felt that the fact that Bayside students “have more money” was a large part of the “reason all of the Bayside people stick together” – it meant that “they live differently” and “they don't have the same struggles as we do.” In Martina's mind, socioeconomic factors were segregating West Bayside students, since one's class status affected the sort of lives you lived and “you don't have the same kinds of things in common.” Therefore, “it would be hard talking about that to a Bayside student that does come from a rich family.” Matilda, another low-income Latina student, also noted West Bayside's segregation by social class: “West Bayside, there were certain groups. There was a difference between the low-income Latino groups, you didn't see much of a mixture. If you saw Latinos hanging out with white kids, it was because they also came from money. It was divided by socioeconomic status. I think kids separated on socio-economic status. It was whoever had the car, and then the people who rode the bus, and they all hung out together, and those with cars mostly came from money.” In Matilda's mind, the class-based segregation was based on access to transportation: those who rode the bus “all hung out together”, while those who drove cars “mostly came from money.”

The differences in resources, struggles, and lived experiences played out in the everyday interactions of low-income students and wealthy students. Sometimes this difference was manifested in the sort of alienating conversations they might have together, as Paloma (a low-income Latina student) pointed out: “I can't relate to someone who's rich. At Bayside high school the friends that I had that were rich, they had whole other things going on, and they

would talk about things and be like, ‘Oh, do you know?’ and I would just be like, ‘Know what? I don’t know what it’s like!’” As Martina had previously mentioned, social class divides meant that low-income students did not share the same pools of experience that wealthy students did, which often resulted in awkward conversations in which low-income students could not fully participate. Paloma experienced this first-hand when wealthier students would mention experiences that Paloma could not understand.

Frames Employed by Low-Income Students: Naturalization

Most low-income students in homophilous networks may have held a stronger class-consciousness and class-identity than race-identity than their wealthier peers did, but they were also quick to recognize the racial segregation on campus. Like their wealthier classmates, low-income students also employed the naturalization frame in their discussions about racial groupings. Nathaniel, a low-income Latino student, stated: “Here, I think it’s very segregated. I don’t know why, but yeah. They just, everyone just separates themselves.” For Nathaniel, the segregation was natural, but benign: “everyone just separates themselves.” Jaime, a low-income Latino student, agreed, “I think there is racism everywhere. Like, not just here. There is racism in blacks, whites, Asians. That’s the way the world is... I think it will always be like that. There is at this school, but I don’t know how it was in the past, so I don’t know if it’s gotten better or not.” Jaime acknowledged that racism existed on campus (and not just on campus, but also around the world), and thought “that’s the way the world is... it will always be like that.” Some low-income students in homophilous groups, like their wealthier peers, seemed to think this sort of segregation was natural.

Frames Employed by Low-Income Students: Structure

Unlike Bonilla-Silva's white respondents, and unlike their wealthier classmates, low-income students were quick to also point to structural reasons for the racialized segregation on campus. In particular, they mentioned that: (1) school groups had already been structured along racial lines to begin with before they had arrived on campus (possibly because of the different ways students from different races were separated into different classrooms), and they were merely falling into pre-existing groupings; and (2) the city was already structured along racial lines, and the spatial segregation in the city was not conducive to friendship formation at West Bayside because of the distance it would take to get to the school and/or visit one another's homes.

Luciana, a low-income Latina student, claimed that the school was already racially segregated when they arrived there on the first day: "So all of a sudden you see people splitting up. It wasn't everybody with everybody. White people with white people, Mexicans with Mexicans. The first day it was just like that. People splitting up into races and stuff, just because there was already here. So we came from realizing, 'It's going to be the same; we are all going to hang out' – it wasn't like that. In Bayside the seniors and sophomores and juniors had already done it, split it up. So you had a section for Mexicans. They had made it already. It wasn't like if we made it. They had already established it. This is what happened, not what I expected. I wanted everything to be the same, like we were all together." The racial segregation wasn't something she wanted; in fact, she had assumed everyone would get along across racial groupings. However, upon her arrival, she realized "the seniors and sophomores and juniors had already... split it up... They had already established it." Despite her best

intentions, she saw “people splitting up... White people with white people, Mexicans with Mexicans.”

Rueben, a low-income Asian student, called the segregation in the lunchroom a “tradition” that he had inherited from, and was continuing on behalf of, his older brother:

Right in front of the lunch thing, so we always sit there. It's all the Asians. It's pretty, we are surrounded by, I guess, Hispanic people so it's like we are in the center of it and then I think the quad is mostly white and stuff like that. My table, I say the table because a long time ago, past my brother 's year, they all sat at the Asian table so they kept the tradition. They said this is the Asian table so when I came to school, my brother is like, “This is the Asian table. Keep it.” So I was like, “Okay, I'll take that table,” and I started sitting there since freshman year. He told me to keep it, so I kept it.

Rueben had more agency in his description of the way the racialized groups had formed during the lunchroom. According to Rueben, a tradition had begun “a long time ago, past my brother’s year”, in which Asian-American students reserved and sat at a specific table in the lunchroom. Various Asian-American students since then had “kept the tradition” of sitting at the same table, and passed the tradition on to later generations of students: “He told me to keep it, so I kept it.” Elsewhere in the interview, Rueben posited that much of the racialized groupings may have originated in the classroom: “For myself and I guess for the other groups, I don't know, just the classroom. I don't know how they formed. I don't separate that often. I'm pretty quiet. I guess who your classroom friends are, it's easy to go out with them.” As mentioned in the previous chapter, classrooms were already heavily segregated by race, with whites and Asians comprising most of the AP and Seminar classes, and Latinos and African-Americans making up a majority of the rest of the classes. Rueben thought that the friends you made in your classroom – who were more than likely friends of the same race/ethnicity – may be the ones you ended up hanging out with.

Low-income students also recognized that the spatial segregation of the city – in which wealthier white residents clustered around the Bayside area and lower-income residents of color lived further away – impacted the racial segregation in the school. Jose, a low-income Latino student, stated:

Well, it's certainly is just harder for me to acquaintance with people, especially in Bayside which are mostly white. Because I know a friend who lives in Bayside and have several friends in Bayside. It's hard for me because I don't have much to relate to with them, you know? It's not like I can say, "You want to go to Starbucks after school?" I could probably say that, but then I have to be back to the bus. This one time, we did a project and I had to take the city bus which takes an hour and a half and when we were done, I had to take it back so it certainly leaves no room, or little room, less room for hanging. And less to relate to: "Are you part of the surf team up here or do you want to go to the beach?" I don't know. There's less to relate with.

Jose recognizes that most of the students who live in the Bayside area are white, and meeting up with them would often require the use of a city bus which took an hour and a half to travel in one direction. Doing so would be time-prohibitive. As a result, Jose found it difficult to make and maintain friendships with students who lived "in Bayside, which are mostly white." In this way, the spatial segregation that existed in the city often affected the racial segregation at the school. Rodrigo, a low-income Latino student, also commented:

I think race has played a huge role on my experiences here. Just because, I mean, I could have been in ASB, I could have joined ASB and been one of those kids, but they are usually from Bayside. I could have played water polo – well, no because I don't swim that well. But it's just – it's separated. Usually people who live around this area, they stick with themselves and they do the same things. Like for example, they play water polo. They play volley ball. And then I guess my group of friends, we play football, soccer, and track. I don't know. It's just different. They just, if, well, I guess race plays a huge – played a huge part in my experience here just because of the people I hang out with and the opportunities I could have had if I didn't hang out with them or hung out with a different group. Who knows what could have happened.

Rodrigo, who was bussed in from another neighborhood, recognized that the extracurricular activities were segregated by race and neighborhood – certain groups like ASB, water polo, and volleyball were comprised of white students from the Bayside area, while “my group of friends, we play football, soccer, and track.” He said that, “usually people who live around this area, they stick with themselves and they do the same things,” echoing Jose’s idea that the racial segregation (in this case: in extracurricular activities) was a reflection of the broader spatial segregation within the city. He added that “race... played a huge part in my experience here” and even wondered aloud, “Who knows what could have happened” if he’d “hung out with a different group.”

Wealthy students, by virtue of their class status, were able to carry with them an embodied cultural capital that allowed them the privilege of being unaware of any evidence of classism or class injuries that might exist on campus. Low-income students – particularly low-income students in homophilous networks – did not have this luxury. Instead, low-income students in homophilous networks developed a class-consciousness that allowed them to freely express their frustration with the blatant and subtle expressions of class status that they saw on campus, even if this rhetoric was often coded in the language of race, since they (as well as most of the society) often lacked a robust vocabulary with which to discuss class. The embodied cultural capital of the wealthy students extended further: most wealthy students employed both a “naturalization” frame and a “cultural racism” frame when explaining the racial segregation they observed on campus. Low-income students in homophilous networks, meanwhile, pointed to more structural explanations for the segregation they saw, even while also utilizing the naturalization frame.

LOW-INCOME STUDENTS IN HETEROPHILOUS NETWORKS AND RACE

As I have explored elsewhere in this dissertation, low-income students in heterophilous networks often differed from their low-income peers in homophilous networks. This extended to the way race impacted their lived experience. Low-income students of color in heterophilous networks reported a greater ease and facility with West Bayside’s administrators – a stark difference when compared to their counterparts in homophilous networks. Furthermore, the very words that proceeded out of their mouth differed from their peers in homophilous networks, both in the way they *said* those words (by purposely using different accents and intonations), and in the phrasing/rationalizations they chose (race frames). In this way, many low-income students in heterophilous networks were able to incorporate the embodied cultural capital of their wealthier peers into their own lives.

Low-Income Students in Heterophilous Networks and their Interactions with Administration

While many of the low-income students – particularly low-income students of color – reported discomfort with the administrators at West Bayside High, low-income students in heterophilous networks connected with the administrators, much like their wealthier peers. Luna, a low-income Latina student, was on such good terms with her counselor that they would communicate frequently: “I was really close with my counselor, Ms. B. She would email me with scholarships, or call me out of class to be like, ‘Okay! I found this! Go do this!’” While many low-income students reported feeling unwelcome by the administration, Luna’s connections with her counselor ended up introducing her to scholarships and other college-related opportunities she may not have been able to locate on her own.

Administrators could help low-income students in more personal ways, as well.

Matthew, a low-income African-American student, recounts a time an administrator helped put his mind at ease about the fact that he had to ride buses to come to school:

I was walking down the street in front of the buses going to Bayside, and I thought they were judging me. I met with the vice principal, and she asked if I was uncomfortable, and I said, “Yes, I think the other kids are judging me” – and I don’t know if she said, “No, no, not at all,” or if she thought there was really nothing to it and I was just being self-conscious – but she was right – there was nothing to it.

Matthew had felt comfortable enough to meet with the vice-principal, and her thoughtful inquiry into his reaction to being bussed in to Bayside helped to relieve him of some of his anxieties surrounding other students’ reactions to his situation.

While low-income students – particularly low-income students of color – reported discrimination and a discomfort around the administration and staff on campus, low-income students in heterophilous networks had much more positive interactions with the adults on campus. This may be tied in to their higher rates of participation in school activities and a consequent feeling of belonging on campus, which was described in greater detail in the previous chapter.

Low-Income Students in Heterophilous Networks and their Accents

Low-income students in heterophilous networks were more likely than their counterparts in homophilous networks to be mistaken for being part of a different socioeconomic class and/or race by their voice alone. In a pilot study with twelve, upper-middle class, white volunteers, varying in age from 16 to 65 years old, volunteers were asked to listen to a short snippet of every interview with my respondents from West Bayside High, and then told to guess each respondent’s social class background and race/ethnicity.

When the student who was speaking was part of a homophilous network (regardless of social class background), volunteers were able to correctly guess the speaker's social class for 82% of the students, as well as correctly guess the speaker's race/ethnicity for 74% of the respondents. In other words, the majority of students who were part of a homophilous network spoke in such a way as to be readily identified by their race and/or class by their voice alone. However, when the person who was speaking was part of a heterophilous network, it became more difficult to correctly identify his/her social class background and race/ethnicity. Among those with high heterophily scores, only 41% were correctly identified by a majority of respondents for their social class background, and only 32% were correctly identified for their race/ethnicity.

This finding was further pronounced when we narrow our focus to low-income students. A majority of low-income students in homophilous networks could have their social class (67%) and their race/ethnicity (78%) correctly identified by a majority of volunteers by their voice alone. By contrast, only 13% of low-income students in heterophilous networks could be correctly identified as being low-income, and only 27% could be categorized into their correct race/ethnicity by a majority of respondents.

While further research needs to be done, the initial findings are intriguing, and reflect findings that were borne out in the interviews. Luna, a low-income Latina student in heterophilous networks, says that the way she talks with her wealthier friends is different from the way she overhears low-income students talking to one another: "Just the way I talk is different. You hear other people and they'll be saying these things, and I'm just like, 'I would never say something like that!' And even the way I speak sounds different." In addition, Luna claims she has a "white girl accent": "Well, most people say I have a white girl accent, so

maybe I might have picked that up, somewhere along the way, I decided that's the way I should talk, instead of very Mexican - I don't know if there's really a Mexican accent, except maybe that really heavy one - I don't know - so maybe that might be one of the things."

Alandra is another low-income Latina student in heterophilous networks, and she also says she "talk(s) like a white person": "Speaking wise I have always been told that I talk like a white person. And I guess I don't -- well I'm from California so we hear, the border is right next to us, so you know Mexicans, the way they speak English, they have a certain tone and I don't have that tone. And so when I'm with Mexican friends I talk Spanglish and when I'm, like, with my white friends, obviously I don't speak Spanish so I talk pure English, and here, I mix it." Both Alandra and Luna had been misidentified by volunteers in the pilot study (for both their social class background and their racial background), a finding that is reflected in their reflections on speech patterns and accents in their interviews. While low-income students in homophilous networks were amazed at the "perfect" ways (as Luciana had described it) their wealthier, white peers spoke, low-income students of color in heterophilous networks openly talked about having a "white girl accent" and sometimes chose to communicate differently with wealthy students.

This accords with the broader literature, which has long noted the ways that persons of color have adjusted their patterns of speech to "pass" for being part of the majority group (Daniel 2002; Hurtado, Gurin, and Peng 1994; Kennedy 2003; Khanna 2010), or the ways that people of a lower socioeconomic status would change their speech to fit in amongst wealthier peers (Ortner 2003; Snow and Anderson 1987). Julie Bettie (2003) also notes this attempt at passing amongst women at the intersection of both race (Mexican students) and class (working class).

Low-Income Students in Heterophilous Networks and their Race Frames

Low-income students in heterophilous networks also differed from low-income students in homophilous networks in not just the way they spoke, but also in how they spoke – specifically, in the way they chose to frame discussions about race and racial segregation at the school. While low-income students in homophilous networks recognized structural causes for segregation and sometimes identified with students of other race/ethnicities who shared the same class background, low-income students in heterophilous networks used frames that sounded much more similar to their wealthier peers: they claimed that classism was not an issue at the school and often resorted to racist stereotypes within the cultural racism frame to explain segregation. Interestingly, they differed from both wealthy students and low-income students in homophilous networks by turning the naturalization frame (which both groups of students [wealthy students and low-income students in homophilous networks] alluded to) on its head: instead of talking about how segregation was “natural”, students in heterophilous networks focused on how they, as individuals, enjoyed meeting people who were different from themselves.

No Classism

Low-income students in heterophilous networks, like their wealthier peers, did not think classism was a problem at West Bayside High. Eli, a low income white student, said that, “In West Bayside, people didn’t really care what you had or didn’t have,” and Matthew, a low-income African-American student, elaborated: “They were pretty inclusive. I think they had a more mature understanding that it’s not okay to joke about money. They knew they could joke about the racial stuff, but they left the money stuff alone because that’s just not funny.”

Part of the reason that low-income students in heterophilous networks claimed that classism did not exist was because they recognized, as some of the wealthier students recognized, that save for a few students who liked to show off their wealth via extravagant displays of conspicuous consumption, the vast majority of students tended to play down their wealth at school. Alandra, a low-income Latina student, said that: “Here, some people do because – they hide it more, I guess. Like I went to one of my friend's house and she has an elevator in her house for, like, two stories and I was like, ‘Whoa.’ I was, like, so surprised but she wasn't like, ‘Oh yeah, I have an elevator in my house.’” Alandra was taken aback to visit her friend’s home and discover she had an elevator in her house connecting the two floors. In her example, an elevator is an obvious indicator of wealth, but Alandra’s friend never mentioned it at school, opting instead to focus on other topics. Alejandra, another low-income Latina student, concurred with the observation that wealthy students at West Bayside often played down their wealth:

Some kids, like, don't really talk about how they have money. Like you know they have money, but, they don't, they are not the kids that would be like, “I have money.” That’s the good thing. They don't talk about their money. So, like, wealthiness doesn't really have anything to do with West Bayside because if you have money, you have money. If you don't, you don't. So really, money doesn't talk at my school. So it's only outside. People don't show off their money here. They, like, people don't really care if you have money or not. That's one of the good things, but like once kids go out and party – because there are three rich schools – St. Anne’s and Paul the Sixth – that's when they have competition – St. Anne’s, Paul the Sixth, and West Bayside kids. That's when they talk about their money. They talk about who has the most money and who has that and who doesn't have that.

Alejandra, like Alandra, recognized that wealthy students at West Bayside rarely flaunted their wealth – mostly likely because such ostentatious displays might be considered gauche – but also picked up on another theme that wealthy students employed to claim that classism did not

exist at the school: pointing out that West Bayside was not as wealthy as some of the surrounding private schools in the area. Low-income students in homophilous networks had only limited interactions with wealthier classmates, if any; these low-income students in homophilous networks were able to more clearly see the yawning class gap between themselves and their wealthy peers, but did not have access to conversations which may have revealed the ways that wealthy students viewed class differences between themselves and other students attending local private schools. Low-income students in heterophilous networks did, and it affected the way that they themselves discussed social class with me. Mario, a low-income Latino student, was a good example of this:

One of the things I used to think people were like here – because they attended West Bayside High School, they were really rich. Later on, I attended – the people that are really rich attend St. Anne’s, Bayside Day School. They [the kids at West Bayside] are normal kids but they live by the beach so they surf all the time, but it’s just the same as the kids from the hood, just a different area. Paul the Sixth, St. Anne’s, and I think Bayside Day. That’s where all the rich kids actually go.

Mario may have been a low-income student, but he thought that the students at West Bayside were “normal kids” who were “just the same as the kids from the hood.” Through his heterophilous networks, he had also learned that “the people that are really rich attend St. Anne’s, Bayside Day School” and repeated that information to me.

An interesting exception to this was Damita, a low-income Latina student in homophilous networks, who had gotten to know a few wealthier students through wrestling (a sport that was offered at West Bayside). Her close friends were comprised of other students who were both low-income and Latino (which is why she was placed in the homophilous group), but her positive interactions with her wealthier teammates gave her insights that were

akin to other low-income students in heterophilous groups – namely, believing classism (and racism, for that matter) was not an issue at West Bayside. She shared the following anecdote:

Because here, I don't really see that, but a lot of people complain the people who live here look down at others who don't live here but I have a friends who come to my house and they are not like, “Oh, your neighborhood...” and they like it and I go to their house and I'm like, “You have a big house.” I think the people in this school are open-minded because the majority of people here are white. And a little, the beginning of the year, my freshman year, I heard a kid say, “That kid is racist,” and I would look at the kid and he would be my friend so I was like, “I think he just doesn't like you.” Because he sees me and says hi, so I don't know.

Because of her positive interactions with teammates on the wrestling team, Damita sounded very much like other low-income students in heterophilous networks, despite having a homophilous network of close friends. Like other wealthy students and co-class peers in heterophilous networks, Damita thought that “the people in this school are open-minded” and that classism and racism were not really an issue at the school.

Cultural Racism

Wealthy students occasionally relied upon the cultural racism frame to explain inequalities; consequently, low-income students in homophilous groups at West Bayside High were acutely aware of the racist stereotyping some of the students and adults were engaging in. Low-income students in heterophilous groups, however, sounded more like wealthy students in their discussions about race at the high school because they, too, resorted to the cultural racism frame to describe the segregation they saw. Occasionally the cultural racism frame was used to refer to other minority groups; more often than not, however, it was usually used in reference to one's own ethno-racial group.

Esther, a low-income white student, employed the cultural racism frame when thinking she would have more in common with a student who was also white but wealthy than with a student of color who was low-income: “To be honest, the person who’s white and wealthy. That’s weird, I don’t know why, though. It probably has to do with the fact that – I don’t know – value systems? I assume in my head – that if they were black and homeless, I would assume that they had different values. I don’t know, that sounds racist.” Esther used the cultural racism frame to explain she would assume that a student who was African-American and low-income in a situation similar to her own (being homeless) might have a different value system, even though there would be no real reason to assume that other than a difference in skin color, since they were otherwise sharing the same life circumstances. Esther caught herself at the end of her statement and, in a moment of self-awareness, finished with: “I don’t know, that sounds racist” and laughed uncomfortably. Alandra is a low-income Latina student, and she too utilized stereotypes to describe other racial groups, saying: “Black people stay with all the Mexicans – it is like minorities and Asians and whites stay together. But like academic wise, demographically we know that Asians are like smart and so are – well so are white people I guess. And Mexicans and blacks – they are the people who don’t go to college and stuff like that. And so they stick together and the Asians would go with the whites.” Alandra used racial stereotypes to explain segregation at the school, claiming that, “Asians are... smart and so are... white people,” and that “Mexicans and blacks... don’t go to college.”

Other low-income students in heterophilous networks also employed some of the racial stereotypes that their wealthier peers used, but these low-income students aimed them at co-ethnic peers. For instance, Luna was a low-income Latina student who shared: “I wasn’t going to be like, ‘I’m going to be back in the stupid classes so I don’t feel as awkward or as

uncomfortable' – which I didn't – that never crossed my mind. When I did try going that route, when I would try acting stupid to fit in with the Mexican people, I realized that I wasn't going to be able to." Luna thought she would need to act "stupid to fit in with the Mexican people," and associated being back in classes where she was no longer a minority as "stupid classes." Elsewhere in the interview, she stated: "I'm on the science team, I did math team for 2 or 3 years, I did clubs, I was everywhere which made it easier to make friends, but at the same time the Mexican people weren't there, which made it easier to make friends with the West Bayside people, and kind of segregate myself from the Mexican people." Luna talked freely and openly about purposely trying to separate herself from other Latino students, often resorting to stereotypes to explain her rationale. She was not the only one. Mario, a low-income Latino student, said that:

Being Hispanic, in West Bayside, which consisted of majority Caucasian, I didn't really hang out with Hispanic people. It's not that I didn't like them, I just felt like the people there, some of the Hispanics there just kind of made us look bad, the things they portrayed, the things they did, people would think, "Oh every Mexican is just like that", when we weren't. So I didn't hang out with them, I usually hung out with football people, it was mostly white people, it was either white people, black people, but it wasn't really Hispanic.

Mario felt that other Hispanics "make us look bad, the things they portrayed, the things they did," so he opted to avoid interactions with Latino students. He focused instead on hanging out with other students on the football team and chose friends who were white or African-American.

Naturalization → Meeting New People

While many respondents – both wealthy students and low-income students in homophilous networks – used the naturalization frame to talk about racial segregation, low-income students in heterophilous networks turned this frame on its head and talked instead

about how much they naturally enjoyed talking to everyone. Alandra is a low-income Latina student who made it a point to “talk to everyone. I don't seclude myself just to Mexicans and be like, 'Oh.' Because people are like that here. They are very much like, 'Go with that one.' I try to be everywhere because I don't like being with one group.” Similarly, Adam, a low-income multi-racial student, stated: “I can't really fit with a race because I'm actually multiple races (laugh). I'm German, Mexican, and Filipino, so - can't really group myself with anybody. I just hung out with a lot of people.” Both Alandra and Adam mentioned that they did not like to be tied down to one group, but preferred hanging out with a lot of different people in different groups instead. Julieta, a low-income Latina student, made it a point to reach out to people who were different from her, and recounted a time when she did just that:

Like I talk to, I talk to everyone. I like to make sure people are having a good day, so there is this girl, Samantha, not my friend but a student and I saw her crying and I went up and said, “Do you need to talk to somebody? Are you okay?” None of her friends are in that class so I just wanted to know if I wanted to talk. She is like, “No, I'm fine. I'll be okay but thanks for asking.” We often forget that we are all the same

Julieta, like Alandra and Adam, was intentional in moving beyond her own circle to approach and offer comfort to an acquaintance, using the rationale, “We often forget that we are all the same.”

Instead of making race or ethnicity a salient part of identifying potential friends, low-income students in heterophilous networks relied on other markers instead – most notably, cliques. After asserting that he “hung out with a lot of people” above, Adam went on to explain: “Because I was in sports, and I'm also really nerdy, so half the people I knew was based off of sports, and the other half of people I knew was based on interest.” Mario, another low-income Latino student, also found friends within different cliques at the school:

My thing was I would try to make friends with everybody – some people would be like, “Sports, I’m only going to talk to sports people,” other people would be like, “We draw, we’re only going to talk to artists.” There were cliques around school but I would try to go around to different groups, and talk to some of the track stars, then go talk to the person who’s really good at graphic design, stuff like, I just tried to be friends with everybody. I think that’s what made me different from other people who cared about what other people thought, what other people said, they cared about being popular, that was never my goal, I was just like, “Whatever,” about it. I would just go around and try to make friends with everybody.

Instead of saying that it was “natural” to gravitate towards, and befriend, students of the same ethnicity as most West Bayside High students claimed, Adam and Mario chose to associate with friends based on common interests, instead. This meant they met a wider range of students from a variety of cliques that ranged from sports-related groups (“talk to some of the track stars”) to groups that bonded over hobbies (“the person who’s really good at graphic design” and “people I knew... based on interest”).

This sort of behavior was not always viewed favorably by co-ethnic peers. Melissa, a low-income Latina student, was called “white washed” for opting to branch out and become acquainted with other cultures:

Yes, I’m Mexican, but, I mean, I mean, you could call me, I guess white-washed. That’s what people call me, white-washed. I don’t believe I’m white-washed. I just believe I’m the person who I am. But I like adventure, right? So I love each culture. I always call myself a Persian at heart. I love Middle Eastern food. It’s delicious... I love everything, everything, everything. You could tell me anything, I would love it. So I’m very, like, diverse. I don’t stick to, I’m not the person that sticks to one group because it’s not my thing. I love to, like, meet new people.

Despite the shaming by her co-ethnic peers, Melissa also insisted, as the other low-income students in heterophilous networks insisted, that, “I’m not the person that sticks to one group... I love to, like, meet new people.”

Cultural Brokers

So what did low-income students in heterophilous groups do when hanging out with different groups and different ethnicities? They often viewed themselves as cultural brokers, facilitating cultural interactions between groups of different ethnicities. Matthew, a low-income African-American student, even stated this explicitly: “Because I had a good understanding of what was going on in their [white students’] heads, I was able to work with them. I knew why they were doing what they were doing... I think I saw there was a need to help other kids understand them, so I made it my mission.” Matthew also gave an example of a misunderstanding that he helped to diffuse:

From the Latino perspective: they used to say, “Foo” so the whites from West Bayside hadn’t been accustomed to hearing that – so I think the white kids misunderstood the Latino kids – they were like, “This kid thinks I’m an idiot!” – at least for the white kids who grew up without Latinos around them. I think the blacks in general had an understanding of what it meant from the urban movies, without necessarily growing up in an urban neighborhood. I think the white kids had to be around the Latinos to understand it

When Latino students called other students “foo’ ” as a term of endearment, some of the white students at West Bayside misinterpreted this as an insult. Matthew helped smooth over the misunderstanding because he felt he had an understanding of the vocabulary and dialect of both cultures.

Sometimes these mix-ups occurred in the middle of attempts at humor, as Levi had mentioned above. Mario, a low-income Latino student, elaborated on a few examples:

A lot of people weren’t aware of race, for example when I hung out with Hispanic friends, they would say a lot of stuff about the white people that they didn’t know, but it was like, “Actually, it’s this way.” And then when I hung out with my white friends, they’d say a lot of stuff about the Hispanics and the Mexicans, and I’d be like, “Actually it’s not like that, it’s like this.” They weren’t aware of the other cultures as much, so there was some lack of

knowledge, so I would say, I'd say the wealth didn't really matter, but when it came to race, they didn't really have that much information regarding the other, so that at times became problematic. For example, people would make a comment that they would think was funny or normal, and Hispanics would get offended and take it as a racist comment, and vice versa. It's just that they just weren't aware about the other culture as much. For example, there was this one white guy, I forget what he said, something along the line of food, like tortillas – that was it! – like, “Mexicans never used forks,” or something, “That's all you need.” He said something like that, but he actually believed that, and he said that, and some of the Hispanic people got offended, and they were like, “Oh, are you being racist?” and he was like, “What? No, I thought that it was.” And it would cause arguments. The other way, too, um yeah, white people would say, I mean Hispanics would say stuff about white people, also like, “White people eat mashed potatoes all the time,” like silly comments like that, and white people would get offended. That's just simple examples of that, it's just cuz they weren't aware of it, it's just what they'd seen on TV, or what they'd heard, and they'd never gone out of their way to just ask the other person, “Hey is this actually true?” It would usually be in school, you're in class waiting for the teacher to come, or you're in lunch, and somehow the conversation just ends up going that way, and you bring something up, and the other people are like, “Actually that's wrong, you're being racist.”

Mario, like other low-income students in heterophilous networks, denied any existence of classism at the school, and acknowledged that students engaged in racialized commentary out of ignorance and misguided attempts at humor (“I'd say the wealth didn't really matter, but when it came to race, they didn't really have that much information regarding the other, so that at times became problematic. For example, people would make a comment that they would think was funny or normal”). Mario, like Matthew, tried to enlighten students from various ethnicities on the cultural markers of other groups by patiently reaching beyond the offensiveness of ignorant jokes in order to educate speakers on the assumptions underlying their uninformed comments. Matthew gave another example of this when he talked about a time he heard racist jokes but attributed them to “discomfort” and “ignorance” rather than “hatred”:

You hear a couple racist jokes here and there - but - they were mostly out of discomfort and not any type of hatred or anything like that. There wasn't much knowledge about other cultures. One of my Jewish friends - he would say a joke about some stereotypical Jewish joke to let me know it was just a joke and not any type of maliciousness behind it. And I would make a joke to him to let him know I understood. We would joke about ourselves to make it more comfortable so we could have more insightful conversations about it. We would joke about two out of three times we saw each other – I think we got kind of bored of it.

He goes on to recount a time when he and a friend used jokes – this time, jokes at their own expense – to facilitate a “more insightful conversation.” This is actually a technique he wielded with precision – and often. Matthew specifically indicated using humor as a tool with which to diffuse potentially uncomfortable situations:

I would say: I would make it so other people were more at ease around me. Using the right types of jokes at the right time. And having an understanding of what their intentions are when they're using the wrong types of jokes. You can tell by their reaction what they're comfortable with and what they're not. That could fall through. I think a lot of times, we'll be eating food, and if someone has fried chicken, they might make a joke about betting I wish I had fried chicken – knowing when they're making a joke vs. actually being mean.

As a low-income student of color in heterophilous networks, Matthew had had enough experience and exposure among white, wealthy students to “have an understanding of what their intentions are” behind otherwise offensive, racist comments, and deployed “using the right types of jokes at the right time” to “make it so other people were... at ease around me.” Low-income students in heterophilous networks were therefore able to not only extend the benefit of the doubt regarding the intentions underlying otherwise inappropriate comments, but also able to deploy humor effectively in their broader goal of acting as cultural brokers for various groups around them.

Withdrawal

Of course, there was some variation within the heterophilous group. While most low-income students in heterophilous networks indicated that they enjoyed meeting new people – particularly people who were different from themselves – and that they viewed themselves as cultural brokers amongst the various groupings at West Bayside High, other low-income students in heterophilous networks withdrew from social life at the school.

Levi, a low-income African-American student, said he “was really anti-social in high school, so I didn’t feel really comfortable with any group of people for some reason so I guess, I was alone, doing whatever.” Later on in the interview, Levi remarked that, “My experience was marked by having not accomplished anything in terms of socializing, like I went the entire experience without have a girlfriend, without doing any drugs, or drinking, I didn’t go to a single cool party that entire time, but that kind of defined my experience. Everyone else was having a great time, and I was kind of oblivious.” Levi was a friendly, warm, and personable student, but viewed himself as “anti-social” and “didn’t feel really comfortable with any group of people.” Penelope, a low-income white student, also said that she tried to distance herself from West Bayside High: “I kind of stay in, because I don't even stay for lunch, so I'm not hanging out with a bunch of people. I pretty much stay in a friend group of people in my classes and I don't really talk to that many people because I'm leaving and I have no interest in drama and Bayside High School is completely and utterly full of drama.” Like Levi, Penelope said that she didn’t “even stay for lunch” and that she didn’t “really talk to that many people,” attributing her disinterest to the “drama” at the school.

Similarly, Adam, a low-income biracial student, shared, “I was anti-social, had very long hair – down to my collarbone – and only wore black.” It was a streak that lasted “two

years. It stopped when I got into wrestling. I talked to a very few people, and that's it. Like five or six kids, that entire year, and that was it." Both Levi and Adam were fun to talk to in interviews, but their words indicated they did not talk with very many other students – Adam claimed he only talked to five or six kids the entire year. However, participation in a sport (wrestling) seems to have later helped Adam come out of his shell.

Esther, a low-income white student, had similar sentiments to Levi's and Adam's. Esther said she "rejected the whole West Bayside lifestyle. I didn't go to parties, I rejected that whole lifestyle. The only one I'm friends with is my ex-boyfriend's best friend – and he wasn't even in my year. I don't have one friend in my year." When asked about her interactions with other students, she replied: "I don't have any. I ignore most of them. This is the first dance I am going to. I didn't go to plays or sports or events or dances. I work after school every day so the only person I interact with is Martha and Alex, but more Martha. I don't interact with anybody else. I'm always somewhere else when I'm walking through these halls." It was a haunting way to describe herself: "I'm always somewhere else when I'm walking through these halls," but Esther, like Adam and Levi, also claimed few interactions with other students at West Bayside. Instead, she "rejected the whole West Bayside lifestyle" and focused instead on work after school. Her reticence may be due, in part, to her desire to keep her homelessness a secret: "I always kept it secret. I just never talked about it even with my friends. None of my friends really know but I think it has messed me up and the fact is, I don't get close to many people."

Esther manifested her dissatisfaction and discomfort in a tangible way; like Adam, she eventually opted to wear black to school. Up until then, she had wanted to fit in with the other students in terms of the clothing they wore, even if she couldn't afford it herself. One day,

I remember a time I wore a tank top and wore a shirt on top. There was girl who was still a bitch to this day, told me I was not supposed to wear it like that. And she said it to my face. I was so embarrassed; I was just trying to do something different. After I became Goth, I realized I could wear black clothing, and not have to spend a ton of money, and I liked it. I stopped caring what other people said - who gives a shit? The whole Goth thing - the wearing black, the emo-y Goth thing - I could get away from wearing the brands, because I couldn't keep up with staying in the crowd, so I completely rejected it.

When Esther was singled out for her clothing by a classmate, she shifted gears and settled on wearing black clothing – “became Goth” – because she realized it wouldn't be as expensive.

When she could no longer afford to wear the designer brands she saw around herself, she shifted values and decided to “completely reject it.”

Low-income students in heterophilous networks often succeeded in picking up the embodied cultural capital of their wealthier peers; not only did they adopt some of their accents, but they also expressed deeper cultural rationalizations that reflected the rationalizations of their wealthy friends. For instance, when asked to explain the segregation that occurred on campus, low-income students in heterophilous networks utilized frames that were much more similar to those used by other wealthy students than those used by other low-income students in homophilous groups. They claimed there was no classism on campus and employed the “cultural racism” frame with a twist – they applied the cultural racism against their own co-racial/co-ethnic groups to set themselves apart from their racial group. In addition, they also used the “naturalization” frame that all the other students used, but tweaked it to fit their particular circumstances: they employed the naturalization frame to state that it was natural for them to reach out, meet new people, and act as cultural brokers facilitating racial encounters. While most low-income students in heterophilous groups leaned in to their

experience and tried to make a wide variety of friends, a few of them went in the other direction and leaned out of the experience, completely rejecting West Bayside High life in favor of friends, activities, and jobs outside of school.

LOW-INCOME STUDENTS WITH HETEROPHILOUS AND HOMOPHILOUS NETWORKS

While this section focused on low-income students who were fully ensconced within heterophilous networks, there is another category of students available, too: low-income students who maintained homophilous networks of close friends, but interacted and engaged in heterophilous networks in the school setting. These students occupied an interesting liminal space between low-income students in fully heterophilous networks and low-income students in fully homophilous networks. Therefore, they took on characteristics of both groups.

These students, like their peers in fully heterophilous networks, were also attempting to meet new peers outside of their typical networks and were attempting to maintain diverse friendships. Nathaniel, a low-income Latino student, stated this explicitly: “I don't want to be classified as: ‘he hangs out with these people. Or this race or that race.’ I just want to be friends with everyone. You know? Because if I stay here, I will have, I will see the different sides of each group. When you go to a group, you only see that group and you kind of talk about the other groups but if you stay here, you see all of them. All the flaws and all the good things, so that's how I want to be.” Damita, a low-income Latina student, found new friends through sports, and echoed Nathaniel’s sentiments: “I want to make friends so I don't care who they are so I just started talking to everyone. Because I see a group of friends and they are all white or Asian and Mexican; and me, I hang out with white people one day and the next day, my

Chinese friend alone and I just go around. Like with groups. And not only race, but I hang out with skateboarders and preppy people, and then I guess people who like the science club. So I hang out with all the people. Not just one.” In this way, Nathaniel and Damita actually sounded very similar to low-income students in heterophilous networks in the way they turned the naturalization frame upside-down and actively opted to befriend students of other ethnicities and students from other cliques.

Having friends outside of one’s normal network, and being recognized by them in public, was sometime a source of pride, as it was for Paloma, a low-income Latina student:

I think I thought of myself as higher than my other peers. One, because I was in a sport and none of them was in a sport, and two, because outside of the school, five periods – I was able to hang out with people that they never hung out, and I had a relationship with them. When we were in the hallways together, one of them would pass by, and be like, “Hey what’s up - see you at practice,” and it felt good. It did feel good. And they’d be like, “You talked to her?” and I would be like, “Yeah, we’re friends.”

Nathaniel, Damita, and Paloma were making an effort to meet and associate with different students outside of their normal circles, prioritizing diversity for a number of reasons: simply because they want new friends; in order to learn about different groups; and sometimes to get a boost in one’s social standing.

Such efforts sometimes came at a cost. Luciana was another low-income, Latina student who maintained a homophilous network of close friends, while simultaneously attempting to facilitate a heterophilous network of friends at school. She talks openly and candidly about the difficulties of navigating these different worlds, which ranged from adopting different mannerisms to learning new rules for conversations fraught with potential landmines.

Smiling was one way Luciana felt like she was adjusting to the predominantly white and wealthy students around her: “I was finally adjusting – the smile. I saw a lot of my friends didn't [smile]. I don't know how. I don't know why, but they weren't just able to adjust. They were just kind of – to themselves. I don't know – it was so weird. They didn't smile.” Smiling was a signal to Luciana that she “was finally adjusting” in a way she did not see her co-ethnic peers adjusting.

More tellingly, as Luciana spent more and more time at West Bayside participating in various AP classes and extracurricular activities, Luciana began to pick up discursive tools with which to navigate conversations with wealthier peers. Unlike low-income students in heterophilous networks, who denied any evidence of classism in the school, Luciana had a homophilous network of close friends and consequently held a fairly strong class identity. She was therefore able to speak candidly about both some of the class injuries she incurred while conversing with her wealthier classmates, as well as the specific tools she picked up along the way to mitigate uncomfortable situations in the future. One such tool was to adjust her sense of humor in order to filter out any evidence of her socioeconomic standing:

But those things aren't really something that you talk about. It's really kind of embarrassing to talk about – those weird moments – even when you get older, even the jokes are different. The jokes are like – I don't know how to explain a West Bayside joke, but my jokes are so different – they're so lame. They're just kind of sadder. There's just – different things – where you can really notice the difference. Like, um, let me see. Let me think of a joke they've said. I don't know. It's just sad to tell them, you don't really talk about your experiences. It's just something that you just don't talk about, even when I'm older, I don't think I'm going to feel comfortable. Like okay. One joke I once made was – okay, so my sister and I used to sleep in the same bed. So once we broke it. We literally broke it – we jumped on it – and we broke it. And there was this other girl who was just like, “Oh”. She was just sitting there. And I was like, “Oh me and my sister broke our bed.” And she was like, “Your bed??” And my other friends

were laughing - like, “Hahhahahah!”, and she was just like, “Your bed? You guys sleep together?” and I was like, “Yeah...” I didn’t even say “Yeah” with confidence, I was just like, “Yeeeeaaahhh...” and I was just kinda like, I don’t know. It’s different. It’s just so different, your experiences are so different that, I don’t know. It’s not really something that I would talk about. I wouldn’t feel comfortable talking about it. So you’re talking about the people - the other West Bayside kids, who wouldn’t understand. They don’t see it as a joke, they’re kind of the opposite, like, “Oh, how saaaad,” they would feel pity when I thought it was funny. I would just be like, “Ah, whatever, I give up.”

Luciana, a naturally boisterous and humorous individual, relished telling jokes when she was in AVID, surrounded by other low-income students. However, at West Bayside, she quickly learned that wealthier students would not understand her context and would react negatively to her stories. She began to lose confidence (“I didn’t even say, ‘Yeah’ with confidence) and resolved to share the same sorts of stories in front of wealthier peers (“Your experiences are so different that... it’s not really something that I talk about. I wouldn’t feel comfortable talking about it.”).

Another technique she picked up was to conveniently “forget” a sibling in order to hide the size of her family, since a larger family size is often inversely correlated with social class standing:

And then there was this other time, where – these are the saddest, I think, when I talk about them – now I make fun of them – but, like, when you’re in the moment – it’s just so embarrassing. So all these kids came from families with like two or three children. I came from a big family. When I tell them my mom is a single parent with five kids, they would just be like, “Oh my goodness!” Maybe they didn’t think that, but I just thought they felt like that, or they would ask me - I don’t know. So anyways, I would always deny my little brother. I would always pretend like I forgot him or something. Honestly. I would be like: “Oh no, we’re three,” and they would ask me: “How many boys, how many girls?” and I would mean: three as in, plus one – me, plus one, plus three - you know? And I would always say, “Oh yeah! My little brother!”, like I’d forgotten. How old is he, like seven? I would just deny him – I would deny him

badly, like I don't have a younger brother. So I meant three plus me. So people would think it was just three - the three that were at West Bayside.

During her tenure at West Bayside High, Luciana began to realize that wealthier students were often surprised by the size and structure of her family (“When I tell them my mom is a single parent with five kids, they would just be like, ‘Oh my goodness!’”), and consequently began to “always pretend like I forgot him or something.” In retrospect, she found it “sad” that she would talk about them that way, but admits that it was “just so embarrassing” when she was “in the moment.”

Luciana's poignant stories help to shed light on the particular difficulties of low-income students occupying the liminal state between homophilous friendships groups and heterophilous acquaintance networks at school. The class identity she developed at West Bayside, which was quite common for low-income students in homophilous networks, allowed her to clearly identify and articulate the class-related micro-aggressions she encountered at school. At the same time, Luciana – and other students such as Nathaniel and Damita who were trying to form a heterophilous network of acquaintances in the classroom – was actively reaching beyond her comfort zone to engage with different students, purposely and agentically moving outwards to meet and befriend students who were different from themselves. This meant they were potentially exposing themselves to more micro-aggressions; however, this simultaneously meant they were also learning to speak and act in a manner that would accommodate their wealthier peers' ignorance of their particular circumstances, paving the way for future interactions and a potential expansion of their networks.

CONCLUSION

While this dissertation is primarily interested in the experience of low-income students in wealthy schools, the low-income experience is inextricably tied to race in the United States. The low-income experience is not a monolithic one, but rather one that intersects with race in different ways for different groups, affecting administrator's and students' treatment of students of color and parents of color alike. Therefore, I opted to devote not just a portion of every chapter, but also a separate standalone chapter, to the topic of race as it intersects with class, beginning with an exploration of the ways that stereotypes and other everyday indignities have affected the lived realities of low-income students of color at West Bayside.

I then move on to examine another aspect of cultural capital: embodied cultural capital that includes cultural attitudes – in this case, cultural explanations for the racialized groupings that form on campus. I find that most wealthy students have adopted the naturalization frame and the cultural racism frame that Bonilla-Silva's (2003) respondents had adopted, often claiming that such segregation was “natural” or due to cultural stereotypes. Furthermore, wealthy students, by virtue of their privilege, rarely recognized classism as an issue on campus. While low-income students in homophilous groups also used the naturalization framework to claim that it was natural for racial/ethnic groups to congregate together, they were more likely to find structural reasons for the segregation, such as spatial segregation within the city. I posit that the strength derived from being among others in a similar social location allows them to think more critically and expansively about the reasons underlying the phenomenon of segregation. This is further borne out in their frank and open discussion of classism on campus. Because they are embedded in networks with other low-income students, they are able to develop more of a class identity than any of the other groups in the study (such as wealthy

students or low-income students in heterophilous networks). However, this is not enough to make them immune from the particularly American inability to talk about class, since many Americans lack a vocabulary with which to discuss class and end up eliding class with race instead (Gilroy 1991).

Next, I examine low-income students in heterophilous groups, a group that sounded more similar to their wealthy classmates than to their low-income classmates in homophilous networks. These students displayed an embodied cultural capital by taking on the accents and vocal intonations of their wealthier peers, to the point that, as a group, they were virtually indistinguishable from their wealthier peers in a pilot study. Furthermore, low-income students in heterophilous networks not only literally sounded similar to their wealthier peers in the way they spoke, but they also sounded similar to them in another aspect of their embodied cultural capital: the deeper cultural rationalizations that were utilized to explain segregation on campus. Like their wealthier peers, these students relied on a cultural racism frame to traffic in stereotypes – but often pointed those stereotypes at their own racial/ethnic groups in a bid to separate themselves from others of the same race/ethnicity. Also similar to their wealthier peers, these students were blind to any evidence of classism on campus. Low-income students in heterophilous groups did utilize the naturalization frame, but turned it on its head by saying that what was most natural for them was to reach beyond their circles and meet new people. Low-income students in heterophilous networks, it seems, were able to pick up more than just various forms of cultural capital from their networks – they were also able to pick up deeper cultural rationalizations.

Finally, I conclude with an examination of a few low-income students who occupied a liminal stage in between my classic network groupings: students who were both actively

cultivating heterophilous networks of acquaintances while maintaining homophilous networks of close friends. These students, like those in heterophilous networks, prided themselves on their ability to reach across social class or cross-racially to make new friends outside of their normal circles. However, these attempts were not without their difficulties, as the development of this skill was often fraught with situations that provoked insecurity and self-doubt. The existence of such in-between groups is always helpful in establishing a pattern that may extend beyond simple correlation to actually potentially explaining causation. When low-income students in homophilous networks possess one set of dispositions, cultural rationalizations, and cultural capitals, and low-income students in heterophilous networks possess another set, a group that is in between the two types helps to shed light on the ways one can move from one type to the other, and the impact such a transformation might entail.

Senior Year and Beyond: The Impact of Heterophily vs. Class on Senior Exhibitions, Reflections, and College-Going Outcomes

The last few weeks of the senior year were simultaneously busier and more relaxed than the months preceding it. Students had finally heard back from the college of their choice and made their final decisions about what they would do after graduation; most students were therefore well into their “senioritis”, with many opting to arrange their class schedules to have their mornings or afternoons free. At the same time, “senior activities” were in full swing during the weeks leading up to their graduation: grad night at a nearby amusement park; senior breakfast; yearbook signings. Like thousands of high school seniors across the country, West Bayside seniors were nostalgically thinking back on their high school experience while eagerly looking forward to the adventures that lay ahead.

How did some of these senior year activities and college-going choices differ between wealthy students and low-income students, and between students in low-income homophilous networks versus those in low-income heterophilous networks? This chapter explores West Bayside students’ answers to various senior-year-related questions during their final interviews at the end of the year. By this time, seniors had had a full four years under their belts with which to acclimate to West Bayside. Now that their networks were fully developed, how did the composition of their close friendship networks affect their outcomes? I find that low-income students who have embedded themselves in heterophilous networks often sound and

act just like their wealthier peers, to the point that they are statistically indistinguishable from them, while remaining statistically significantly different from their low-income counterparts in homophilous networks. However, there were other ways in which a student's social location (in this case, one's socioeconomic status) trumped their networks; in financial decisions where access to monetary resources played an outsized role (such as college tuition, room, and board) and in general reflections on attending a wealthy school, a student's class status served to unite students across the networks spectrum.

To explore these questions further, I begin this chapter by focusing on students' senior exhibitions – a project all seniors must successfully present to a panel of volunteers before graduation. I pay particular attention to the ways low-income students differed from their wealthier peers in the amount of time they spent preparing for their exhibitions; the sort of experiences they had in front of the panel; and the scores they received as a result. The low-income group was then further divided into those in heterophilous groups versus those in homophilous groups, and I ran statistical tests to ascertain statistically significant differences between wealthy students versus low-income students in homophilous groups versus low-income students in heterophilous groups.

In order to better understand the motivations driving low-income students, I move on to an exploration of their sources of inspiration, and then continue with a section on their thoughts on West Bayside High School. As seniors who were approaching the end of their tenure at the high school, interviewees were more than happy to oblige.

I conclude with an analysis of their college-going decisions. First I examine differences in the sorts of cultural capital that were utilized and highlighted by low-income students in

homophilous networks compared to low-income students in heterophilous networks. Then I analyze the statistically significant differences between wealthy students, low-income students in homophilous networks, and low-income students in heterophilous networks in terms of the selectivity ranking of the colleges they have chosen to matriculate at (if they decided to matriculate at all). Many of these decisions were undoubtedly driven by economic factors; therefore I explore these decisions in further detail with the low-income students. I end with a section on how the students have fared six years after their high school graduation, and again test for statistically significant differences in outcomes for students who are wealthy versus those who are low-income but in homophilous networks versus those who are low-income but in heterophilous networks. Those who have obtained college degrees have picked up a form of institutionalized cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986), which Lamont and Lareau (1988, 156) describe as “the degrees and diplomas which certify the value of embodied cultural capital items” – something that was far more common among low-income students in heterophilous networks than those in homophilous networks.

SENIOR EXHIBITIONS

The senior exhibition was one of the major assignments students needed to turn in before they were allowed to graduate. It consisted of a 3 to 5-page essay on a topic of their choice, a visual (usually in the form of a PowerPoint presentation or a poster), and a presentation to a panel of parent volunteers. Students were made aware of these requirements at the beginning of their senior year and had as much time as they wanted to prepare for the project; presentation slots were drawn at random and students were scheduled to present their projects in fifteen-minute increments during the weeks leading up to graduation.

While all of the West Bayside High School students knew about the senior exhibitions, the experience of preparing and presenting the projects varied wildly according to their social location and networks. The vast majority of students at West Bayside (wealthy students) recognized that senior exhibitions were merely a formality and consequently spent a minimum amount of time preparing for this event. However, this information was not common knowledge among low-income students. Only low-income students in heterophilous networks were able to glean this information – a stark and clear example of the importance of diverse heterophilous networks in transporting knowledge among networks ties (Brown, Konrad 2001; Brown and Reingen 1987; Demeo, Ferrara, Fiumara, Proveti 2012; Friedkin 1982; Gans 1974; Granovetter 1977; Granovetter 1983; Levin and Cross 2004; Lin, Ensel, and Vaughn 1981; Liu and Duff 1972; Montgomery 1992).

Senior Exhibitions and Students' Preparation Times

Low-income students and wealthy students spent a different amount of time preparing for the exhibitions. Most wealthy students were unfazed by the assignment and claimed they spent very little time preparing for it at all. Jennifer, a wealthy Asian student, said she prepared “the night before”, and Riley, a wealthy biracial student, said, “it took probably 15-30 minutes. I didn’t practice the speech or anything.” Camila, a wealthy Latina student, agreed: “I put no effort into this. I really didn’t,” with Chloe, a wealthy white student, saying she spent “zero” time. She added: “I printed out my essay and came. No, I had to put on four pictures for my PowerPoint. Two minutes. Literally. Maybe five.”

A large part of the reason they spent such little time preparing for the senior projects may have been because they were largely unperturbed by the assignment. Most of the students felt the way Jennifer felt: “I wasn’t scared because everyone passes.” A general sentiment on-

campus was that the senior exhibitions were merely a formality that “everyone passes”, so there was very little incentive to put forth any effort. Some of this knowledge came from parents who had the discretionary time to volunteer at West Bayside. Savannah, a wealthy white student, said that, “My mom was in charge of organizing them and she would come home and tell me what kid did this, and all this cool stuff.” In addition, Aiden, a wealthy Asian student, shared: “I think my mom did the panel one year. She told me what to expect. My brothers told me what to expect. They’re not looking for perfection; they just want to know you have something done.” Information about the senior projects passed from parent-to-child and student-to-student, so most of the wealthy students at West Bayside were aware of the way the process worked. As a result, wealthy students put very little effort into the project. Chloe, a wealthy white student, said she “did mine on kind of a bullshit mix of ballet and rowing because that’s what I wrote my college essay on and I didn’t want to write a new one.” Similarly, Camila, a wealthy Latina student, also shared that she “just used my UC essay. I was like, it doesn’t fit the prompt but I really don’t care because I’m naturally really good at speaking on the spot and in front of crowds and people.” They were so unconcerned about the exhibitions that they opted to re-use work they had already completed elsewhere, and relied on their skills to carry them through.

Low-income students in homophilous networks reacted very differently to the same assignment. Matilda, a low-income Latina student, said she felt, “really nervous. I’m not the best public speaker, and it is nerve-wracking being in front of the panel.” Similarly, Rodrigo, a low-income Latino student, shared, “I was kind of freaking out,” and Norma, another low-income Latina student, said, “I thought I was going to be stuttering and, I don’t know, not making eye contact or something.” As a result, low-income students in homophilous networks

spent a much longer period of time preparing for their presentations. Norita said, “Obviously, I was preparing the whole winter break.” There was also a practical reason low-income students took longer to prepare for the senior project, besides the fact that they were so nervous about it: they had access to fewer resources that were needed to complete the assignment. Gracia, a low-income Latina student, gave a breakdown of the some of the additional steps she needed to take:

Well, that essay took like 3 hours, 4 hours. And printing out the pictures took a while because I had to go to the store and print them out because I made a poster as a visual -- and because I wanted them to look at something and didn't want them to see me there empty-handed. I had to go to a store because my printer didn't work. Going to the store took one hour, and printing took another hour, and that night I stayed up until like 3 in the morning to do the whole thing. Pretty much the poster took me forever.

Printing out pictures added several hours to Gracia’s preparation time, simply because she did not have a working printer at home. Instead, she had to go to a store to print her pictures. In addition, Gracia’s unfamiliarity with PowerPoint led her to make a poster instead of the computer presentations her wealthier classmates were putting together, adding more time and expenses to her project. By contrast, Chloe, a wealthy student above, had also mentioned adding pictures to her visual (a PowerPoint slide), but this task only took “two minutes. Literally. Maybe five” – mostly because she already had access to the necessary technology and equipment in her own home.

Low-income students in heterophilous networks sounded much more similar to their wealthier peers. They had learned through their networks that, “they said they pass everyone, so I don’t think they’re going to grade me really hard on this. It was bad, but I didn’t really care,” said Luna, a low-income Latina student in heterophilous networks. Eli, a low-income

white student in heterophilous networks, concurred: “They pass anybody. They are not going to not pass you unless you show up and haven’t done preparation.” As a result, most low-income students in heterophilous networks felt good about the senior projects; Julieta, a low-income Latina student in heterophilous networks, said, “I was not nervous at all,” and Daniel, a low-income white student, said, “I felt good” about the exhibitions.

Like wealthy students, low-income students in heterophilous networks put very little time and effort into preparing their projects. Mario, a low-income Latino student in heterophilous networks said, “I didn’t prep; I just picked up the fliers and made the PowerPoint, put some pictures in it, and that was it. Total? I would say, max, 30 minutes at most.” Esther, a low-income white student in heterophilous networks, echoed his sentiments: “I didn’t really prepare for it. I just, you know, the previous night I had just spent maybe 45 minutes on it.”

These findings were borne out in the numbers. The difference may have been due to random chance, but a side-by-side comparison of the total number of hours low-income students and wealthy students spent preparing for their senior exhibitions revealed that some low-income students spent far more time on their projects than their wealthier counterparts. A plurality of low-income students (42%) and a plurality of wealthy students (35%) may have spent 1-3 hours preparing for their exhibitions, but there were stark differences between the groups at the furthest ends of the chart: more wealthy students (23%) than low-income students (15%) claimed they spent less than an hour on the project. Meanwhile, at the other end of the chart, almost one-quarter of the low-income students (23%) said they had spent weeks, or even months, in preparation, while none of the wealthy students spent that much time on it.

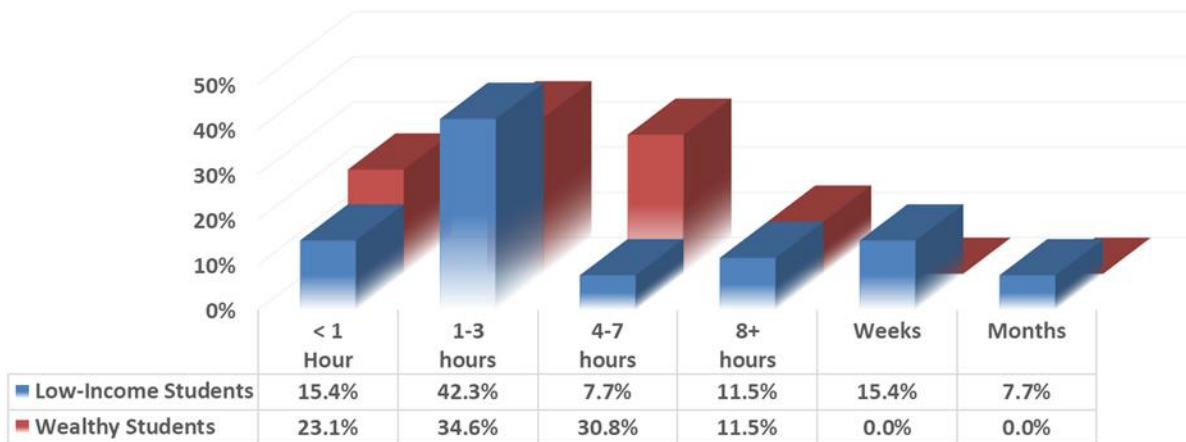


Figure 15. Amount of Time Spent Preparing for Senior Exhibitions, by Socioeconomic Status (N=52)

Among the low-income students, however, there was a statistically significant difference between those in heterophilous networks versus those in homophilous networks in terms of the total number of hours they'd dedicated to preparing for the exhibition. The spread of hours among low-income students in heterophilous networks was remarkably similar to that of the wealthy students in the graph above. A majority of students in heterophilous networks (62%) said they spent between 1-3 hours on the project, while an additional one-third (31%) spent less than an hour. None of the students in heterophilous networks spent more than eight hours in preparation. The spread of hours among low-income students in homophilous networks looks quite different. A plurality of students (31%) said they spent weeks in preparation; in fact, taken together, more than two-thirds of the students (69%) said they spent more than eight hours preparing. Meanwhile, none of the students in homophilous networks knew to spend less than an hour on the exhibition.

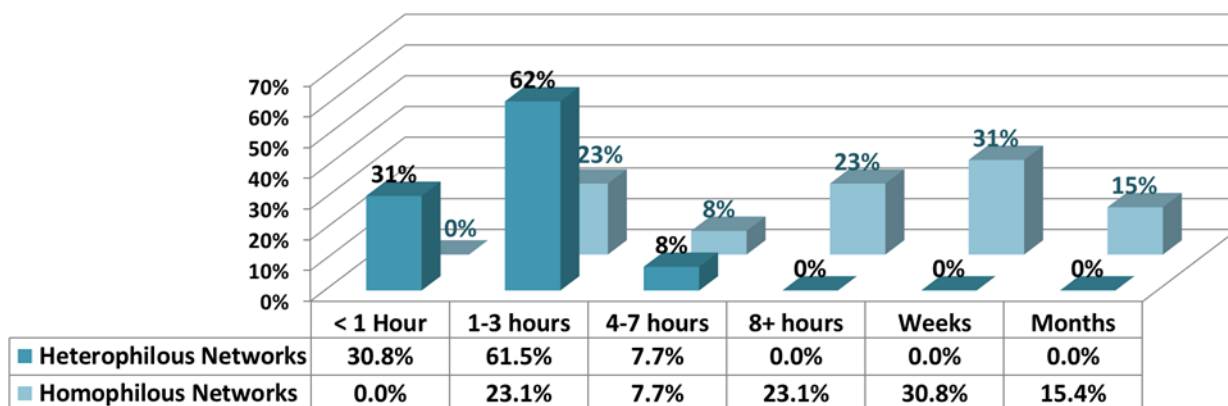


Figure 16. Amount of Time Low-Income Students Spent Preparing for Senior Exhibitions, by Network Composition (N=26)

To see whether there was a statistically significant difference between these different groups in terms of the total number of hours³⁷ they'd spent preparing for their senior exhibitions, I ran several Mann-Whitney U tests for group differences.³⁸ While wealthy students did spend fewer hours preparing for their senior exhibitions (mean rank = 24.58) than their low-income counterparts did (mean rank = 28.42), this difference may have been due to random chance.³⁹ This may be because there was actually a statistically significant difference between all the low-income students; the total number of hours expended by all students in homophilous networks (mean rank = 18.65) was statistically significantly different from the

³⁷ While the graphs above grouped students into discrete categories for illustrative purposes (by dividing them up according to the total number of hours they had spent preparing for their senior exhibitions), any statistical analysis I ran on this variable utilized the original form of this data, which was a continuous, interval-ratio variable.

³⁸ While testing all the assumptions required to run an independent samples t-test, I found that the dependent variable, the number of hours students spent preparing for their senior exhibitions, did not have a normal distribution for each category. I ran a Shapiro-Wilk test and looked at both Q-Q plots and de-trended Q-Q plots of the residuals in order to determine whether it met the assumption of normality; it did not. Since it failed this assumption, I ran a Mann-Whitney U test instead of the independent samples t-test.

³⁹ U=288, Z=-.917, p=.359

total hours spent by all who were in heterophilous networks (mean rank =8.35).⁴⁰ When students were divided up by networks in this way, it became obvious that there was indeed a statistically significant, and not just a substantively significant, difference both between low-income students in homophilous networks versus other low-income students in heterophilous networks, and also between low-income students in homophilous networks (mean rank = 28.04) versus other wealthy students (mean rank = 15.98).⁴¹ Perhaps most interestingly, there was *no* statistically significant difference in the number of hours expended by wealthy students on their senior exhibitions (mean rank = 22.1) when compared to low-income students in heterophilous groups (mean rank = 15.81). Low-income students in heterophilous networks did not just look, sound, and talk in a way that was reminiscent of their wealthy peers, but their actions (like the total number of hours they'd spent on their senior exhibitions) were significantly indistinguishable from their wealthy peers.⁴²

⁴⁰ U = 17.5, Z = -3.45, p = .000

⁴¹ U = 64.5, Z = -3.12, p = .001

⁴² U = 114.5, Z = -1.63, p = .105

Table 4. Mann-Whitney U Test for Group Differences in Total Number of Hours Spent Preparing for Senior Exhibitions

	Descriptive Statistics			Test Statistics			
	N	Mean	Mean Rank	Mann-Whitney U	Wilcoxon W	Z-Score	p-value
<i>Wealthy vs. Low-Income Students</i>							
Wealthy Students	26	4.00	24.58	288	639	-0.917	0.359
Low-Income Students	26	11.20	28.42				
<i>Low-Income: Homophilous vs. Heterophilous Networks</i>							
Homophilous Networks	13	20.70	18.65	17.5	108.5	-3.45	.000***
Heterophilous Networks	13	1.62	8.35				
<i>Wealthy vs. Low-Income Students in Homophilous Networks</i>							
Wealthy Students	26	4.00	15.98	64.5	415.5	-3.12	.001***
Low-Income Students in Homophilous Groups	13	20.70	28.04				
<i>Wealthy vs. Low-Income Students in Heterophilous Networks</i>							
Wealthy Students	26	4.00	22.1	114.5	205.5	-1.63	0.105
Low-Income Students in Heterophilous Groups	13	1.62	15.81				

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001 (two-tailed).

Senior Exhibitions and Volunteer Panel

A similar pattern occurred when the actual exhibitions were presented. Most wealthy students felt fairly confident going in to the classroom to present their projects. Even if they were a little nervous, as Ava (a white wealthy student) was, they found ways to talk themselves into a calmer frame of mind: “I was kind of nervous, but you are only talking to three moms, so it’s not, like, that intimidating. So it was pretty easy.” In addition, many of the wealthy students happened to know the parent volunteers on their panel – not an unlikely occurrence, since it is often wealthy parents who have the privilege and flexibility to have any discretionary time during normal business hours. Savannah, a wealthy white student, said, “I wasn’t that nervous because I know a lot of moms around here. I walked in and I’m like, ‘I know all of these nice people.’” Diana, another wealthy white student, recounted a similar experience when she entered the classroom:

I felt good. I, like, knew the moms on panel and I was like, that's easy. I knew I was going to pass, but I wanted all 6 's. Well, one of them, her daughter is a freshman at USC so I knew her. And then one of the others is like my friend 's mom and I didn't know the third one, but two of them I knew. I went in and I was like, “Hey, guys.”

Walking into the classroom to be evaluated, only to be immediately greeted by familiar faces, helped wealthy students successfully navigate the senior exhibition experience.

However, even if a wealthy student did not know anyone on the panel, and was not aware of the lackadaisical nature of the senior projects (as was the case for Leah, a wealthy white student, who had moved to the area halfway through the year), they often had other tools in their toolkit to draw from:

I wasn't very nervous. We had communications, speech class at my boarding school. So I kind of learned the basics of: don't touch your hair too much, or

don't wiggle, or that kind of stuff that you need to be told but no one really teaches you. But I'm, like, comfortable talking in front of people, so I wasn't really nervous. I didn't really realize what the requirements were, though, so I was just expecting it to be like a test to see how well you speak in front of people. You know what I'm saying? Not so much talk about who you are, like your personal tie to it. So I kind of faked that. I was like, "I love cooking! I really love baking apple pie! I do this every weekend!"

Leah may have been new, but her wealth had afforded her time in a boarding school that had taught her how to present these sorts of exhibitions; when the time came for her to speak to the parents, she was able to "fake" her way through her speech.

The senior exhibition experience was markedly different for low-income students. For those in homophilous networks, not a single student mentioned recognizing anyone on the panel. Instead, the nervousness with which they approached the project at large continued into the presentation itself. Emelda, a low-income Latina student, recounted that she felt:

Very nervous - I could feel that I was completely red, I felt really hot, and I was really sweaty. I can't do it, still. While I was up there, I was very nervous. My heart was racing really fast. I was trying to keep my breathing in control. I kept opening and closing my fist. It was to take my mind off the nervousness to keep me focused on the words I was saying.

Emelda was so nervous her "heart was racing so fast" and she found it difficult "to keep my breathing in control." Similarly, Luciana, another low-income Latina student, found her senior presentations to be stressful:

Still, talking was really really hard. It was like, Ooohh goodness. It's supposed to be a panel, like four people, and this scholarship lady came in to see me, and I was like, okay, that's fine. And then these kids - from ASB - they were walking around making me so nervous. I remember I stuttered twice, I had to get a drink twice. The ASB students - my fellow peers made me nervous. I was okay with them, but moving around, and sometimes stopping and listening. It was just weird.

Luciana, like Emelda, reported physiological evidence of her stress: she “stuttered twice” and “had to get a drink twice.” Still: while Luciana also found the experience to be “really, really hard”, the most stress-inducing part of her presentation seemed to be “the ASB students... [who] made me nervous.” Luciana had talked elsewhere about the confidence, habitus, and “leadership skills” the wealthy and white students of ASB possessed; when they loitered outside of the classroom Luciana was presenting in, she became even more nervous than when a woman stopped in from a scholarship organization to listen to her exhibition.

Interestingly, low-income students in heterophilous networks did not admit to the same stress that their counterparts in homophilous networks reported. Instead, they sounded very much like their wealthier peers in the casual way they approached their presentations. Alandra, a low-income Latina student in heterophilous networks, said of her presentation:

It was good. I BS’ed it. I had forgotten what my topic was, so I kind of just threw it together. I mean, I passed and everything because I’m pretty good at BS’ing stuff. I think that’s what every high schooler learns: how to BS stuff at the last minute. We throw something together.

Alandra had none of the tense and nerve-wracking reactions that students in homophilous displayed; instead, she was lackadaisical about both her preparation and her presentation, claiming, “I had forgotten what my topic was... I’m pretty good at BS-ing stuff.” Much of her (and other students’ in heterophilous networks) relaxed and carefree approach may be attributed to the fact that their heterophilous networks often gave them access to wealthy parents via their close friends. Therefore, when they walked into the classroom to present their exhibitions, there was a good chance they, like their wealthy peers, may already know parent volunteers on the panel. Luna, a low-income Latina student in heterophilous networks, noticed this when she entered her classroom: “I felt fine just because I remember one of the people

there were parents, and one of the parents was a mom of one of my friends, so I was like, ‘Oh cool!’” Similarly, Daniel, a low-income white student who was also in heterophilous networks, shared: “I introduced myself to the parents and all of them were water polo moms so they were like, ‘Oh Daniel!’ And they are like, ‘You are in with Christian and Perry!’ and I’m like, ‘I got them.’” Much like their wealthier classmates, low-income students in heterophilous networks had the advantage of recognizing panel members when they entered the room, and ended up feeling confident about their presentation as a result.

Senior Exhibition Results

At the end of every senior exhibition, each of the three parent volunteers gave an overall score between 1 (low) and 6 (high). Therefore, when students reported their final scores to me, they often gave me three numbers: one for each of the scores assigned by every parent volunteer. These three scores were averaged together for the purposes of this analysis for a combined, final score.⁴³ In the end, there was a statistically significant difference between wealthy students and low-income students in the final scores they received from the parent volunteers, even though low-income students had spent far more time preparing for their projects. While no one received an average score below a 2.99, almost one-quarter of low-income students (24%) received an averaged final score between a 3 and 4.99. By contrast, only 4% of wealthy students received such a low score. Instead, a majority of wealthy students (64%) received top marks for their senior exhibitions, with a score of 6 from every parent volunteer. Only half that number of low-income students (32%) similarly received 3 6’s; the plurality of low-income students received a final, averaged score between 5-5.99.

⁴³ Any statistical analysis on the “Score” variable treated it as a continuous, interval-ratio variable. However, for the purposes of better visualizing this data, I divided it up into more intuitive categories for my graphs.

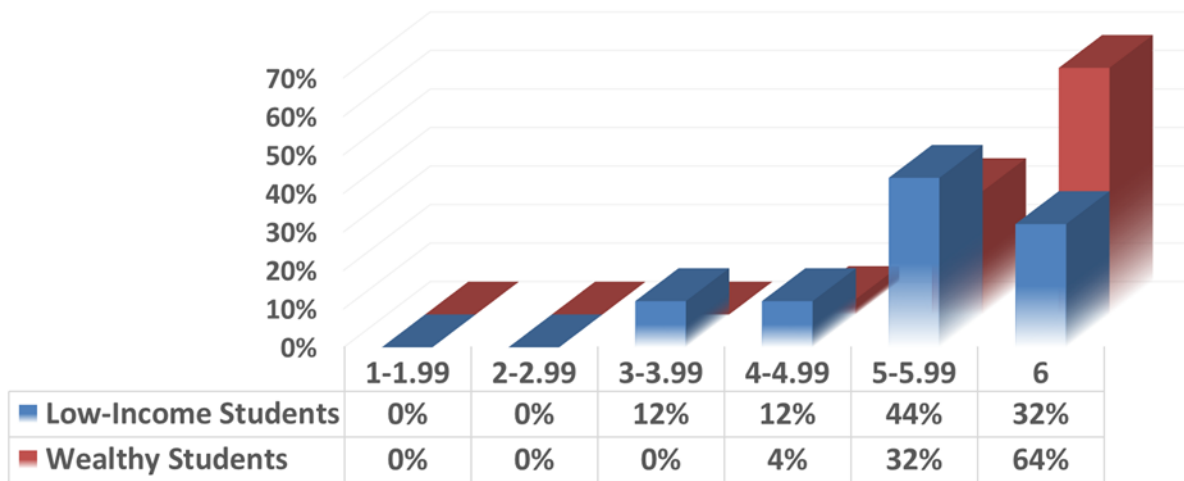


Figure 17. Senior Exhibition Scores on a Scale of 1-6, by Socioeconomic Status (N=50)

Interestingly, while there was a statistically significant difference between the amount of time low-income students in heterophilous networks spent preparing for their senior exhibitions compared to their counterparts in homophilous networks – as well as an appreciable difference in the confidence they felt prior to the presentation – there was no statistically significant difference between the scores they received at the end of the process. For both groups, a majority of students had received a final, averaged score that ranged from 5 to 6. For those in heterophilous networks, this was split evenly, with roughly one-third of the students (36%) receiving all 6’s, and another third (36%) receiving an average between 5 and 5.99. Among those in homophilous networks, meanwhile, exactly half the students (50%) received an averaged final score between 5 and 5.99, and an additional 29% received all 6’s. While we already saw that none of the students received an averaged final score between a 0

and 2.99, slightly more students in homophilous networks (14%) than students in heterophilous networks (9%) received a score between 3-3.99.

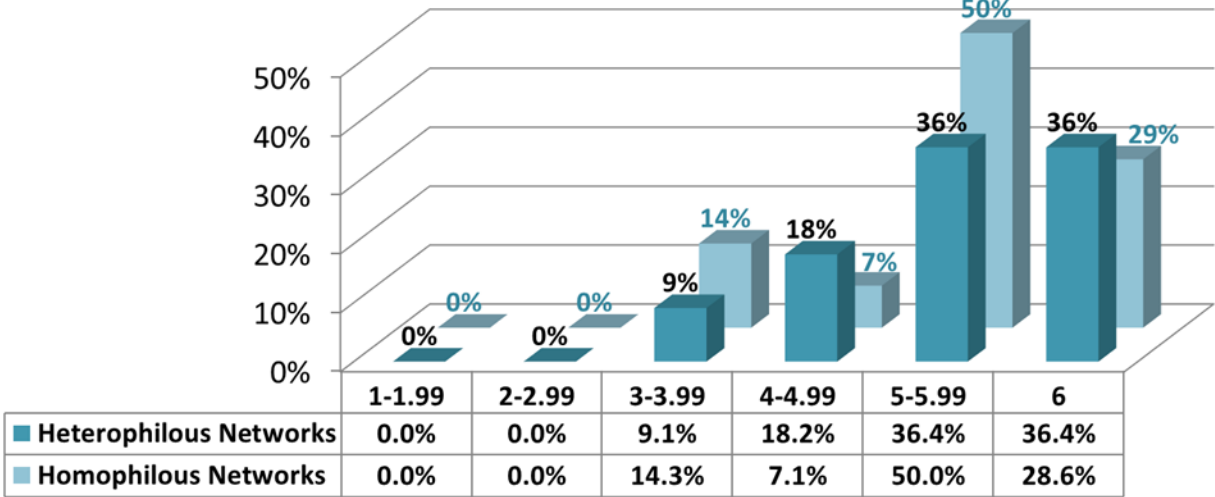


Figure 18. Low-Income Students' Senior Exhibition Scores, by Network Composition (N=25)

This finding was echoed in a test for mean⁴⁴ differences.⁴⁵ Despite all the extra hours that low-income students – particularly low-income students in homophilous networks – had spent preparing for their senior exhibitions, there was a statistically significantly higher difference in the final score awarded to wealthy students (mean rank = 31.1) versus low-

⁴⁴ While the graphs above grouped students into discrete categories for illustrative purposes (by dividing them up according to the total number of hours they had spent preparing for their senior exhibitions), any statistical analysis I ran on this variable utilized the original form of this data, which was a continuous, interval-ratio variable.

⁴⁵ While testing all the assumptions required to run an independent samples t-test, I found that the dependent variable, the final score students received for their senior exhibitions, did not have a normal distribution on each category. I ran a Shapiro-Wilk test and looked at both Q-Q plots and de-trended Q-Q plots of the residuals in order to determine whether it met the assumption of normality; it did not. Since it failed this assumption, I ran a Mann-Whitney U test instead of the independent samples t-test.

income students as a whole (mean rank = 19.9),⁴⁶ as well as a statistically significantly higher difference between scores of wealthy students (mean rank = 23.4) and low-income students in homophilous networks (mean rank = 13.93).⁴⁷ As before, there was *no* significant difference, at least statistically, between the scores awarded to low-income students in heterophilous networks (mean rank = 13.5) and wealthy students (mean rank = 20.7), though even in this test, it was the wealthy students who scored the highest scores.⁴⁸ As we saw earlier, this reiterates the finding that low-income students in heterophilous networks had scores that were so similar to wealthy students' scores that they were statistically indistinguishable from one another.

⁴⁶ $U = 172.5, Z = -2.89, p = .004.$

⁴⁷ $U = 90, Z = -2.69, p = .012.$

⁴⁸ $U = 82.5, Z = -2.08, p = .058$

Table 5. Mann-Whitney U Test for Group Differences in Senior Exhibition Scores

	Descriptive Statistics			Test Statistics			
	N	Mean	Mean Rank	Mann-Whitney U	Wilcoxon W	Z-Score	p-value
<i>Wealthy vs. Low-Income Students</i>							
Wealthy Students	25	5.77	31.1	172.5	497.5	-2.89	.004**
Low-Income Students	25	5.08	19.9				
<i>Low-Income: Homophilous vs. Heterophilous Networks</i>							
Homophilous Networks	14	5.04	12.71	73	178	-0.224	0.851
Heterophilous Networks	11	5.13	13.36				
<i>Wealthy vs. Low-Income Students in Homophilous Networks</i>							
Wealthy Students	25	5.77	23.4	90	195	-2.69	.012*
Low-Income Students in Homophilous Groups	14	5.04	13.93				
<i>Wealthy vs. Low-Income Students in Heterophilous Networks</i>							
Wealthy Students	25	5.77	20.7	82.5	148.5	-2.08	0.058
Low-Income Students in Heterophilous Groups	11	5.13	13.5				

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001 (two-tailed).

The senior exhibitions serve as an exemplar for the dissertation: low-income students are not only *not* a monolithic group, but low-income students in heterophilous groups have picked up information and capital through their heterophilous networks that allow them to look, sound, and act more like their wealthier peers than like other low-income students who had chosen homophilous networks. By the end of their senior year, when they are presenting their senior exhibitions, this becomes borne out in the data: low-income students in heterophilous networks are not only statistically different from their low-income peers in homophilous networks in terms of the amount of time they had spent preparing for their presentations, but were statistically *indistinguishable* from their wealthier peers in terms of both the amount of time they had prepped as well as the scores they had received at the end.

LOW-INCOME STUDENTS AND THEIR SOURCE OF INSPIRATION FOR THE FUTURE

Despite all these differences between low-income students in homophilous networks versus those in heterophilous networks, there were many ways in which the circumstances of low-income students' social location and their socioeconomic status trumped any differences that arose out of the divergent structural composition of their social networks.

Source of Inspiration: Wanting to Disprove Stereotypes

For instance, low-income students – especially low-income students of color – were determined to disprove the stereotypes that were circulating around the school about them. A student said of Luna, a low-income Latina student with heterophilous networks: “She was always stressed out studying, always having good grades... I think she was just trying to achieve what is not really expected of a Mexican: to do well – to not be another statistic that

didn't do well – she wanted to do more than just get a high school diploma.” Luna was determined to excel not just despite of, but actually *because* of, stereotypes. Jay, a low-income Latino student in homophilous networks, was similarly motivated to succeed: “We all kind of have to join together, because if we don't, then we're just going to be expected to do the worst, and things are never going to change. Just to prove them wrong, I think more of us can do more.” Luna and Jay were both low-income students of color with different types of social networks (Luna's was heterophilous while Jay's was homophilous), but both were aware of negative stereotypes that abounded in the school regarding students like themselves, and they channeled their frustrations into a determination to succeed academically in order to prove them wrong.

Source of Inspiration: Family

Another common theme that ran through my interviews with low-income students was their fierce respect and admiration for their parents and all they had been through – and a corresponding desire to make them proud. This served as a source of inspiration that propelled them to succeed at West Bayside High and beyond. Esther, a low-income white student with heterophilous networks, who had lived in vans and homeless shelters with her mother, spoke about her mother in her interview: “She had awful experiences beforehand so I don't know how she does it. How does she keep on living? I think the answer is she keeps living through me and my brother, making sure we have a good life. The day I graduate med school is going to be the best day of her life. That's going to be her accomplishment of her life.” Esther's mother had suffered through traumatic ordeals, but Esther recognized how important college graduation – more specifically, medical school graduation – would be to her mom, and she uses this fact to propel her forward towards her goals.

This was doubly the case for low-income students who were immigrants. Martina, a low-income Latina student with homophilous networks, explained:

Seeing how your parents have struggled to get you to high school and for you to be successful, it changes you because you want to work harder. And you want to provide what they weren't able to. Which I think if you ask anybody that is doing well it would be like: "I want to go to college so I could at least buy my parents a house or something." Because they don't have a house or they rent or whatever. You see them get home late, tired, or, you kind of sometimes see them defenseless, because they don't really have anybody else. Whereas, like, I guess you could help them with that education that you get. Or going to college or whatever. It's for them. So it makes things better.

Poignantly, Martina talks about seeing her parents "defenseless" in their struggles, and for her, getting an education and going to college was something she wanted to do "for them. So it makes things better." Immigrant children, who are often the only ones in their family who can speak the receiving country's language and navigate its culture, are often placed in a position of parenting their parents (Ali 2008; Dreby 2007; Umana-Taylor 2003). Martina was no exception. She talks about how her parents' struggles made her want to work harder in school so she could provide for them what they did not have now.

Emelda, a low-income Latina student with homophilous networks who had immigrated from Mexico, knew that she was accessing opportunities that her parents never had. She stated, "I know for a lot of Mexican parents: get the high school diploma. It's like, 'Wow.' A lot of Mexican parents didn't get the chance to do that." With such opportunity came greater responsibility, as Rodrigo, another low-income Latino student with homophilous networks, elaborated:

I'm the first generation. My parents were from Mexico. The parents of the first generation, they always struggle the hardest. The second generation is the one who has to make it. They have to kind of make sure that, from then on, their

family can have the opportunities to go to college, get a degree, do all of that stuff. So I guess I kind of have a bit to do, but I know in the future if I do make it, then I know my family will have an easier going than my parents did because I know my dad struggled a lot.

Like Martina (who was also a child of immigrants), Emelda and Rodrigo recognized that the first generation of immigrants – their parents – had not had the chance to complete their education and were struggling to survive in a new country; all of them felt a burden to “make it” in order to justify their parents’ sacrifices and to help the next generation succeed.

Low-income students in both homophilous and heterophilous networks felt a tremendous burden to succeed, often to counteract negative stereotypes or to delight parents who had sacrificed mightily for them to get to West Bayside. Despite the enormous pressure they had placed on themselves, and the sometimes unpleasant experiences they had encountered, every single low-income respondent indicated they were grateful they could matriculate at West Bayside. I will explore their reasons next.

LOW-INCOME STUDENTS AND THEIR THOUGHTS ON WEST BAYSIDE

Despite the struggles low-income students experienced as they matriculated at West Bayside High – especially for low-income students of color and/or low-income students in homophilous networks – every low-income student I interviewed said that they were glad they had had the opportunity to bus in to the area for school. They outlined four main benefits they were grateful to have received at West Bayside: the better curriculum/opportunities available at

the school; the safety of the school; the students they met at the school; and their newfound ability to talk to a wide range of people.

Curriculum/Opportunities Available at West Bayside

Low-income students were especially grateful for the academic curriculum and the opportunities that were available to them at West Bayside. Esther, a low-income white student, said, “I just learned a lot, had more opportunity,” and Damita, a low-income Latina student, echoed: “I feel my education is better in this school. Even though I come from far away, I think it’s worth it.”

Other low-income students were even more specific. Elijah, a low-income Asian student, said he was most grateful for the “experience” at West Bayside, then continued: “Well, I guess I honed in on my career choice because of the multiple opportunities for computer science classes. So I took one every year since sophomore year, so it’s been really interesting.” Matriculating at West Bayside High meant that he could access computer science courses that may not have been available at his neighborhood high school. Not only did they pique his curiosity, but the “multiple opportunities for computer science classes” there helped him to “hone... in on my career choice.” His time at West Bayside changed his life by giving him a clear career path for the future.

Emelda was a low-income Latina student for whom English was a second language. She had spent a lot of time agonizing over her grasp of the English language, but was grateful that she had had the opportunity to practice expressing herself in English while at West Bayside High:

Expressing myself in English was difficult for me. I don’t feel that way now. Repetitiveness, knowing to trust myself. I’ve learned different words where I

feel confident enough to talk to somebody. Some people would know words and I wouldn't know what it meant. Like when you said, "articulate". I don't know what that means, but I'm pretty sure it's a good thing. Every Friday, the teacher would make me go up, and make us read something we had written. With her having me write again and again, I got better at it.

Emelda had found it difficult to express herself in English, but weekly written and oral presentations in the classroom and a slowly expanding vocabulary helped her "feel confident enough to talk." She made measurable progress while at West Bayside High, and she was grateful for it.

Safety of West Bayside

Another common theme that came up when low-income students discussed the benefits of matriculating at West Bayside was that of safety. While it's true that low-income students – particularly low-income students in homophilous networks – felt "unsafe" *emotionally* at West Bayside (a finding that was explored in the previous chapter), students felt a sense of *physical* safety there. Gracia, a low-income Latina student, said she enjoyed "feeling like I'm not going to be beat up if I'm walking down the hall." Damita, another low-income Latina student, commented that the campus is "open and nothing happens here. And I hear people complaining, 'This school is boring. Nothing happens.' But I would rather go here than Sunnyvale High School where people get in fights every day." Both students recognized that violence was a much more common occurrence at their neighborhood schools, and were glad to be in a school that might be "boring" if it meant that "nothing happens" or that they would not "be beat up... walking down the hall."

Esther, a low-income student white student, found West Bayside to be "safe" in another way: it was an escape from her unstable and chaotic life in homeless shelters. Esther had spent

several years in vans and shelters with her mother, and West Bayside became a source of stability in her life:

For me, coming to school, it was an escape from everything outside. You have to come in and you have to listen and when you are listening and learning, you can't think about that stuff. And I did learn. It is better that I went here than anywhere else. I'm glad I went here. It was good for me. It was an escape

Esther mentions that she “did learn” while she was in the classroom; however, West Bayside functioned as “an escape from everything outside”, a place where “listening and learning” in class meant that she “can’t think about that stuff” – her chaotic life outside of the classroom. Though Eli, like most of the low-income students, felt alienated at the school and often found herself withdrawing from socially connecting with others, she admitted that in the end, “I’m glad I went here. It was good for me.”

Students at West Bayside

In addition to the reasons listed above, low-income students talked about different ways they had benefited from their interactions with the students themselves. Martina, a low-income Latina student, talked about the other West Bayside students’ academic drive pushing her along: “It's just the level, I guess, it's different. Which is why I have done better because I have gone to school here in Bayside whereas they went to school in the Wharf where everybody was kind of lost, whereas I was pushed by other people. Because I don't think I would have been able to handle doing bad in school with a bunch of people doing good – being that one left out – so I was carried along the group.” As difficult as the experience had been for her – Martina had talked at length about how misunderstood and alone she felt in her AP classes – Martina felt she had “done better because I have gone to school here in Bayside.” The academic culture amongst the other students had propelled her along, too, because she didn’t want to be “that

one left out.” Sofia, another low-income Latina student, had a similar sentiment: “I definitely think it made a difference. I think I set my standards higher. My goals are different – the influence of wanting to be something more, wanting to achieve more.” For Sofia, the academic culture amongst the students at West Bayside nudged her to set higher standards and goals for herself, causing her to “want to be something more.”

Esther, a low-income white student, also felt inspired to achieve more in life because of the students she encountered at West Bayside High, but she was driven by a disdain for her classmates:

This is crude, and horrible, and cynical, but I see all of these dumb people going to college and it's like, if they can go to college, I can go to college. And I think that I really do have that passion – love – and I want to change the world. And talking to people who are wanting to become doctors because their parents want them to, and they want the money, and they are wealthy, and can – that gave me hope because – okay, that's what they want. It's superficial and I obviously want something more than that. I found hope in myself, in a way. This school kind of gave it to me. The school opened my eyes to a lot of different things.

For Esther, interactions with her wealthy classmates merely confirmed her stereotypes about them: that they were “dumb people” with “superficial” goals. Her tenure at West Bayside proved to her that, “if they can go to college, I can go to college.” Esther, like Martina and Sofia, was profoundly impacted by the West Bayside High students and the academic culture that permeated their interactions, but found herself planning to succeed not because she was “carried along the group” but because she “obviously want[ed] something more than” the “superficial” ends they were pursuing. The locus of control for Martina and Sofia was on other students and the academic culture amongst them; for Esther, who had “found hope in myself” as a result of her time at West Bayside, the locus of control was squarely on herself. Whether the low-income students appreciated the college-going atmosphere among the West Bayside

students or scorned their goals, they all acknowledged that the school had been instrumental in helping them be more academically successful than they might have been at a different school.

The benefits low-income students received by observing wealthier peers were not merely academic ones; Sofia talked about the vacations she observed her classmates taking and how that served to motivate her as well:

It's just seeing how people 's lives are and the differences. I mean, I see people that travel a lot and they are having a great time and then I see the people that don't take a vacation in 10 years because they are always working. So I think that's the difference and that's what motivated me to make something different and take a different path.

Sofia became “motivated” to “take a different path” when she juxtaposed the travel and vacation her wealthier peers regularly embarked upon, against the vacation-less lives that low-income parents worked in order to pay the bills. Her time at West Bayside opened her eyes to alternative paths that were available to her, and she adjusted her motivations and goals accordingly.

Ease with Cross-Location Encounters

By far the most frequently cited benefit that low-income students indicated receiving during their tenure at West Bayside High was the ability to meet, and then learn to get along with, students who were different from themselves. As Matthew, a low-income African-American student, summed it up: “It really helped me grow a lot, just how diverse the people were. It will give me some confidence later in life when I encounter these types of people.” Luciana, a low-income Latina student, echoed these sentiments: “Have I grown or changed? In every way. Maybe because I went to school with those people. Now I feel like I can [talk] to a diverse group, because I’ve already done it once, so it’s like, ‘Eh, whatever, I can do it again.’” For both Luciana and Matthew, encountering such a diverse group of people at West Bayside

High was one of the biggest benefits of attending the school because they now felt confident in their abilities to mingle with a wide range of people in the future.

What sorts of diverse groups were they referring to? Sometimes they were talking about meeting, and learning to get along with, students from other races and cultures. Mario, a low-income Latino student, knew that he was a different person because of the racial and ethnic diversity he encountered at West Bayside:

I feel like I wouldn't be the person I am today if I would have gone to some other place, like things would be different. If I would have gone to Ocean City High or some other school, things would be different because I wouldn't have had the experience of socializing with people that weren't Mexican because all my life I have socialized with them so I know how to interact with them but the other races, I haven't seen as much. So thanks to West Bayside High School and this area I have been able to interact with them easier.

Mario juxtaposed this against his friends' experiences at neighborhood schools in which they never encountered white or Asian students:

I've hung out with other friends who go to a majority Hispanic or majority black school, and then they're around Caucasians or Asians, and they just feel different, and they're like, "Oh this is weird," because they're used to their same group of people, and when they're around others, they feel rather uncomfortable, they don't know how to talk, but I mean, over time, you realize people are the same, they just have different background stories

Mario's experiences at West Bayside High taught him to realize that "people are the same, they just have different background stories." As a result, he now knows how to socialize and interact with white and Asian students in a way that his neighborhood friends do not, and he is careful to credit West Bayside High for this newfound ability.

Other times when low-income students extolled the benefits of meeting and mingling with diverse groups, they were referring to students from a different socioeconomic status –

mainly wealthy students. Martina, a low-income Latina student, explained the process that allowed students from different class backgrounds to begin to bond:

There's something that they have in common. So I think, like, even if you are from a wealthy family, you still go out. Or if you are low income, you go out. It's harder because you have to do all of these kinds of things for you to be able to go out, but in the end, you both want the same thing. I think that's what allows us to kind of see that, "Oh, you aren't so different. Like you are, but you are not." And especially in the classroom where you have the chance to talk about something – like with projects or something – you kind of get to know what kind of person they are, and you are not as different, or you are smart. You do have this and you do have that. So it makes it easier to talk to people from different groups.

When low-income students and wealthy students had the chance to talk in classrooms or on projects, they were able to find common ground in their mutual teenage experience – wanting to go out – and began to see others as people who had more in common with themselves than they realized. Tellingly, she also found that it boosted her own self-confidence when she noted that such cross-class interactions would allow low-income students to see that they are “not as different, or you are smart. You do have this and you do have that.” While distance allowed stereotypes and insecurities to flourish, coming together and finding commonalities in the classroom afforded low-income students the opportunity to bond with wealthier students and boost their own self-esteem in the process. Martina contrasted the cross-class mingling that might occur in West Bayside classrooms against the divisions and assumptions that occurred at her neighborhood school:

If I were to be put in Sunnyvale High School, I would talk to all of these different people, but I think everybody would just kind of be like, “What? Why?” Kind of like if I was put into a class from Sunnyvale High, which is where everybody is average, I guess, and then I were to like hang out with somebody from IB [the International Baccalaureate program], I think they would say, “It’s because you went to West Bayside High and you went with

these people from a wealthy, like, you know, that's why you talk to those people from IB – because you kind of identify yourself as, like, not part of us – who come from the ghetto and who have been to a ghetto school,” and stuff like that. And if I did talk to everybody, for me that would be normal, but I don't think they really mix.

Like Mario, Martina recognized in retrospect that she now possessed a measure of ease and facility among students who were different from herself (in this case: wealthier and taking IB courses) that she recognized students in her neighborhood school would not share, even if she had reported the experience itself to be a daunting and uncomfortable one earlier.

The process of learning to socialize and interact with a diverse group of students was, of course, not easy. Rather, the process was often fraught with tensions, misunderstandings, and difficulties, but for low-income students, they were worth it in the end. As Luciana described it: “I knew what I was learning, I knew the experience I was having, the hard times I was having, were actually helping me. In every way. I felt it made me tougher.” Martina was also able to look forward into the future and project the benefits her newly found cross-cultural and cross-class skills would bring her in college:

The good outweighs the bad because in the end you are going to be set with people from different groups. Like college: high school doesn't matter anymore and you are with people from different backgrounds, people that come from different countries. So it's better that you know how to be able to talk to these people that are different. Whereas, like, those people from Sunnyvale, I kind of feel bad for them because they don't have that opportunity.

She recognized that her newly acquired skills would give her a head-start in college, where she would encounter even more “people from different backgrounds.” Unfortunately, students from her neighborhood high school would not have had the same sorts of opportunities.

While some of the students in this section are low-income students in heterophilous networks (Matthew and Mario) – students who have already indicated they actively sought out students who were different from themselves because they enjoyed meeting new people – others in this section were actually low-income students in homophilous networks (Martina, Sofia, and Luciana). These low-income students in homophilous networks may not have purposely sought to diversify their networks, nor did they particularly relish the experience of meeting new people like their peers in heterophilous networks did, but they nevertheless understood and appreciated the opportunity to do so at West Bayfield High and cited an exposure to cross-race and cross-class interactions as one of the main benefits they were grateful to absorb at the school.

In the end, whether they were low-income students in heterophilous groups or low-income students in homophilous groups, all of the students indicated that they were grateful for their time at West Bayside High – even if it had been difficult – because of the unique opportunities they were able to access there. These opportunities were both academic and social, and would not have been necessarily been available at a neighborhood school.

LOW-INCOME STUDENTS AND THEIR COLLEGE KNOWLEDGE

Low-income students at West Bayside High were interested in attending a four-year university after graduation, but were aware that they were at a disadvantage when compared to their wealthier peers. A common complaint among low-income students was that their parents lacked the knowledge that was necessary to guide them along a college-going track. Jay, a low-

income Latino student, commented that his parents were “clueless about how the system works, like grades, college stuff – they really don’t know because they didn’t graduate from high school, so they don’t understand how it works. They just tell me to get good grades and stuff. My dad thought that a ‘C’ was like an ‘F’.” Furthermore, attending a wealthy school like West Bayside High served to highlight for them the ways that other wealthier parents helped pave the way for their children to attend college in a way that their own parents could not.

Rodrigo was a low-income Latino student who described his experience below:

Just the opportunities that they have had as opposed to those I haven't had! Because they are wealthier, they have a lot more resources to use, and ways by which to help themselves, whereas I kind of have to find my own way. For example, taking SAT classes, being able to afford it – I don't think my parents would be able to keep paying for that stuff. And so that would play, obviously, a huge deal in my high school life because it would lead into getting into college, which is a reason why I feel it's a little harder for us because there hasn't been anybody in our family to show us the way to go, haven't prepared us.

While Jay mentioned that his parents lacked knowledge about the college-going process with which to assist him, Rodrigo elaborated on this observation by sharing that his parents did not have the extra resources with which to afford extra college-related help for their children, such as SAT classes, in addition to not having “anybody in our family to show us the way to go.”

Martina was a low-income Latina student who was even more specific in her observations:

You are going to be competing with people that have done 100 hours or have interned at their mom and dad 's work, because they are doctors and obviously it's easier for you to get an internship. I never knew about internships. That kind of bugged me. I never did get to do any; I don't know how to. You don't have anybody to teach you. Here in West Bayside no one tells you. Not even the counselors, and it's not part of the requirement, and they don't tell you how to look for one. You just hear a bunch of white kids, I guess, interning at mom 's or dad 's because their mom is a doctor or dad is a lawyer and they kind of get to

be able to take part in that. And know, or have some idea, of what they might want to do or what they might not want to do.

During her time at West Bayside High, Martina had realized that her classmates were working at internships often obtained through their parents, and was “kind of bugged” about it because “you don’t have anybody to teach you.” Sitting alongside wealthier peers in the classroom, many low-income students were able to observe first-hand how the social location of their classmates provided extra resources and knowledge about the college-going process that they themselves lacked.

Capital Knowledge About College Among Low-Income Students in Homophilous Networks

Despite being acutely aware of the gap in college-preparedness between themselves and their wealthier classmates, many low-income students did end up going to a two- or four-year institution after graduation (this will be explored in further detail later on in the chapter). How did low-income students in homophilous networks circumnavigate the disadvantages they may have faced along the college application process in order to accumulate college capital for themselves? Many of the low-income students in homophilous networks relied on older siblings and on resources offered by West Bayside High – namely, the AVID program.

Older siblings were important role models for their younger siblings. Matilda, a low-income Latina student, witnessed her older sister struggle to get in to college, and the experience taught her to be “determined” and “fight for what I want”:

I’ve seen my sister go through that whole - school, and college - my sister was the first one in our family to go to college. She didn’t know how to apply, anything, so I saw her struggle, but she was determined enough to do the whole process with the help of AVID, but she was determined to get to college, even if she had to do it herself, like financial aid, find the money, and all that. And it’s

like, okay, if I want to go and continue studying, I know I have to be determined enough and fight for what I want.

Matilda's older sister "didn't know how to apply", but used her fierce determination to locate financial aid and maneuver through the college application process. Along the way, she unwittingly provided an example for her younger siblings to emulate. Norma, a low-income Latina student, credited her older brother with helping her as well: he procured for her a volunteer opportunity that she could later use as a topic for her senior exhibition, and even include in her college applications: "I was volunteering at this center that my brother helped me get in to. It was AVRC's Lead the Way Campaign, and they helped me in preparing for the exhibition." For low-income students without older siblings, such as Paloma (a low-income Latina student), it was important to *be* the example they did not have themselves:

I hope that they don't have the same struggle that I have - that I had in high school. It's important for them to graduate too; it's important for me to have them graduate. I talk to them all the time about this. I think they're fed up with me. My sister's in GATE. I've always told her, "Oh, you're going to an Ivy League," so she's like, "I know, I'm going to an ivy league, so leave me alone." I bug them a lot, but I think, at some point I'm going to start pushing them, but I just want to push them enough to get them on the road already. My brother wants to go to some dumb college in Ohio because they have a paintball team, but I'm like, "Okay, as long as you go to college - go. I don't care, just make sure you finish." My sister's super smart, and she's the little brains of the family, and hopefully I can get her into a really, really good school.

Paloma may have struggled throughout high school, but she was determined to "push" her younger siblings to graduate high school and go on to attend and complete college. They showed tremendous grit and determination in not only figuring out a foreign process (the college-going application process) for themselves, but were firm in their resolve to turn around and help those who were coming up behind them.

Low-income students in homophilous networks also credited their time in AVID – a college-readiness program offered to first-generation college students or other underserved groups – as being a huge reason they learned how to apply to colleges. Paloma, a low-income Latina student who did not have an older sibling to guide her, stated: “AVID helped. I don’t think if I was in AVID, I would have done it at all. I would never have applied [to college].” Luciana, another low-income Latina student who was an eldest child, was even more effusive in her praise of AVID:

AVID? My goodness, AVID was the greatest thing since the first day. AVID was so different because it was just something I didn't know. I did not know anything about college. I did not know anything about anything. It was just so different. I loved it. Learning new things like college, and what you could do, and how much money you could get, and all of the different colleges there were. Everything. It was so different. No. no—yeah. I would have just because it is West Bayside. Wow, like 90% of the kids here go to something after. Whatever. I would have learned it, but I think I feel good that I learned my freshmen year, because it was like I could actually know what other kids were talking about. So AVID gave you this higher rate, this higher expectation.

Luciana was similar to other low-income students in homophilous networks in their praise of the AVID program; she credited it with helping her learn “new things like college, and what you could do, and how much money you could get, and all of the different colleges there were,” as well as giving her “this higher expectation” about what she could do after she graduated high school. Luciana was confident she would have eventually figured out how to apply to colleges on her own, but she nevertheless felt “good that I learned by freshmen year because... I could actually know what other kids were talking about.”

Capital Knowledge About College Among Low-Income Students in Heterophilous Networks

Interestingly enough, low-income students in heterophilous networks rarely mentioned AVID in the context of providing help with college preparation, even if they had participated in it. Luna, a low-income Latina student with heterophilous networks, mentioned her counselor instead: “I was really close with my counselor – Ms. Benke – she would email me with scholarships, or call me out of class to be like, ‘Okay! I found this! Go do this!’” Students who had signed up for AVID were often stigmatized at West Bayside High, and Luna may have picked up on this fact and learned to avoid mentioning it. The few times she did talk about other AVID students, she assiduously distanced herself from them: “I never really hung out with the AVID kids out side of class. Everyone was sort of an acquaintance – it was very hard to find something in common with the AVID kids.” Whatever the reason, Luna never mentioned AVID with the same breathless tone that other students in homophilous networks utilized when praising it; instead, Luna chose to talk about a counselor she had had the habitus to befriend. This counselor emailed her with scholarships and other opportunities, providing her with invaluable information and insights into the college-going process.

Other low-income students in heterophilous networks attributed knowledge and assistance with college to other people in their networks. Julieta, for instance, was a low-income Latina student with a heterophilous network, and a family friend helped her pay for college:

My mom is the sweetest person I know at Vons [a grocery chain]. She is always smiling and even though she is having a shitty day, she will always say, “Hi,” and, “Hi, how are you?” Very sincere. And one of her customers became a dear friend of ours and she is giving me \$5,000 dollars for college. I mean, she knows what we are going through and she goes, “Your family is a beautiful family and you really deserve this.”

Julieta's mother's friend – a wealthier woman who shopped at the grocery store her mother worked at – directly helped Julieta with college costs in a kind and incredibly generous gesture – one that was only possible because they had wealthy friends who could even afford such a gesture.

However, resources and information passed along networks were not always so direct and impactful. Students in heterophilous networks had access to informational tidbits about colleges through their friends that their counterparts in homophilous networks lacked – subtle informational tidbits that added to their general knowledge about college life and served to contribute to a sense of overall ease about colleges. Martha, for instance, was a low-income biracial student whose friend, Nemo, had “graduated State with a degree in political science right now.” Through her friend, she became aware of a local university café, stating: “I go to the Chavez Café a lot. You have to go. It's so cool. They do concerts and events. I went to a book fundraiser for prisoners over the weekend – it wasn't publicized enough, in my opinion.” Martha's friend, who had already graduated from college, had introduced her to campus life and Martha consequently felt comfortable not just attending events on campus, but also offering constructive criticism on ways to improve said events.

Another common college informational tidbit that was passed along heterophilous networks was a general disdain for community colleges. Julieta mentioned, “Kids look down upon Mesa College and community colleges,” and while she did not necessarily agree (“You shouldn't. There are great teachers there.”), Melissa, a low-income Latina student, had internalized this belief: “I don't consider community college a college. Just saying. Because you could apply to Grossmont and get accepted within an hour – sorry for all you people that go to community.”

While low-income students in homophilous networks credited older siblings and college-related programs (namely AVID) with helping to prepare them for college, low-income students in heterophilous networks assiduously avoided any mention of AVID. Instead, they focused on other sources for college help: school administrators and friends within their networks.

COLLEGE-GOING DECISIONS

By the end of the school year, one of the most important decisions students faced was what they would do after they graduated from West Bayside High. Much of their senior year had been consumed with college-related activities: visiting a variety of campuses, filling out college applications, and waiting with eager anticipation for their results. By the time of their interviews, most students had made their final decisions. Students reported to me their post-high school graduation plans over the course of the in-depth interview, including, when possible, the college they planned on attending.

Consistent with the literature, there was indeed a difference in college-going rates between students who were low-income versus those who were wealthy (Kane 2004). Among the seniors who were interviewed at West Bayside High, a majority of wealthy seniors were slated to go on to attend either highly competitive⁴⁹ colleges (36%), or even most competitive colleges (36%). By contrast, less than 10% of low-income students fell into either of these two

⁴⁹ I referred to Barron's *Profiles of American Colleges* to rank each college and university according to their Selectivity Index, which ranked colleges and universities on a scale of 1 (non-competitive) to 6 (most competitive). Other categories included 2 (least competitive), 3 (competitive), 4 (very competitive), and 5 (highly competitive).

categories. Instead, a plurality of low-income students (49%) were planning on attending community colleges. In fact, a small percentage of low-income students (3%) were not planning on going anywhere at all.

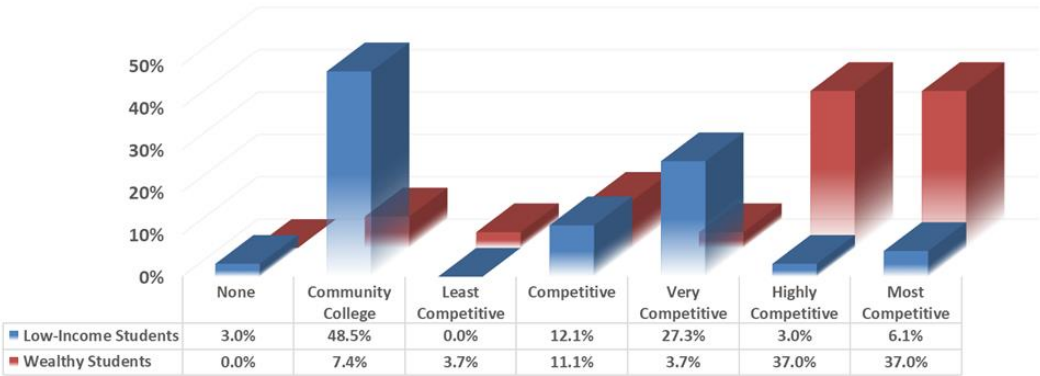


Figure 19. Future College's Selectivity Rating, by Socioeconomic Status (N=60)

It is important to note that the college matriculation rates reported by the students I had interviewed outpaced the college matriculation rates of the school district, the county, and the state as a whole. All of the wealthy students, and all but 3% of the low-income students, indicated they would enroll at a college or university upon graduation. By contrast, only 70% of all high school graduates in the school district (both wealthy *and* low-income) and 65% of all graduates in the county and state indicated they would do likewise⁵⁰. Clearly, West Bayside High School is doing a good job of graduating the vast majority of its students and preparing them to attend a college or university afterwards, as both their wealthy students *and* their low-income students are doing both at a rate that is higher than other schools in the district, county,

⁵⁰ This data was collected from California Department of Education's DataQuest (2015), a website which presented some limitations. First, they only went as far back as 2014-2015, so it is not a perfect comparison for the Class of 2012. Second, DataQuest did not break down college-going information for students receiving free and/or reduced price meals, so comparisons are made against the entire senior classes at each

and state. Much of this success is undoubtedly due to the reasons the low-income students had espoused earlier about the benefits of attending West Bayside High School: a more rigorous, college-going curriculum; ample opportunities; the relative safety of the school; and a college-going culture among the students there that served to pull the low-income students along.

Table 6. College Going Rates for Local School District, Local County, and Local State

Name	High School Completers	High School Completers Enrolled in College	College-Going Rate	Enrolled In-State			Enrolled Out-Of-State		
				California Community College	California State University	University of California	Private 2- and 4-Year College	2-Year College	4-Year College
Local School District	8,143	5,748	70.6%	40%	13%	7%	3%	1%	7%
Local County	35,263	23,044	65.3%	35%	12%	6%	3%	1%	8%
California State	430,696	277,720	64.5%	37%	12%	6%	3%	0%	6%

Information was collected from California Department of Education's DataQuest for year 2014-2015

When I broke down the low-income students at West Bayside High by network composition, I found a statistically significant difference in their future college’s selectivity rating. A majority of low-income students in homophilous networks were planning on attending community colleges (72%) or not attending college at all (6%). Meanwhile, a plurality of low-income students in heterophilous networks (47%) were going to attend very competitive colleges, with an additional 7% attending highly competitive colleges, and another 13% attending the most competitive nations in the country, comprising a full two-thirds of their group attending a college that was either very competitive, highly competitive, or most competitive. By contrast, none of the low-income students in homophilous networks were planning on attending either a highly competitive or a most competitive college at all.

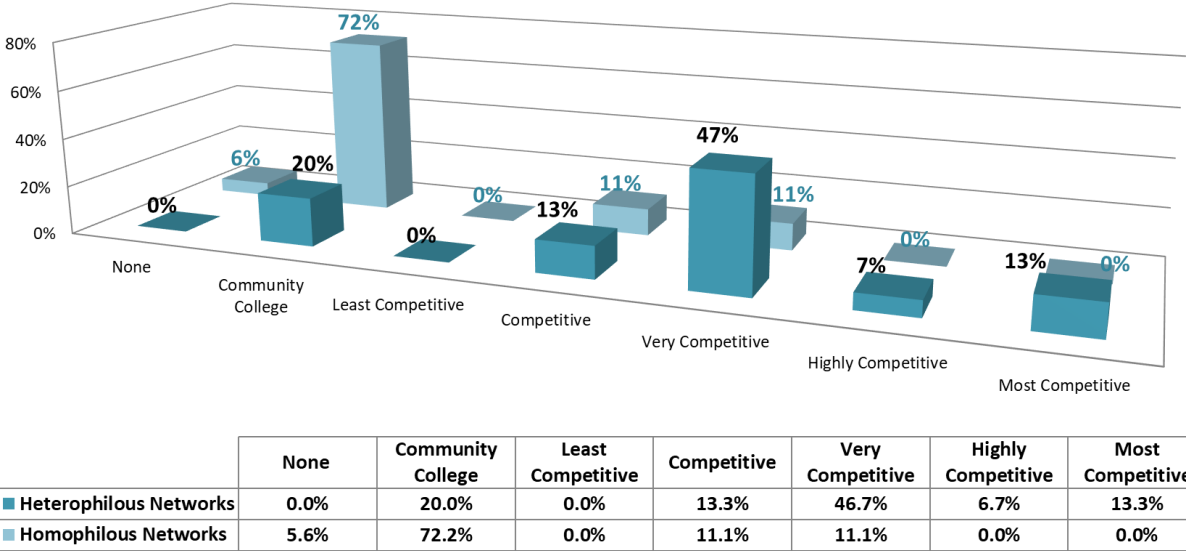


Figure 20. Low-Income Students' Future College's Selectivity Rating, by Network Composition (N=33)

The difference in matriculation rates at selective schools persisted as a statistically significant phenomenon, no matter how the students were divided. Wealthy students were able

to attend much more competitive schools (mean rank = 41.5) than their low-income counterparts (mean rank =21.5); the median wealthy student was going to a highly competitive college after graduation, while the median low-income student was going to a community college.⁵¹ Low-income students in heterophilous networks (mean rank = 23.03) were going to statistically significantly more competitive colleges than their counterparts in homophilous networks (mean rank = 11.97), with the median low-income student in heterophilous networks going to very competitive colleges and the median student in homophilous networks was attending community college.⁵²

Unlike past tests in this dissertation in which low-income students in heterophilous networks were statistically indistinguishable from their wealthier peers, students in heterophilous networks were statistically, significantly different in this one case: the selectivity rating of the college they would attend upon graduation. The median wealthy student would go on to attend a highly competitive college (mean rank = 24.8), while the median low-income student in heterophilous networks would attend a very competitive college (mean rank = 15.57). This turned out to be a statistically, significant difference.⁵³ Unsurprisingly, then, low-income students in homophilous networks differed even more from wealthy students than their counterparts in heterophilous networks; much like in the test for difference between wealthy students and low-income students as a whole, the median low-income student in homophilous networks would be matriculating at a community college (mean rank = 11.44), which had a

⁵¹ U = 148.5, Z = -4.52, p = .000

⁵² U = 44.5, Z = -3.52, p = .001

⁵³ U = 113.5, Z = -2.4, p = .016

statistically significantly lower selectivity score than the highly competitive college that the median wealthy student would attend (mean rank = 30.7).⁵⁴

In college-going decisions – a decision that required a significant financial outlay – social class reasserted itself as a significant factor. Low-income students as a whole were significantly more likely to matriculate at a less selective college/university than their wealthier peers (though it should be noted that low-income students at West Bayside attended college at a higher rate than the college-going rate in the school district, county, and state). In addition, low-income students in heterophilous networks – who were often statistically indistinguishable from their wealthier peers on other measures – turned out to also be significantly more likely to matriculate at a less selective college/university than their wealthier peers. While it is true that low-income students in heterophilous networks were significantly likely to matriculate at a more selective college than their low-income peers in homophilous networks, heterophily was not enough to place their rates on par with their wealthier peers. The reasons that social class had reasserted itself here are explored in the next section.

⁵⁴ U = 35, Z = -4.97, p = .000

Table 7. Mann-Whitney U Test for Group Differences in College's Selectivity Rating

	Descriptive Statistics			Test Statistics			
	N	Median	Mean Rank	Mann-Whitney U	Wilcoxon W	Z-Score	p-value
<i>Wealthy vs. Low-Income Students</i>							
Wealthy Students	27	Highly Competitive	41.5	148.5	709.5	-4.52	.000***
Low-Income Students	33	Community College	21.5				
<i>Low-Income: Homophilous vs. Heterophilous Networks</i>							
Homophilous Networks	18	Community College	11.97	44.5	215.5	-3.52	.001***
Heterophilous Networks	15	Very Competitive	23.03				
<i>Wealthy vs. Low-Income Students in Homophilous Networks</i>							
Wealthy Students	27	Highly Competitive	30.7	35	206	-4.97	.000***
Low-Income Students in Homophilous Groups	18	Community College	11.44				
<i>Wealthy vs. Low-Income Students in Heterophilous Networks</i>							
Wealthy Students	27	Highly Competitive	24.8	113.5	233.5	-2.4	.016*
Low-Income Students in Heterophilous Groups	15	Very Competitive	15.57				

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001 (two-tailed).

LOW-INCOME STUDENTS AND THEIR COLLEGE DECISIONS

A statistically significant difference may have continued to persist between a number of different groups when it came to their college decisions because college was often an enormous financial investment for students – particularly for students who would be first-time college-goers and for students who would be shouldering the financial burden of a college education themselves. This meant that one’s socioeconomic status and its correlating resources often trumped other factors – such as social networks – as the main factor to consider in making one’s decisions.

Low-Income Students and their Curtailed College Choices

The cost-prohibitive expenses involving tuition, room, and board were one of the primary reasons low-income students ended up choosing to matriculate at the (cheaper, local) colleges they chose. Sofia, a low-income Latina student, “wanted to go to college in the East Coast, but it’s so expensive and the financial aid is not that great, so I picked Irvine (a state school).” Mario, a low-income Latino student, had parents who explicitly told him he had to pay for college himself:

My parents told me: “If you want to go to college, you can go but you have to pay for it yourself.” First I was going to do University of Arizona but it was \$37,000 a year and they were only offering me \$11,000 total so I had to get a \$24,000 loan to go there. Chantilly was offering me more money, which was good.

He ended up going to Chantilly University instead – a local religious university. For both Sofia and Mario, getting accepted to a variety of good universities was not enough; without the material resources to afford the tuition and fees, the universities would continue to be out of reach for them, even if they had already been offered a slot as freshmen.

As Sofia and Mario pointed out, students often thought about the amount of funding that would be available to them. Esther, a low-income white student, also had a variety of acceptance letters, but had to consider which schools were offering her scholarships:

I got accepted to every university I applied for, and it was great I got into them, but it took away the excitement because I was like, “How am I going to get into it?” So my mom pressured me to get a scholarship because she didn’t want me to get a loan. I got into Berkeley, but SDSU gave me a scholarship. The scholarship came after I applied. I got accepted in October, and in January, I got an email saying I could apply for the Presidential Scholarship, and because it went well, I was going to go there even though I wanted to go to Berkeley.

Esther had also been accepted to other elite universities such as Harvard, but ended up matriculating at a local state school because that was the one that had offered her a scholarship.

Luciana, a low-income Latina student, had to make a similar decision: “The problem was my mom. She was like, ‘No you’re not going to Santa Cruz. I’m not going to pay Santa Cruz.’ Santa Cruz is more expensive - BYU is in Idaho, and I got a lot of financial aid, and I had some scholarships. Santa Cruz is \$6000 and I was going to ask for loans.” Though both Luciana and Esther had been excited about some of the other schools they had been accepted into, they ultimately chose to accept and attend the school that offered them the most funding, even if it wasn’t their first choice.

Students who hadn’t been able to procure scholarships found other ways to fund themselves. Adam, a low-income biracial student, opted to choose a school because the CalGrant – California state funded grants for students in need of financial aid to attend qualifying schools in California – had been significant enough to offset some of the costs he would take on at a local school:

It’s only an hour and a half away. I mean, I was going to go to Boise State for wrestling, cuz I could get a scholarship there, but then I wouldn’t have gotten

the CalGrant, so I might as well have gone to a California school. That's one of the only reasons I came to a California school, cuz of the CalGrants. If they didn't have them, I would have gone somewhere else.

For Adam, the CalGrant was the sole reason he had opted to stay in-state. Jose, a low-income Latino student, went a different route by deciding to take advantage of the community college system:

I'm going to take two years of community college and I'm doing part-time to save as much money as I can because I don't get any financial aid. And then I'm going to, I want to transfer to Berkeley and possibly a private University because I know there's better funding and I don't know if I want to study architecture or aerospace engineer.

Jose realized that two-years of community college would save him some money, so he opted to do that and then try to transfer to a four-year university afterwards.

Low-Income Students and their Curtailed Choices in College

Even after coming to a decision about which college they would attend, low-income students had to make other college-related decisions to accommodate their limited means. For some students, their low-income status limited the sort of classes and majors they were apt to choose. Adam, a low-income biracial student, was interested in a game design class at his university, but, "It's like, \$2,000 over the summer, and I was like, 'Um, no.'" Gracia, a low-income Latina student, had to shift her goals from her dream major to something more practical: "I really wanted to be a lawyer. I think that's cool. I would love to be that, but I was like, 'No, it involves too much school and money,' and I was like, 'No, I would rather go into something else.'"

In addition, many low-income students opted to live at home and commute to campus in order to save on living expenses. Violet, a low-income Asian student, said that she would be, "Commuting. From home. It's a lot of money." Other students talked about picking up part-

time jobs to help cover the cost of school. Mario, a low-income Latino student, said, “Yeah, most likely I’m going to work,” and Matthew, a low-income African-American student, also mentioned: “The only thing I need to do is make sure that I have a job for the summer.” Some students, like Sofia (who was low-income and Latina) had *already* started working:

I started working just because I wanted to cover my own expenses. For example, I'm paying for, like, my senior dues and my own deposit in college. Last summer I worked full-time over the summer, to save as much money as possible because I know how books are so expensive.

We have already seen how vastly the low-income experience at West Bayside High differed from the wealthy students’ experience there. This yawning difference would not end with graduation, but continue into their summers and beyond.

The particular realities of their low-income status meant that student choices were often curtailed when it came to decisions that required a significant financial investment, such as the type of college they would attend, where they would live when they were there, and even what major they would choose. In such cases, network composition and the acquisition of cultural capital was not enough to overcome the reality that college-related choices required money that low-income families simply did not have.

COLLEGE COMPLETION RATES, SIX YEARS LATER

How were West Bayside High School students doing, six years later? While four students could not be located – two low-income students and two wealthy students – and were subsequently dropped from further statistical analysis, the vast majority of students were doing

quite well. There continued to be a statistically significant difference between wealthy students and low-income students in their college graduation outcomes, but the majority of students in both groups (89% of wealthy students and 52% of low-income students) had obtained a bachelor’s degree within six years of their high school graduation. However, there was a bit more range in the outcomes of low-income students than there were for wealthy students: while only 4% of wealthy students had not yet finished any sort of degree (the other 96% had obtained their bachelor’s), almost one-quarter of low-income students (24%) had not yet graduated from a degree-granting university. An additional 9% of low-income students had graduated with an associate’s degree, and 6% had finished their associate’s and were enrolled in a four-year university that would grant them a bachelor’s degree when they were done.

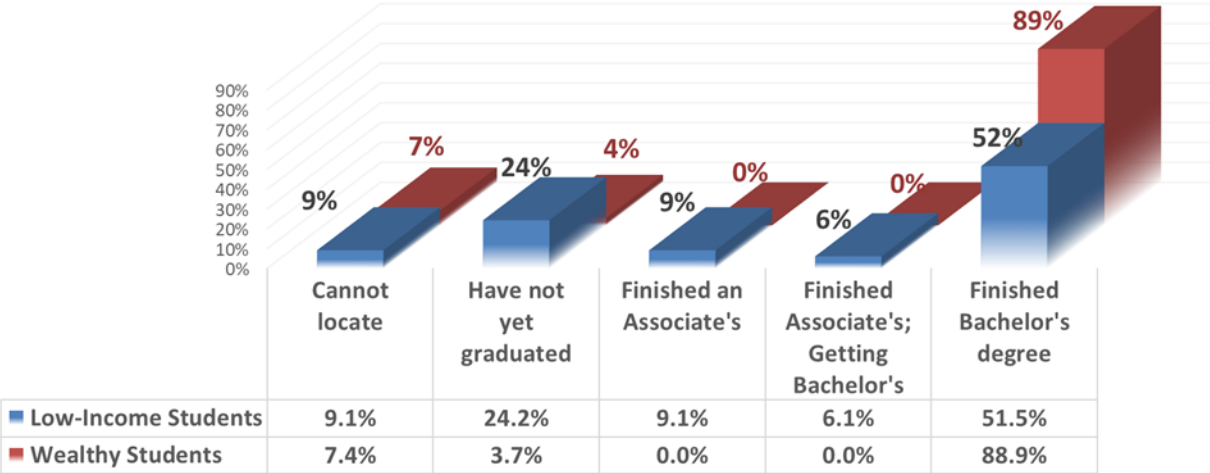


Figure 21. Students' College Degree Status, Six Years after High School Graduation (N=60)

However, there were stark – and statistically significant – differences between the low-income students depending on their high school network compositions. While the vast majority

of low-income students in heterophilous networks (80%) had completed their bachelor's degree, only a little more than a quarter of the low-income students in homophilous networks (28%) could make the same claim. Instead, a plurality of students in homophilous groups (33%) had not yet completed their associate's degree (by contrast, only 13% of those in heterophilous networks fell in this group). The rest of the students in homophilous networks fell somewhere in between, with 17% having completed an associate's degree, and another 11% having completed the associate's and then enrolled in a bachelor-degree granting four-year university.

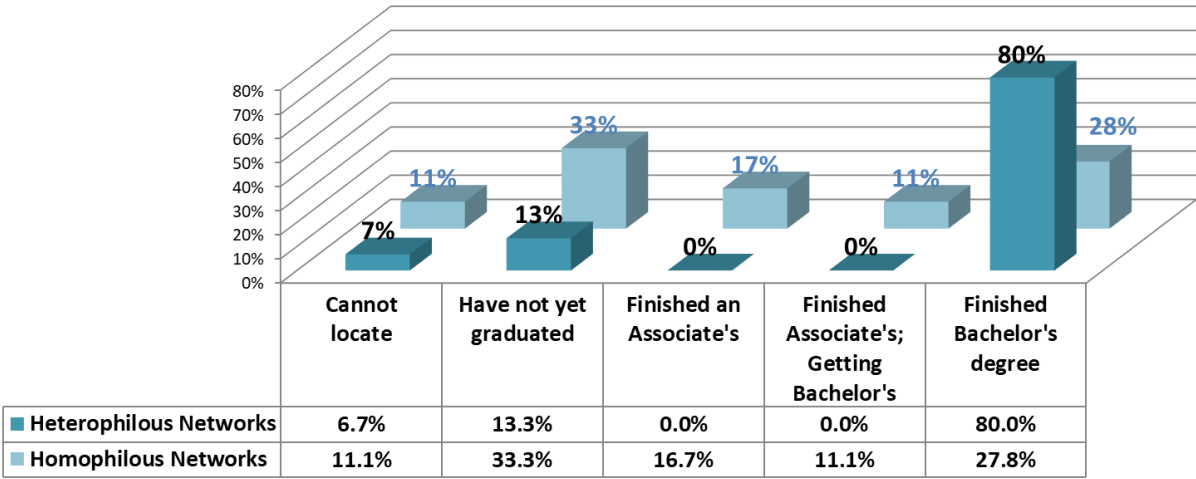


Figure 22. Low-Income Students' College Degree Status, by Network Composition (N=33)

After six years, there continued to be a statistically significant difference between wealthy students (mean rank = 34.76) and low-income students (mean rank = 23.45) in their

educational outcomes.⁵⁵ While the median student in either group had finished his/her Bachelor's degree, there was far greater variation among the low-income students than there was among the wealthy students. There was a statistically significant difference between low-income students in heterophilous networks, whose median student would have obtained a Bachelor's degree (mean rank = 19.87), compared to low-income students in homophilous networks, whose median student would have completed an Associate's degree (mean rank = 12.38).⁵⁶ Further analysis showed that low-income students in homophilous networks (mean rank = 13.06) continued to be statistically significantly different from wealthier peers (mean rank = 26.08).⁵⁷ Meanwhile, within six years, the difference between wealthy students and low-income students in *heterophilous* networks had disappeared entirely: the median student in either group had completed a Bachelor's degree, and any difference in mean rank (wealthy students = 21.68, and low-income students in heterophilous networks = 18.53) was statistically insignificant and likely due to random chance.⁵⁸ Once again, low-income students in heterophilous networks were statistically indistinguishable from their wealthier peers.

⁵⁵ U = 231, Z = -3.32, p = .001

⁵⁶ U = 62, Z = -2.54, p = .021

⁵⁷ U = 73, Z = -4.24, p = .000

⁵⁸ U = 158, Z = -1.58, p = .422

Table 8. Mann-Whitney U Test for Group Differences in College Graduation Outcomes, Six Years Later

	Descriptive Statistics			Test Statistics			
	N	Median	Mean Rank	Mann-Whitney U	Wilcoxon W	Z-Score	p-value
<i>Wealthy vs. Low-Income Students</i>							
Wealthy Students	25	Completed Bachelor's	34.76	231	727	-3.32	.001***
Low-Income Students	31	Completed Bachelor's	23.45				
<i>Low-Income: Homophilous vs. Heterophilous Networks</i>							
Homophilous Networks	16	Completed Associate's	12.38	62	198	-2.54	.021*
Heterophilous Networks	15	Completed Bachelor's	19.87				
<i>Wealthy vs. Low-Income Students in Homophilous Networks</i>							
Wealthy Students	25	Completed Bachelor's	26.08	73	209	-4.24	.000***
Low-Income Students in Homophilous Groups	16	Completed Associate's	13.06				
<i>Wealthy vs. Low-Income Students in Heterophilous Networks</i>							
Wealthy Students	25	Completed Bachelor's	21.68	158	278	-1.58	0.422
Low-Income Students in Heterophilous Groups	15	Completed Bachelor's	18.53				

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001 (two-tailed).

While socioeconomic status, and its corresponding resources, was an important factor to consider when choosing (affordable) colleges – and continued to be a contributing factor in whether someone had completed their degree or not – the composition of one’s high school network of close friends helped explain some low-income students’ success (namely, low-income students in heterophilous networks) in achieving college graduation outcomes that were statistically similar to their wealthier peers. As we have seen, participation in heterophilous networks provided students with access to new information and a habitus and confidence with which to approach new people and experiences on the college campuses they were at. They already knew how to blend in with, and get along with, the wide array of people they had encountered at West Bayside High School – people who were often both socioeconomically and racially different from themselves – in a way that would undoubtedly be echoed on the campuses of the more selective colleges they had opted to matriculate at. Knowing how to navigate these encounters may have comprised some of the invisible cultural capital and habitus it took to successfully complete a degree at these universities – cultural capital and habitus they had picked up via their heterophilous social networks.

CONCLUSION

By the time students reached their senior year, most low-income students had had ample time with which to cultivate various forms of social networks. For low-income students in heterophilous networks, these ties became especially helpful in accumulating valuable information about senior exhibitions not available to their low-income peers in homophilous networks. As a result, low-income students in heterophilous networks sounded very much like

their wealthier peers in their casual disregard of the exhibitions and their lack of preparedness for them. In addition, they, like their wealthier peers, also occasionally encountered a familiar face on the parent volunteer panel, since it was usually a wealthy parent of a friend in their network (versus a low-income parent) who had the luxury of volunteering extra time to the school. In fact, the information that low-income students in heterophilous networks had been able to glean from their networks proved to be so helpful they were statistically indistinguishable from their wealthier peers in terms of the amount of time they had spent preparing for their senior exhibitions and in the scores they had received in the end.

While much of this dissertation highlights the ways that heterophily was often associated with the acquisition of school-related information and cultural capital normally associated with the wealthy, there were times when network composition was not enough to override certain shared, social class experiences. Low-income students in both heterophilous and homophilous networks shared similar sources of inspiration for their hard work: a desire to disprove stereotypes and a desire to help their families, who had invested so much in them and their education. In addition, despite all of the “class injuries” they had sustained in their encounters at a wealthy high school, every low-income student said that they were grateful for their time at West Bayside High School. They cited reasons such as the better curriculum available there; the safety of the school; the opportunity to meet, and be propelled by, other college-oriented students; and an increasing comfort with students who were different from themselves. Indeed, it was because of these very reasons that low-income students at West Bayside High were graduating and attending colleges and universities at rates that exceeded college-going rates for all students (wealthy *and* low-income) at the local school district,

county, and state level. Every low-income student even said that, if given the opportunity, they would be willing to do it again.

The experience of being low-income – and therefore, having limited financial means with which to afford college – also united the low-income students across different network make-ups. Being low-income meant that decisions involving college were often limited against their wishes to what they could afford: which college to attend, for instance, or where to live once there, or even which major to choose, often revolved around the least-expensive options.

However, there was a difference between low-income students in heterophilous networks and low-income students in homophilous networks in terms of the sources they credited with sharing college-related knowledge with them over the years: those in homophilous networks were quick to credit family members and school programs such as AVID that were aimed at helping first-generation college students, while those in heterophilous networks studiously avoided any mention of such programs and instead credited school administrators and friends. While a statistically significant difference existed between wealthy students and low-income students in the prestige of the colleges they matriculated at after graduation, the difference in mean ranks and the significance of those differences were much smaller for low-income students in heterophilous networks and wealthy students.

The importance of including network composition in any discussion of low-income students' outcomes becomes even more pronounced a few years later. Six years after their high school graduation, low-income students in heterophilous networks had graduated college at a rate that was statistically indistinguishable from their wealthier peers, while those in homophilous networks continued to be statistically different from their wealthier peers. As we

have seen, participation in heterophilous networks provided students with access to new information, aspirations, and confidence – valuable tools with which to approach new people and experiences on the college campuses they chose to attend. These students already knew how to blend in with, and get along with, the wide array of people they had encountered at West Bayside High School – people who were often both socioeconomically and racially different from themselves – in a way that would undoubtedly be echoed on the campuses of the more selective colleges they had opted to matriculate at. Knowing how to navigate these encounters may have comprised some of the invisible cultural capital and habitus it took to successfully complete a degree at these universities – cultural capital they had acquired via their heterophilous social networks, which in turn allowed them to acquire institutionalized cultural capital in the form of a college degree.

Summary and Conclusions

SUMMARY

This dissertation dove in to the experience of low-income students at a wealthy high school. It began with a chapter examining their expectations as they arrived on campus and encountered wealthy students – some, for the very first time. This chapter then shifted to focus on the experience of low-income students in the AP classroom, a space in which they are severely underrepresented and underrecognized. I examined the habitus of the wealthier students who display an ease and comfort in their interactions both with one another and with teachers in this primarily wealthy space. I contrasted these reactions against those of low-income students in homophilous networks who recognized both that wealthy students possessed this form of capital, and also that they themselves did not. They did, however, possess their own form of social capital that worked within their contexts to bring them as far as they had gotten.

I then examined the experience of low-income students in heterophilous networks who, repeatedly throughout the dissertation, looked and sounded more like their wealthier peers than their low-income peers in homophilous networks. In this case, these students not only recognized the importance of habitus but had also picked up on ways to imitate it and incorporate it into their daily interactions in the AP classroom.

In the next chapter, I examined the *social* experience of low-income students in a wealthy high school. Wealthy students often deployed their objectified cultural capital in ways that were sometimes conspicuous and sometimes quiet, but always served to subtly delineate

their class status. Low-income students picked up on these class markers and felt the hidden class injuries that resulted from being excluded – especially since they lacked the embodied cultural capital that was necessary to fully appropriate the objectified cultural capital their wealthy peers were using with ease. This extended even to extracurricular activities that occurred outside of normal school hours. While these activities were ostensibly open to all students, many activities were really only available to those with the time and money to participate. Most low-income students were not able to get involved for a number of important and valid reasons. Unfortunately, this meant that they were not available when accidental conversations arose that would otherwise have helped them feel more involved in the school. Low-income students in heterophilous networks, on the other hand, not only knew how to participate in such accidental conversations with an ease and a facility that allowed them to essentially “pass” for being in a higher social class, but also worked hard to obtain specific class markers that would allow them to appear as if they possessed objectified capital as well.

While I touch on the importance of race as it intersects with class status briefly throughout the previous chapters, I wanted to devote an entire chapter to it as well. The chapter on low-income students in the AP classroom had already discussed the role that stereotypes and lowered teacher expectations played on the morale of the underrepresented students of color. The chapter on race and class began by expanding upon those findings. I looked at the way that various stereotypes affected various racial/ethnic groups differently in everyday interactions, both in terms of the way some students and some administrators treated the low-income students color, and even of the administration’s treatment of *parents* of color. I then moved on to an examination of students’ embodied cultural capital, as evidenced in the sort of deep cultural rationalizations that are utilized to explain the segregation they see during lunch

and around campus (what Bonilla-Silva referred to as “frames”), and later, via specific accents and word choice. Wealthy students and low-income students in homophilous networks employed different frames to explain classism and racialization on campus. Low-income students in homophilous networks, in particular, were able to develop a class-consciousness that allowed them to discuss the classism they experienced on campus, and the class injuries they sustained as a result, with humor and ease; in addition, their class-consciousness allowed them to think critically about the structural role that spatial segregation played in their academic lives. By contrast, low-income students in heterophilous groups actually sounded quite similar to their wealthier peers in the sorts of frames and rationalizations they chose to explain the same phenomenon (albeit adjusted for their unique circumstances) – even echoing their wealthy classmates’ employment of a cultural racism frame to rationalize segregation and deny classism. In addition, their embodied cultural capital extended to the conscious adoption of certain linguistic patterns that allowed them to sound virtually indistinguishable from their wealthier peers.

I concluded with low-income students’ experiences during their senior year in high school. Network composition continued to play a role here. Low-income students in heterophilous networks were able to glean information through their networks that allowed them to prepare for, and anticipate the expectations of, their senior exhibitions in ways that were statistically insignificantly different from their wealthier peers, but statistically significantly different from their low-income peers in homophilous networks. Low-income students in heterophilous networks attributed their knowledge about the college-going process to different sources than those the low-income students in homophilous networks mentioned. Similarly, low-income students in heterophilous networks graduated from four-year

universities at rates that were statistically similar to their wealthier peers, but statistically different from their low-income peers in homophilous networks. In other ways, however, the effects of social class could not be overcome by network composition. Low-income students in general (with either heterophilous or homophilous networks) were statistically significantly different from their wealthy peers in the selectivity ranking of the college they chose to matriculate at after graduation, and various financial-related decisions they made once there. This is more than likely due to the curtailed decisions they faced as low-income students with limited funds with which to attend college. In addition, all low-income students across the network spectrum were grateful for their opportunity to attend a wealthy school, and low-income students gave similar sources of inspiration for their hard work.

Network composition – in the form of heterophily – was helpful in procuring new information during interactions and incorporating new cultural capital into one's dispositions, such that low-income students in heterophilous networks became virtually indistinguishable from their wealthier peers. During these situations, heterophily was a useful categorizing device with which to study the diversity of the low-income experience for students attending a wealthy school. But for situations that related to, or required, the economic capital that low-income students, by definition, lacked, social class re-emerged as a unifying variable that served to limit low-income students' choices and outcomes.

THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

Modifying Bourdieu's Cultural Capital and Reproduction Theory

This dissertation adds to, and expands upon, the recent American turn in Bourdieu's reproduction theory. Bourdieu had originally argued that:

Schools... reproduce and legitimate the class structure by transforming social distinctions into educational distinctions, seen as distinctions of merit. Children from different class backgrounds enter the school with varying degrees of “linguistic and cultural capital” – competencies passed on in primary socialization; modes of use and relationship to language; relationship to and affinity for the dominant aesthetic culture; styles of interaction; and varying dispositions toward schooling itself. For the “inheritors,” the children of those classes and class fractions rich in cultural capital, school socialization is a simple extension of primary socialization. (DiMaggio 1979: 1463)

By introducing the concept of “cultural capital”, Bourdieu has improved our understanding of the ways social inequalities are reproduced – particularly in schools – in subtle ways that serve to legitimate the class structure. He showed that schools are not neutral institutions, but spaces that reflect the experiences of the “inheritors” or the “dominant class” – and consequently reward the children of this class because they are able to successfully navigate key social and cultural cues using the cultural capital and habitus they learned at home. Differences in academic achievement, then, are explained away as differences in ability; cultural capital is converted into academic skills in school, which are then exchanged for economic capital upon graduation (Mehan and Mussey 2012). Because the cultural resources that are passed on by the family are often taken-for-granted, they serve to legitimate the social transmission of privilege (Lamont and Lareau 1988).

American sociologists have modified Bourdieu’s cultural reproduction theory to fit the US context in two significant ways. First, they have expanded the idea of cultural capital to become something that is not just exclusive to the upper class, but is also held in different forms by other social classes – such as the idea of funds of knowledge (Carter 2003; Gonzalez, Moll, Amanti 2005; Lareau 2000; Lareau 2003; Livingstone and Sawchuk 2000; Moll, et al. 1992; Rios-Aguilar, Kiyama, and Gravitt 2011; Yosso 2005; Zipin, Sellar, and Hattam 2012). This significant modification shows that the funds of knowledge that other social classes

possess are not deficient or lacking because they are different, but rather have important and valid strengths and resources that should be utilized in the classroom.

Second, they have departed from Bourdieu's more rigid, structural analysis in which the family is the main transmitter of cultural capital to one that makes room for alternative sources of cultural capital which, in turn, allow for more agency and movement within the social structure (Apple 1983; DiMaggio 1979; Giroux 1988; Horvat and Davis 2011; MacLeod 1995; McLaren 1997; Mehan and Mussey 2012). While Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) do acknowledge that "total institutions" such as military basic training and boarding schools, and not just families, can serve as modifiers of habitus, American sociologists such as Mehan and Mussey (2012) and Horvat and Davis (2011) show that other institutional arrangements (such as the Preuss School and YouthBuild, respectively) can impart cultural capital and consequently alter habitus. By creating a college-going culture via a rigorous curriculum, carefully selected instructional staff, and structural changes in instructional time (as in the case of Preuss), or using an asset perspective and a curriculum with a mix of job-site experience, classwork, and community service (in the case of YouthBuild), researchers were able to demonstrate that institutional arrangements can change student dispositions and expectations. Thus, cultural capital was not only developed in an institution apart from the family (as Bourdieu initially predicted), but it was also dynamic, malleable, and learnable.

This dissertation continues in the American vein of Bourdieu's reproduction theory. My research takes place in an educational institution – a wealthy public school – and I find that low-income students in *homophilous* networks bring their own forms of social capital to the school to help them succeed. In addition, the structural composition of their friendship networks – namely, homophily – is such that they are often surrounded by other students of the

same social class and/or race, even while attending a predominantly white and wealthy school. As a result, they are able to develop a class-consciousness that allows them to think expansively and critically about their experiences at the school, and to display a pride and affection for where they had come from and how far they had come.

I also argue, with Horvat and Davis (2011:166), that, “the habitus formed by early childhood experiences (either positive or negative) is not washed away, but new experiences can be, and are, incorporated into it.” I hone in on *heterophilous* networks as the mechanism by which cultural capital is transmitted from a source other than the family. As a result, low-income students in heterophilous networks learn to incorporate an embodied cultural capital, to possess certain forms of objectified cultural capital, and to strive for institutionalized cultural capital in ways that are often indistinguishable from their wealthier peers. Like their wealthier counterparts, they were then able to parlay these skills into academic outcomes that were later rewarded in the form of bachelor degrees at rates that were statistically similar to their well-to-do peers.

The Importance of Incorporating Network Analysis and Heterophily

How do low-income students navigate structural barriers that reproduce inequality? I argue that in desegregated schools, students form heterophilous networks that allow for “deep contact” (Allport 1954) and provide an avenue through which they can glean information and incorporate new forms of cultural capital. The experience of being a low-income student at a wealthy school is a difficult one, but low-income students who choose to embed themselves in heterophilous networks not only end up being statistically significantly different from their peers in homophilous networks on a number of indicators, but also end up with outcomes that are virtually indistinguishable from their wealthier classmates.

First let me present what this dissertation is *not*: Despite all of the hardships chronicled by the low-income students, particularly low-income students of color, this dissertation is *not* an argument against desegregation in schools. Research has shown over and over and over again that desegregation is one of the *best*, statistically significantly robust interventions state actors can implement to reduce inequalities and to help the greatest number of students succeed academically (Schofield 2001; Braddock and Eitle, 2004; Schofield and Hausmann 2004; Wells, et al. 2005). Nor am I placing a normative judgment on either heterophilous or homophilous networks. This dissertation presents the strengths and weaknesses of both groups as it relates to various aspects of the high school experience without saying that one is better than the other.

Rather, what I found is that desegregation is *hard*. The reason that money (and the lack thereof) came up over and over again among low-income students was because... they were low-income students. At a wealthy school. They were faced with the reality of the yawning discrepancies between themselves and their wealthier peers on a daily basis. It is hard to underscore just how deeply and profoundly this affected some of the students, to the point where several of the students broke down in tears when they described their feelings of alienation and downright *difference* from the students around them. When I add in the variable of race and examined the ways that it intersected with socioeconomic status to provide a double-disadvantage to low-income students of color – particularly for micro-minorities⁵⁹ who were few in number and prone to being marginalized to begin with – the experiences they articulated were doubly painful ones. While this dissertation hones in on heterophilous

⁵⁹ Special thanks to Rebecca C. Franklin who first coined the term in her forthcoming article

networks as a helpful explanatory variable and a potentially fruitful area for further research, I had also wanted to foreground and center the low-income experience in general. Most low-income students – like their wealthier counterparts – embed themselves in homophilous networks, and a focus on low-income heterophilous networks should not, nor was it ever meant to, come at the expense of the low-income homophilous experience.

That said, the experience of low-income students in heterophilous networks is an interesting case, and a helpful way to explain the mechanism by which low-income students in wealthy schools end up achieving academic success on par with their wealthier classmates. While I'm not sure how large this group is in the general population (in my research sample, roughly half the low-income students were in heterophilous networks, while the other half were in homophilous networks, but the low-income students came from a purposive rather than a random sample), they are nevertheless an interesting, if understudied, group.

First: low-income students in heterophilous networks were often statistically significantly different from their low-income peers in homophilous networks. This finding came up over and over again: they took more AP/Seminar classes; they participated in more sports; they spent less time preparing for their senior exhibitions; they went to a more selective college; and they were more likely to have completed a bachelor's degree six years after their high school graduation. Clearly, low-income students should not be treated as a monolith. There were significant differences in outcomes for students who chose to embed themselves in heterophilous networks.

Second: Not only were low-income students in heterophilous networks significantly different from their peers in homophilous networks on a number of measures, but in some

ways, they were actually more similar to their wealthier classmates. Toward the end of their high school careers, when they had had time to fully develop their heterophilous networks, low-income students in heterophilous networks became virtually indistinguishable from their wealthier peers (at least in any statistically significant way). They spent roughly the same amount of time preparing for their senior exhibitions (namely: very little) and six years after graduation, they had roughly the same rates of students completing a Bachelor's degree.

Third: In-depth interviews helped to flesh out these statistical findings. They indicated that low-income students in heterophilous networks not only achieved academic outcomes that were similar to their wealthier peers, but also acted and sounded like them, too. While low-income students in homophilous networks were intimidated in AP/Seminar classrooms, low-income students in heterophilous networks had begun to embody the habitus of their wealthy friends in the ways they approached the classroom and interacted with their teachers. They were familiar enough with the conversational topics of the wealthier students that they could navigate them with ease, knowing how to talk (or not talk) about their neighborhoods and material possessions in a way that allowed them to “pass” for being one of the wealthier students. While low-income students in homophilous networks often disliked questions about their vacations or their weekend plans or material objects like cell phones – feeling sheepish and embarrassed when they answered honestly about not going anywhere or not having some of these items – low-income students in heterophilous networks had learned to quietly pretend they, too, had done and possessed what their wealthier friends had done and possessed. Low-income students in heterophilous networks had even begun to use the same race frames as their wealthier counterparts when it came to explaining the racial segregation that occurred on campus. While low-income students in homophilous networks were able to develop a class

consciousness that allowed them to offer more structural explanations for the racial segregation around them, low-income students in heterophilous networks resorted to the same race frames as their wealthier friends: relying on cultural racism (even if it meant stereotyping their own co-ethnic peers) and inverting the naturalization frame into a desire to meet new people and act as cultural brokers for them. Incorporating heterophily into an analysis of the low-income student experience helps to tease out a successful mechanism for the transmission of cultural capital, while a comparison against low-income students in homophilous networks helps to highlight the benefits and drawbacks of both network-types.

COMPLICATIONS IN STUDYING HETEROPHILOUS NETWORKS

Over the course of the analysis, I grappled with several complicated questions that future researchers are advised to consider during their own analysis: that of causality (versus correlation), and the inclusion of other, potentially helpful, explanatory variables

Question of Causality

One of the thorniest questions confronting social science research is that of causality: how can we determine whether Variable X actually caused Variable Y in a group of people, or are Variables X and Y merely correlating factors that often co-exist together? After all: correlation does not always imply causation. In addition, even if we were to establish causality, how can we determine the direction of the causal arrow?

This dissertation used heterophilous networks as an explanatory variable with which to explain the academic success of some low-income students. Time constraints dictated that much of the data was gathered cross-sectionally: throughout, and especially at the end of, students' senior year. While this was not a problem for the purposes of this particular

dissertation since the goal had been to establish the existence of important correlative factors (i.e., I was able to establish that there was, indeed, a statistically significant difference between low-income students in heterophilous networks and low-income students in homophilous networks, and groups in the former group were more similar to wealthy students in their outcomes than to similarly low-income students in the latter group), a future study with longitudinal data could tease out evidence of causality. For instance, if a student started West Bayside High with homophilous networks but gradually began to form heterophilous networks of close friends, do his/her outcomes gradually change in the pattern we would expect?

A difficulty in correlations is determining not only *if* a causal arrow even exists, but also *how* a causal arrow works. A longitudinal study would tease out the direction of the causal arrow. Even though I established that low-income students in heterophilous networks took a statistically significantly higher number of AP/Seminar classes than low-income students in homophilous networks, we are unsure whether that is because low-income students in heterophilous networks felt more comfortable taking more AP/Seminar classes, or whether taking more AP/Seminar classes helped the low-income students develop more heterophilous networks. A longitudinal study could answer this question. A researcher could measure students' changes in network composition over the years – say, at the beginning of every academic year, as well as at the end of their senior year – and test to see whether the development of heterophilous preceded, occurred concurrently with, or followed, participation in AP/Seminar classes.

Other Explanatory Variables

While gathering information on students' background information and a variety of their social networks, I was able to collect data on other variables that may have also helped explain student outcomes. These included:

- Early Exposure: Whether a student had had early exposure (defined as elementary school or earlier) to students who were different from themselves. Students were defined as having "early exposure" if they attended an elementary school that was primarily made up of students who were different from themselves.
- Classroom Networks: Whether a student's networks within the classroom were heterophilous or homophilous. While the heterophily variable I used in the dissertation looked at the heterophily of a student's close friends network, this one examined the heterophily of their networks inside the classroom.
- Contact Networks: Whether a student's network of acquaintances (people with whom they had fairly regular contact [such as in an extracurricular activity, sports team, or class project] but would not consider them a close friend) was heterophilous or homophilous.

This dissertation has already established that low-income students with heterophilous networks of *close* friends differed significantly from other low-income students with homophilous networks of close friends. I was curious whether low-income students with other types of heterophilous networks (i.e. networks other than close friend networks, such as classroom networks) might also be significantly different from other low-income students with homophilous versions of these networks. I divided up the dataset into a group of wealthy students and a group of low-income students and then ran Mann-Whitney U tests for difference

within each class group. For instance: did low-income students with heterophilous classroom networks differ in a statistically significant way from other low-income students in homophilous classroom networks in terms of, say, the total number of AP/Seminar classes they took? Did wealthy students with early exposure to students who were different from themselves differ in a statistically significant way from other wealthy students who did not have that early exposure in terms of the total number of extracurricular activities they participated in? Results are summed up in Table 9, below.

Table 9. Mann-Whitney U Test for Differences between Heterophilous and Homophilous Networks for both Wealthy Students and Low-Income Students, on Various Variables

	Senior Exhibitions					College	
	Total Number of AP/Seminar Classes	Total Number of Clubs/ Extracurricular Activities	Total Number of Sports	Preparation	Final Score	Selectivity Score of College	Results, Six Years Later
Early Exposure							
Wealthy Students	Not significant	Not significant	Not significant	Not significant	Not significant	Not significant	Not significant
Low-Income Students	Not significant	Not significant	Not significant	Not significant	Not significant	Not significant	Not significant
Classroom Heterophily							
Wealthy Students	Not significant	Not significant	Not significant	Not significant	Not significant	Not significant	Not significant
Low-Income Students	Not significant	Not significant	Not significant	p = .004**	Not significant	p = .005**	Not significant
Contact Heterophily							
Wealthy Students	Not significant	Not significant	Not significant	Not significant	Not significant	Not significant	Not significant
Low-Income Students	p = .047 *	Not significant	Not significant	p = .003**	Not significant	p = .003**	Not significant

* p = .05; ** p = .01; *** p = .001

There are a few important findings to note from Table 9.

First: Unsurprisingly, I found that networks were not significant for wealthy students, period. It did not matter which network I looked at (early exposure, classroom networks, or occasional contact networks); the heterophily of these networks was not statistically significantly different for wealthy students in heterophilous networks versus wealthy students in homophilous networks.

Second: Bussing low-income students in to the Bayside area from an earlier age (using the variable: “Early exposure”) did not have a statistically significant effect on students’ outcomes. In other words, low-income students who had had earlier exposure to Bayside students were not actually very different from other low-income students who did not come to Bayside until they were older (and any difference we do see may have been due to random chance). This was an unexpected finding, but made sense in the interviews: several students with early exposure mentioned feeling alienated and marginalized when they were first bussed in to the Bayside area, and were excited about the opportunity to make friends with students who were similar to themselves once they got to West Bayside High School. In fact, it turned out early exposure was not statistically significantly correlated with whether one chose to embed themselves in close heterophilous networks later in high school.⁶⁰

Third: Among low-income students, variables such as the heterophily of students in one’s classroom network (“Classroom networks”) and the heterophily of acquaintances around school (“Contact networks”) were sometimes significant. This made intuitive sense: it is

⁶⁰ I conducted a chi-square test for association between “Early Exposure” and “Close Networks” for low-income students. There was no statistically significant association between the two variables, $\chi^2(1) = 3.143, p = .076$.

logical, for instance, that students who took more AP/Seminar classes would have a more heterophilous network of acquaintances around the school that was significantly different from the more homophilous networks of acquaintances that were maintained by those who took fewer AP/Seminar classes.

In addition, these two variables were both strongly, and statistically significantly, correlated with one another,⁶¹ as well as statistically significantly correlated with the variable I focused on in the body of the dissertation: the heterophily of one's network of close friends.⁶² This may be because there were a lot of overlapping cases within the different groups. However, while almost all of the students with heterophilous networks of close friends also maintained heterophilous networks of classroom friends and heterophilous networks of school acquaintances, the converse was not always true: students who interacted with students who were different from themselves in the classroom or around school did *not* always maintain a heterophilous network of close friends. Because of this tendency to covary together, I chose to drop these extraneous variables from the analysis, and these were not mentioned in the dissertation.

⁶¹ I conducted a chi-square test for association between "Classroom Networks" and "Acquaintance Networks" for low-income students. There was a statistically significant association between the two variables, $\chi^2(2) = 21.851, p = .000$. There was a strong, positive association between "Classroom" and "Acquaintances", $\varphi = .749, p = .000$.

⁶² I conducted a chi-square test for association between "Close Friends Networks" and "Classroom Networks" for low-income students. There was a statistically significant association between the two variables, $\chi^2(2) = 16.598, p = .000$. There was a moderately strong, positive association between "Classroom" and "Acquaintances", $\varphi = .652, p = .000$.

I also conducted a chi-square test for association between "Close Friends Networks" and "Acquaintance Networks" for low-income students. There was a statistically significant association between the two variables, $\chi^2(1) = 10.411, p = .001$. There was a moderate, positive association between "Classroom" and "Acquaintances", $\varphi = .517, p = .001$.

For further information on these variables, as well as for graphs on students' outcomes on a number of these measures, please refer to Appendix A.

AVENUES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

In addition to the suggestion above to perform a longitudinal study to further pinpoint the causal mechanisms by which heterophilous networks are formed and to figure out the direction of the causal arrow with which they are occurring, it would also be interesting to look at structural characteristics of networks that extend beyond heterophily. For instance, does the size of one's network matter? What about the strength of the ties, or the open/closed nature of the network itself? New computer programs such as eNet have the capacity to generate outputs measuring networks' size, density, efficiency, constraints, and hierarchy of their structural holes; would any of these variables better explain the effects of low-income networks on school outcomes?

To borrow from, and expand upon, Mario Small's logic of case-study selection (2009), future researchers could also perform a literal and theoretical replication of this study to determine the robustness of its findings: that heterophilous networks were an important mechanism by which students in otherwise marginalized groups gather the habitus, cultural capital, and information they need to succeed. A literal replication could look for other geographic locations with which to duplicate the study: do we find similar results at other wealthy high schools outside of coastal beach towns? Meanwhile, a theoretical replication could look at slightly different groupings to see if heterophilous networks have a similar effect in a number of different contexts: low-income students in Ivy League institutions, for instance, or low-income workers in the tech sector. We could further expand these theories by examining other underrepresented groups: women in STEM fields, for instance, or even

wealthy students in low-income schools. With each subsequent experiment, we would further refine our understanding of the impact of heterophilous networks in gathering tools that are necessary for social mobility and success.

SUGGESTIONS FOR EDUCATORS

Furthermore, students were quite generous in providing feedback for educators who are interested in helping low-income students better adjust to life at a wealthy school. Their suggestions fell into two categories: suggestions at the organizational level (the school) for administrators to take into consideration as they make various programming decisions and interview for new hires, and suggestions for faculty and staff.

At the School Level

School Programs

At the school level, it was helpful to have programs in place to help low-income students succeed. West Bayside High School was exceptionally good at this, and students were quick to praise them for it. The West Bayside High School Foundation Scholarship was one of these initiatives; it gives scholarships to deserving students who do not have the financial means to go to college. Julieta knew another student who had gotten the scholarship, and explained that, “It's things like that, that really push people because when somebody believes in you, you are not doing it solely for yourself anymore. There are other people watching that are proud of you and expect things of you.” These scholarships were not only helpful in a tangible and material way, but were also an implicit acknowledgment and recognition of low-income students’ circumstances, as well as a way to encourage them by showing them the school was proud of them.

Another example of a school initiative – albeit an unofficial one – that was meant to promote inclusion at the school was an informal group that met regularly with a school administrator to talk about important issues. Matthew was an African-American student, and he appreciated the fact that a white administrator had organized a group of African-American students for this purpose:

I think it was ninth grade - they called it a group - we had a group of African Americans, and we would meet up - and we would bring snacks and stuff. They wanted to make sure that people from West Bayside or other areas could talk about things that other people could not understand. The vice principal asked me if I wanted to join. It was all-black. I think it was Mr. F's idea, or another Vice Principal's - it was interesting because he was white.

Like the West Bayside High School Foundation scholarship, this group helped students from under-represented groups (in this case, African-American students) feel like their voices were valued and appreciated. Implementing initiatives such as this informal group would only take a few hours of an administrator's day, but could go a long way in helping students feel included rather than alienated at the school.

The Impact of Adult Figures' Race

Schools like West Bayside, which serve a predominantly white, wealthy student body, also staff teachers who reflect the racial make-up of the school: they, too, are white, and often solidly middle-class. Students commented on this and reflected on a desire to connect to teachers who shared their race. Alandra remarked: "People always seem to connect to teachers who are the same race as them because they feel like they can identify with them and they see themselves in them." Koraima was blunt about the reasons for this: "I think we feel more comfortable asking questions to a Latino than to a teacher that's not," while Don elaborated:

I think if we had more Latino teachers, we would look up to them, like: they made it, they're teachers and they have a good job. They could connect with us and understand us more than if we had whites because they don't know what it's like.

Seeing a teacher of the same race meant a lot for the students: not only would they feel more comfortable asking them questions, but they could also “see themselves in them” and even “look up to them” as role models. This indicates that students would not only feel more comfortable speaking up and engaging in class if the teacher came from the same racial background as themselves, but may even look to them as an aspirational figure.

The desire to see themselves reflected in the adults around them was not limited to the race of the teachers, but extended to the race of the administrators as well. Jaime commented: “I'd like to see a Latino principal. I think if there was one here, people would connect more.” Schools have a lot to consider when they are staffing their teaching positions, but an important factor to include would be the ways teachers can connect to *all* the students in the classroom, such as underrepresented minorities from low-income backgrounds. Teachers who share the same race as some of these students can help them feel more connected and engaged with the school (Beady and Hansell 1981; Pigott and Cowen 2000; Dee 2004).

Translators

It would also be helpful to have translators at the school to help parents (and the occasional student) communicate effectively with teachers and administrators. Koraima mentioned that, “My parents came and tried to communicate and then were disappointed when no one spoke Spanish. They left.” The fact that her parents were unable to communicate with the administrators led directly to the fact that they left the premises. Inesa echoes this sentiment, and says that this is happening on a grander scale than just a couple of parents. She

presents the case of a bilingual administrator who had since been fired as an example of the benefits of having a translator on the school premises:

He was sort of a counselor but he helped a lot of people. Parents were coming in just because a lot of parents don't speak English like my mom did – she speaks good. But it's like a lot of parents would come and ask for the kids once that counselor was there, because obviously he talks in Spanish, so he would translate. But after he got fired, a lot of Hispanic parents don't come anymore.

The presence of a bilingual administrator who could act as a translator for parents clearly helped boost parental comfort with the school and, consequently, increased parental participation. When he got fired, many of the Latino parents stopped coming. An easy fix for this would be to procure the services of a translator or to hire another bilingual administrator who could be paid a bit extra to provide this extra service.

Preparing Faculty and Staff

Teachers As Facilitators of New Educational Opportunities

Teachers made a huge difference in the lives of their students. Many of the low-income students who were at West Bayside High were there because a teacher had pulled them aside at an earlier stage in their schooling and urged them to apply to programs that would allow them to come to schools in the Bayside area. Mario, for instance, said his, “middle grade school teacher saw potential in me and thought I might get farther if I went to Palmland [Bayside area’s middle school]”. Similarly, Ysabel said, “my teacher, my fifth grade teacher, was telling my mom that Palmland is a really good school and she thought it was going to be a good challenge for me to come instead of going to Chantilly [a neighborhood school].” Luciana’s teacher had even gone as far as to submit paperwork on behalf of all the students in his classroom:

The teacher told my mom I was really good and he submitted all of the paperwork for all of the kids in my classes because he said we were too good for it or something, or we had to better ourselves. It was just a teacher who really cared and wanted to push everybody.

These teachers went out of their way to give students access to new opportunities they were unaware of – opportunities that would open new doors for them. Better training could introduce all teachers to the sorts of opportunities that are available to their students not just within the school, but within the district (such as programs to bus students to better resourced schools), so they can pass on this information to their students.

Preparation for College

High school counselors, like teachers, had the potential to provide an outsized impact on low-income students' academic trajectory. They are veritable founts of knowledge for college application information: how to apply; when to apply; where to apply. For students like Zamora, who was able to find a counselor she connected with, they helped connect her to important information and even scheduled relevant tests on her behalf:

I actually had an adviser since my junior year and I got interested [in college], and then she calls me and she is like, "Are you still interested? I haven't heard from you since summer," and I am like, "I don't know if I'll make it. I'm concerned about my grades. They are not the best. But I am interested in the college." So she scheduled me to go take a placement test.

Zamora's counselor was an especially helpful one who eventually helped her get into the college of her dreams – an arts school where she could continue to develop her talent. But a counselor like Zamora's should be the norm, not the exception. Instead, students reported feeling lost and confused about the college application process. Martina said that, "You don't have anybody to teach you; no one tells you. Not even the counselors." Levi concurred:

I only filled out two college apps, and I wasn't really involved in the college application process. I actually had decent grades; I probably could have gotten into a professional college, or whatever, instead of a community college. I think it would help, too, if they forced students to go to a counselor, and they sorted out everything to do with prepping for college applications, in that counseling period of time. Like give them thirty minutes to talk to a counselor who shows them online what their account is and everything else, cuz I didn't know how to log into my account, and how to link up ACT scores and SAT scores for my college app.

Low-income students often recognized the importance and value of a counselor, but did not seem to realize they could approach the counselors with questions or set up appointments with them to learn about the college-going process. Schools should make this explicit so that low-income students can take advantage of the opportunity to learn about the application process.

In places where counselors are not available, school programs like AVID (Achievement Via Individual Determination), which are specifically aimed at preparing first-generation college-goers for college, can be helpful. AVID students progress through high school together in a single cohort that meets for one period every semester. During that period, their AVID teacher helps prepare them for college milestones: organizing field trips to universities of interest, alerting them to important deadlines, helping them with college applications, etc. Paloma mentioned that, "AVID helped. If I wasn't in AVID, I wouldn't have done it [college applications] at all." For Adam, AVID opened up a whole other world:

It pretty much helped open the college option cuz originally I wanted to join the military straight out of high school cuz most of my family has been in the Navy or some sort of service, but then going to AVID, they actually showed me more options available to me, and I applied to a bunch of colleges, and AVID helped with that a lot, cuz I didn't really understand any of the process whatsoever.

For students who lack information about the college-application process, AVID can provide valuable information when counselors are unavailable.

Awareness Training for Faculty and Administrators

The most common complaint by students was the fact that faculty and staff members did not understand the challenges they faced. Luciana summed this up by saying: “If you compare the good schools like West Bayside, the rich schools, it’s so different from the lower class schools because the teachers there – they don’t pity you – and they understand where you come from. Here, they don’t know where you come from.” This could be alleviated with a training seminar for teachers and administrators that talked about the experience of low-income students and the particular struggles they faced when matriculating at wealthier schools. This could be facilitated by former students who are willing to share their stories so that teachers and administrators could get a sense of the depth and breadth of these experiences. They could pay particular attention to some of the micro-aggressions my low-income students experienced, which included:

- Lowered expectations: A common experience was the realization that teachers had lower expectations of them in the classroom (Koraima, for instance, said, “they don’t expect much; they do expect less.”). This came out in small ways (a teacher’s surprise when a low-income student performed well) and big ways (teachers and counselors actively steering students away from rigorous classes without looking at their schedules to see whether they had taken the prerequisite classes).
- The awkward experience of being a micro-minority in the classroom: Low-income students and students of color were often micro-minorities in AP/Seminar classrooms, which were comprised of mostly wealthier, white or Asian students. They found it challenging to find partners for projects or students to ask for homework help, simply because they had not grown up with one another. Dealing with this is a bit tricky,

however; as Luciana noted, different students have different reactions to a teacher's attempt to pair up two Latina students together:

And they always put us together. Which I was grateful about. I'm not even saying - I'm not complaining about that. Luna would be like, "Oh my goodness Luciana, do you see this stereotype? Or racism?" She would be talking about all this, and I would be like, "Oh my goodness, thank you!" I would just be like, "I don't want to be the only one, you know?"

Luciana is a low-income student with homophilous networks, while Luna is a low-income student with heterophilous networks; they had wildly different reactions to their teacher's effort to help them feel more comfortable. Nevertheless, this should not deter teachers from trying.

- Insensitive comments about low-income students or students of color: Even for students who were not as uncomfortable being a micro-minority (like Matilda, who is quoted below), they must still contend with inappropriate comments about other low-income students or other students of color:

If she – the teacher – didn't make those comments, I would have felt more comfortable. And, it wasn't as much me being the only Hispanic in there – it wasn't the first time it's happened to me – but just the fact that she made me feel uncomfortable making those comments about people.

These sorts of comments only served to make students like Matilda feel alienated and unwelcome in the classroom.

A training session to bring awareness to the particular struggles of low-income students – especially low-income students of color – would help teachers and administrators become more cognizant of both the students' experiences, and the impact their own words and actions may have on them.

WITH GRATITUDE

Over the course of their interviews, low-income students – especially low-income students of color – shared personal stories about their experiences at West Bayside High that were often profoundly moving and sometimes deeply heart-rending: stories about homeless shelters and orphanages, about deported parents and ailing family members and incarcerated loved ones. Yet what always shined forth was their strength, resilience, sheer grit, and *humor*. Most of the academic literature paints low-income students as passive carriers of class, or unwitting participants in a deterministic structure.

My research found the opposite. Yes, most of the low-income students sustained “class injuries” from their time in the Bayside area, whether it began at a young age or in their high school years. They went on, however, to work agentially to make the most of their circumstances. For those who chose to embed themselves in heterophilous networks, it meant they actively sought out students who were different from themselves and took on class markers that eventually led to academic successes that were virtually indistinguishable from their wealthier peers. For those who opted for homophilous networks, it meant they found solace in one another and developed a class consciousness that allowed them to identify and critique some of the structural and interpersonal elements of the inequalities around them. Whichever method they chose to employ, low-income students showed creativity and ingenuity in their navigation of some of the structural barriers in the educational system that were working to reproduce inequalities – transforming their lives and their own trajectories in the process.

Works Cited

- About La Jolla High School*. 2011. Retrieved October 8, 2011, from <http://www.ljhs.sandi.net/content/about-us/about-us>.
- Ali, Mehrunnisa Ahman. 2008. "Loss of Parenting Self-Efficacy among Immigrant Parents," *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood*. 9(2):148-160.
- Allport, Gordon W. 1954. *The Nature of Prejudice: 25th Anniversary Edition*. New York: Perseus Books.
- Alter, Adam, Joshua Aronson, John M. Darley, Cordaro Rodriguez, and Diane N. Ruble. 2009. "Rising to the Threat: Reducing Stereotype Threat by Reframing the Threat as a Challenge." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*. 46:166-171.
- Andersen, Margaret L. 1993. "Studying Across Difference: Race, Class, and Gender in Qualitative Research," *Race, Ethnicity, and Research Methods*, ed. by J. Stanfield II and M.D. Rutledge. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publishers.
- Apple, Michael W., and Lois Weis. 1983. *Ideology and Practice in Education: A Political and Conceptual Introduction*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Aron, Raymond. 1999. *Main Currents in Sociological Thought*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.
- Balsa, Ana, Naomi Seiler, Thomas McGuire, and M. Gregg Bloche. 2003. "Clinical Uncertainty and Healthcare Disparities," *American Journal of Law and Medicine*. 29:203-219.
- Beady, Charles H. Jr., and Stephen Hansell. 1981. "Teacher Race and Expectations for Student Achievement." *American Educational Research Journal*. 18(2): 191-206.
- Beaulac, Julie, Elizabeth Kristjansson, and Steven Cummins. 2009. "A Systematic Review of Food Deserts," *Preventing Chronic Disease*. 6(3):A105.
- Bentele, Keith G., and Erin O'Brien. 2013. "Jim Crow 2.0? Why States Consider and Adopt Restrictive Voter Access Policies," *Perspectives on Politics*. 11(4):1088-1116.
- Bettie, Julie. 2003. *Women Without Class: Girls, Race, and Identity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bischoff, Kendra, and Sean F. Reardon. 2014. "Residential Segregation by Income, 1970-2009," pp. 208-233 in *Diversity and Disparities*, ed. by J.R. Logan. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

- Blau, Peter M., and Otis Dudley Duncan. 1967. *The American Occupational Structure*. The Free Press. pp. 118-24.
- Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2003. *Racism without Racists*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Bonow, Robert, Augustus Grant, and Alice Jacobs. 2005. "The Cardiovascular State of the Union: Confronting Healthcare Disparities," *Circulation*. 111(10):1205-1207.
- Borgatti, Stephen P. 2006. E-NET Software for the Analysis of Ego-Network Data. Needham, MA Analytic Technologies.
- Borgatti, Stephen P., Martin G Everett, and Jeffrey C. Johnson. (2013). *Analyzing Social Networks*. London: Sage Publications.
- Borgatti, Stephen P., and Daniel S. Halgin. (2012). "An Introduction to Personal Network Analysis and Tie Churn Statistics Using E-Net." *Connections*. 32.1:37-48.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press. Chs. 2-4.
- 1986. "The Forms of Capital." Pp. 241--258 in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, edited by John G. Richardson. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction. In J. K. a. A. H. Halsey (Ed.), *Power and Ideology in Education* (pp. 487-511). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre, and Jean-Claude Passeron. 1977. *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- 1979 [1964]. *The Inheritors, French Students and Their Relation to Culture*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre, and Loic J.D. Wacquant. 1992. *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bourke, Sid. 1986. "How Smaller is Better: Some Relationships Between Class Size, Teaching Practices, and Student Achievement," *American Educational Research Journal*. 23(4): 558-571.
- Braddock II, Jomills Henry, and Tamela McNulty Eitle. 2004. "The Effects of School Desegregation." Pp. 828-843 in *Handbook of Research on Multi-Cultural Education*, edited by James A. Banks. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

- Breland-Noble, Alflee. 2004. "Mental Healthcare Disparities Affect Treatment of Black Adolescents," *Psychiatric Annals*. 34(7):534-538.
- Brown, Deborah Wright, Alison M. Konrad. 2001. "Granovetter was Right: The Importance of Weak Ties to a Contemporary Job Search," *Group and Organization Management*. 26(4):434-462.
- Brown, Jacqueline Johnson, and Peter H Reingen. 1987. "Social Ties and Word-of-Mouth Referral Behavior," *Journal of Consumer Research*. 14(3):350-362.
- Browne, Irene. 1999. *Latinas and African American Women at Work: Race, Gender, and Economic Inequalities*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.
- California Longitudinal Pupil Achievement Data System. October 8, 2011. By the California Department of Education Educational Demographics Unit. Retrieved October 8, 2011, from <http://dq.cde.ca.gov/dataquest/dataquest.asp>
- Carolan, Brian V. 2014. *Social Network Analysis and Education: Theory, Methods, and Applications*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Carter, Prudence L. 2003. "'Black' Cultural Capital, Status Positioning, and Schooling Conflicts for Low-Income African American Youth," *Social Problems*. 50(1):136-155.
- 2006a. *Keeping It Real: School Success Beyond Black and White*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- 2006b "Straddling Boundaries: Identity Culture and School." *Sociology of Education* 79: 304-328.
- Connell, Robert W. 1987. *Gender and Power: Society, the Person, and Sexual Politics*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Clark, Pat. 2000. "Equity: What Do We Know About the Availability, Quality, and Affordability of Childcare?" Retrieved October 3, 2019. (<https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED448864.pdf>).
- Cooper, Catherine, Jill Denner, and Edward M. Lopez. 1999. "Cultural Brokers: Helping Latino Children on Pathways toward Success." *The Future of Children* 9 (2): 51-57.
- Cortiella, Candace, and Sheldon Horowitz. 2014. *The State of Learning Disabilities: Facts, Trends, and Emerging Issues*. New York: National Center for Learning Disabilities.
- Crenshaw, Kimberle Williams. 2015. *Black Girls Matter: Pushed Out, Overpoliced, and Underprotected*. New York: Center for Intersectionality and Social Policy Studies.
- Cuseo, Joe. 2007. "The Empirical Case Against Large Class Size: Adverse Effects on the Teaching, Learning, and Retention of First-Year Students," *The Journal of Faculty Development*. 17(1):5-21.

- Daniel, Reginald G. 2002. *More than Black?* Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- DataQuest. 2015. "2014-15 College-Going Rate for California High School Students by Postsecondary Institution Type." California Department of Education. Retrieved August 9, 2019. (<https://dq.cde.ca.gov/dataquest/DQCensus/CGRLevels.aspx?agglevel=State&cds=00&year=2014-15>).
- Dee, Thomas. 2004. "The Race Connection: Are Teachers More Effective with Students Who Share Their Ethnicity?" *Education Next*. 4(2):52-59.
- DeMeo, Pasquale, Emilio Ferrara, Giacomo Fiumara, Alessandro Provetti. 2012. "On Facebook, Most Ties are Weak," *Communications of the ACM*. 57(11):78-84.
- DeSilva, Sanjaya and Yuval Elmelech. 2011. "Housing Inequality in the United States: Explaining the White-Minority Disparities in Homeownership," *Housing Studies*. 27(1):1-26.
- DiMaggio, Paul. 1979. "On Pierre Bourdieu," *American Journal of Sociology*. 84(6):1460-1474.
- DiMaggio, Paul. 1987. "Cultural Capital and School Success: The Impact of Status Culture Participation of the Grades of U.S. High School Students." *American Sociological Review*. 47:189-201.
- Dreby, Joanna. 2007. "Children and Power in Mexican Transnational Families," *Journal of Marriage and Family*. 69(4):1050-1064.
- Dumais, Susan A. 2002. "Cultural Capital, Gender, and School Success: The Role of Habitus," *Sociology of Education*. 75 (January):44-68.
- Duneier, Mitchell. 1999. *Sidewalk*. New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux.
- Entswislea, Doris, & Nan Marie Astone. 1994. "Some Practical Guidelines for Measuring Youth's Race/Ethnicity and Socioeconomic Status." *Child Development*. 65:1521-1540.
- Featherman, David L., and Robert M. Hauser. 1976. "Prestige or Socioeconomic Scales in the Study of Occupational Achievement?" *Sociological Methods and Research* 4 (May):403-405.
- Flippen, Chenoa A. 2005. "Racial and Ethnic Inequality in Homeownership and Housing Equity," *The Sociological Quarterly*. 42(2):121-149.
- Foley, Douglas. 1990. *Learning Capitalist Culture: Deep in the Hearts of Tejas*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Fordham, S. & Ogbu, John U. 1986. "Black Students' School Success: Coping with the Burden of Acting White." *The Urban Review* 8 (3) 176-206.

- Franko, William W., Nathan J. Kelly, and Christopher Witko. 2016. "Class Bias in Voter Turnout, Representation, and Income Inequality," *Perspectives on Politics*. 14(2):351-368.
- Freemaan, Linton C. 1996. "Some Antecedents of Social Network Analysis." *Connections*. 19(1):39-42.
- Friedkin, Noah E. 1982. "Information Flow Through Strong and Weak Ties in Intraorganizational Social Networks," *Social Networks*. 3(4):273-285.
- Gans, Herbert J. 1974. "Gans on Granovetter's 'Strength of Weak Ties,'" *American Journal of Sociology*. 80(2):524-527.
- Gershenson, Seth, and Nicholas Papageorge. 2018. "The Power of Teacher Expectations," *Education Next*. 18(1):65-70.
- Gibson, Margaret. 1988. *Accommodation without Assimilation: Sikh Immigrants in an American High School*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- , 1991. Ethnicity and School Performance: Complicating the Immigrant/Involuntary Minority Typology. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 28:3.
- Giddens, Anthony. 1973. *The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies*. Harper Collins Publishers, Inc. pp. 41-44,47-49,102-12.
- Gilroy, Paul. 1991. *There Ain't No Black in the Union, Jack*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Giroux, Henry A. 1988. *Schooling and the Struggle for Public Life: Critical Pedagogy in the Modern Age*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Goldthorpe, Jon H., and Keith Hope. 1972. "Occupational Grading and Occupational Prestige." *The Analysis of Social Mobility: Methods and Approaches*, ed. by Keith Hope. pp. 23-24,26-27,30-37,78-79.
- Google Maps. (2015). [San Diego, California]. Retrieved from <https://www.google.com/maps>.
- Granovetter, Mark. 1977. "The Strength of Weak Ties," pp. 347-367 in *Social Networks: A Developing Paradigm*. Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University.
- Granovetter, Mark. 1983. "The Strength of Weak Ties: A Network Theory Revisited," *Sociological Theory*. 1(1983):201-233.
- Gonzalez, Norma, Luis C. Moll, Cathy Amanti. 2005. *Funds of Knowledge: Theorizing Practices in Households, Communities, and Classrooms*. New York, NY: Routledge.

- Hauser, Robert M. 1994. "Measuring Socioeconomic Status in Studies of Child Development," *Child Development*. 65(6):1541-1545.
- Hauser, Robert M., Charles D. Cowan, Robert Kominski, Henry Levin, Samuel Lucas, Stephen Morgan, Margaret Spencer, and Chris Chapman. 2012. *Improving the Measurement of Socioeconomic Status for the National Assessment of Educational Progress: A Theoretical Foundation*. Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics. Retrieved on November 6, 2015. (https://nces.ed.gov/nationsreportcard/pdf/researchcenter/Socioeconomic_Factors.pdf).
- Hauser, Robert M. and John Robert Warren. 1997. "Socioeconomic Indexes of Occupational Status: A Review, Update, and Critique," *Sociological Methodology*, ed. by Adrian Raftery. Blackwell Publishers.
- Hodge, Robert W. 1981. "The Measurement of Occupational Status." *Social Science Research*. 10:396.
- Horn, Daniel. 2011. "Income Inequality and Voter Turnout: Evidence from European National Elections." Amsterdam, AIAS, GINI Discussion Paper 16.
- Horvat, Erin McNamara, and James Earl Davis. 2011. "Schools as Sites for Transformation: Exploring the Contribution of Habitus," *Youth and Society*. 43(1):142-179.
- Horvat, Erin McNamara & Kristine S. Lewis. 2003. Reassessing the 'Burden of Acting White': The Importance of Peer Groups in Managing Academic Success. *Sociology of Education* 76: 265-280.
- Horvat, Erin McNamara, Elliot B. Weininger, Annette Lareau. 2003. "From Social Ties to Social Capital: Class Differences in the Relations Between Schools and Parent Networks." *American Educational Research Journal*. 40(2):319-351.
- Huffman, Matt L., and Phillip N. Cohen. 2004. "Racial Wage Inequality: Job Segregation and Devaluation Across U.S. Labor Markets," *American Journal of Sociology*. 109(4):902-936.
- Hurtado, Aida, Patricia Gurin, and Timothy Peng. 1994 "Social Identities--A Framework for Studying the Adaptations of Immigrants and Ethnic: The Adaptations of Mexicans in the United States." *Social Problems* 41 (1): 129.
- Iacovou, Maria. 2010. "Class Size in the Early Years: Is Smaller Really Better?" *Education Economics*. 10: 261-290.

- Jamil, Faiza, Ross A. Larsen, and Bridget K. Hamre. 2018. "Exploring Longitudinal Changes in Teacher Expectancy Effects on Children's Mathematics Achievement," *Journal for Research in Mathematics Education*. 49(1):57-90.
- Jargowsky, Paul A. 1996. "Take the Money and Run: Economic Segregation in U.S. Metropolitan Areas," *American Sociological Review*. 61(6):984-998.
- Jiménez, Tomás. 2008. "Mexican-Immigrant Replenishment and the Continuing Significance of Ethnicity and Race." *American Journal of Sociology*, 113(6):1527-1567.
- Johnston Polacek, Georgia N.L., Mary Carol Ramos, and Robert Ferrer. 2007. "Breast Cancer Disparities and Decision-Making Among U.S. Women," *Patient Education and Counseling*. 65(2):158-165.
- Jones, Katherine Castiello, Joya Misra, and K. McCurley. (2013). "Intersectionality in Sociology." *Sociologists for Women in Society*. Retrieved from http://www.socwomen.org/wp-content/uploads/swsfactsheet_intersectionality.pdf
- Jussim, Lee, Stephanie Madon, and Celina Chatman. 1994. "Teacher Expectations and Student Achievement." *Applications of Heuristics and Biases to Social Issues*. pp. 303-334.
- Kane, Thomas J. 2004. "College-Going and Inequality," in *Social Inequality*, ed. by Kathryn M. Neckerman. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation. pp. 319-354.
- Kelley, Ed, Ernest Moy, Daniel Stryer, Helen Burstin, and Carolyn Clancy. 2005. "The National Healthcare Quality and Disparities Reports: An Overview." *Medical Care*. 43(3):I3-8.
- Kennedy, Randall. 2003. *Interracial Intimacies*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Khanna, Nikki. 2010. "Passing as Black: Racial Identity Work Among Biracial Americans," *Social Psychology Quarterly*. 73:4. 380-397.
- Kohn, Melvin L. 1980. "Job Complexity and Adult Personality," *Themes of Work and Love in Adulthood*, ed. by Neil J. Smelser and Erik H. Erikson. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. pp. 193-210.
- Krivo, Lauren, and Robert Kaufman. 2004. "Housing and Wealth Inequality: Racial-ethnic Differences in Home Equity in the United States," *Demography*. 41(3):585-605.
- La Jolla High School. 2019. "About Our School." La Jolla, CA: San Diego Unified. Retrieved on January 1, 2019. (<https://www.sandiegounified.org/schools/la-jolla/about-our-school>).
- La Jolla Demographic Data by Zip Code*. 2007. By OnBoard LLC. Retrived on October 8, 2011, from <http://homes.point2.com/Neighborhood/US/California/San-Diego-County/San-Diego/La-Jolla-Demographics.aspx>

- La Jolla High School Attendance Area*. 2011. By San Diego Unified School District. Retrieved on October 8, 2011, from <http://www.sandi.net/cms/lib/CA01001235/Centricity/Domain/97/pdfs/boundary/High/LaJolla.pdf>
- Lamont, Michèle. 2000. *The Dignity of Working Men: Morality and the Boundaries of Race, Class, and Immigration*. Washington, DC: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Lamont, Michele. 1999. "Above 'People Above'? Status and Worth among White and Black Workers," *The Cultural Territories of Race*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. pp. 127-50.
- Lamont, Michèle and Marcel Fournier, eds. 1992. *Cultivating Differences: Symbolic Boundaries and the Making of Inequality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lamont, Michèle and Annette Lareau. 1988. "Cultural Capital: Allusions, Gaps, and Glissandos in Recent Theoretical Developments." *Sociological Theory* 6:153-68.
- Lareau, Annette. 2004. Pp. 77-98. "Linking Bourdieu's Concept of Capital to the Broader Field: The Case of Family-School Relationships," *Social Class, Poverty, and Education*, ed. Bruce Biddle. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Lareau, Annette. 2003. *Unequal Childhoods: Class, Race, and Family Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lareau, Annette. 2000. *Home Advantage: Social Class and Parental Intervention in Elementary Education*. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Lareau, Annette, and Erin McNamara Horvat. 1999. "Moments of Social Inclusion and Exclusion: Race, Class, and Cultural Capital in Family-School Relationships," *Sociology of Education*. 72 (January): 37-53.
- Lee, Elizabeth. 2016. *Class and Campus Life: Managing and Experiencing Inequality at an Elite College*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Levin, Daniel Z., and Rob Cross. 2004. "The Strength of Weak Ties You Can Trust: The Mediating Role of Trust in Effective Knowledge Transfer," *Management Science*. 50(11):1463-1613.
- Lin, Nan, Walter M. Ensel, and John C. Vaughn. 1981. "Social Resources and Strength of Ties: Structural Factors in Occupational Status Attainment," *American Sociological Review*. 46(4):393-405.
- Liu, William T., Robert W. Duff. 1972. "The Strength in Weak Ties," *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 36(3):361-366.

- Livingstone, D.W., and Peter H. Sawchuk. 2000. "Beyond Cultural Capital Theory: Hidden Dimensions of Working Class Learning," *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies*. 22(2): 121-146.
- MacLeod, Jay. 1987. *Ain't No Makin' It: Leveled Aspiration in a Low-Income Neighborhood*. Boulder: Westview Press. pp. 1-2, 4-5, 8, 60-63, 69-75, 78-79,81, 137-41, 162.
- Marin-Rodriguez, Alma Yvonne. 2012. "Access to Quality Education Through an Integration Program: Students' Perspectives of a Voluntary Enrollment Exchange Program at a High School." Master's thesis, Department of Education, San Diego State University.
- Marx, Karl. *The Marx-Engels Reader*. 2nd ed. Edited by Robert C. Tucker. New York: W. W. Norton, 1978: "Theses on Feuerbach" (143-145), "The German Ideology" (146-200), "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844" (70-81 only).
- Mason, William, Robert Hauser, Alan Kerckhoff, Sharon Poss, Kenneth Manton. 1976. "Models of Response Error in Student Reports of Parental Socioeconomic Characteristics." Pp. 443-519 in *Schooling and Achievement in American Society*, edited by William Hamilton Sewell, Robert Mason Hauser, and David L. Featherman. New York: Academic Press.
- Matlack, Janna L., and Jacob Vigdor. 2008. "Do Rising Tides Lift all Boats? Income Inequality and Housing Affordability," *Journal of Housing Economics*. 17(3):212-224.
- Mayer, Susan E., and Christopher Jencks. 1989. "Growing up in Poor Neighborhoods: How Much Does it Matter?" *Science*, New Series, Vol. 243, No. 4897: 1441-1445.
- McDonald, Steve, Nan Lin, and Dan Ao. 2009. "Networks of Opportunity: Gender, Race, and Job Leads," *Social Problems*. 56(3):385-402.
- McLaren, Peter. 1997. *Revolutionary Multiculturalism: Pedagogies of Dissent for the New Millennium*. Boulder, CO: Westview.
- McPherson, Miller, Lynn Smith-Lovin, and James M. Cook. 2001. "Birds of a Feather: Homophily in Social Networks," *Annual Review of Sociology*. 27:415-44.
- Mehan, Bud. 2008. "A Sociological Perspective on Opportunity to Learn and Assessment," *Assessment, Equity, and Opportunity to Learn*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mehan, Bud, Irene Villanueva, Lea Hubbard, Angela Lintz, Dina Okamoto. 1996. *Constructing School Success: The Consequences of Untracking Low-Achieving Students*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mehan, Hugh, and Season S. Mussey. 2012. "Changes in Students' Aspirations and Conduct: The Role of Institutional Arrangements," pp. 91-115 in *In The Front Door: Creating a College-Going Culture of Learning*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers.

- Moll, Luis C., Cathy Amanti, Deborah Neff, Norma Gonzalez. 1992. "Funds of Knowledge for Teaching: Using a Qualitative Approach to Connect Homes and Classrooms," *Theory Into Practice*. 31(2):132-141.
- Montgomery, James D. 1992. "Job Search and Network Composition: Implications of the Strength-of-Weak-Ties Hypothesis," *American Sociological Review*. 57(5):586-596.
- Morello, Carol, and Ted Mellnik. (2013, November 9) "Washington: A World Apart," *The Washington Post*. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/sf/local/2013/11/09/washington-a-world-apart/#> [Retrieved on April 14, 2015].
- Morris, Edward W., Brea L. Perry. 2016. "The Punishment Gap: School Suspension and Racial Disparities in Achievement." *Social Problems*. 63(1): 68-86.
- Morton, Lois Wright, and Troy C. Blanchard. 2007. "Starved for Access: Life in Rural America's Food Deserts," *Rural Realities*. 1(4):1-10.
- Nettleton, Wendy, and Jordan Linsky. 2012. "Race to the Top: A Look at Classroom Diversity." *Hi-Tide*, May 4, pp 1.
- Oakes, Jeannie. 1985. *Keeping Track: How School Structure Inequality*. New Haven: Yale University.
- Oakes, Michael. 2012. "Measuring Socioeconomic Status," *OBSSR (Office of Behavioral & Social Science Research) e-Source Book*. Watertown, MA: OBSSR, NIH (National Institutes of Health), and NERI (New England Research Institutes). Retrieved November 6, 2015. (http://www.esourceresearch.org/Portals/0/Uploads/Documents/Public/Oakes_FullChapter.pdf).
- Ogbu, John U. 1974. *The Next Generation: An Ethnography of Education in an Urban Neighborhood*. New York: Academic Press.
- , 1987. "Variability in Minority Performance: A Problem in Search of an Explanation." *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 18 (4):312-334.
- , 1992. "Understanding Cultural Diversity and Learning." *Educational Researcher* 21 (8): 5-14.
- Ortner, Sherry B. 2003. *New Jersey Dreaming*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Owens, Ann. 2016. "Inequality in Children's Contexts: Income Segregation of Households with and Without Children," *American Sociological Review*. 81(3):549-574.
- Owens, Ann, Sean Reardon, Christopher Jencks. 2016. "Income Segregation Between Schools and School Districts," *American Education Research Journal*. 53(4):1159-1197.

- Owusu, Gertrude, Susan Eve, Cynthia Cready, Kenneth Koelln, Fernando Trevino, Ximena Urrutia-Rojas, and Joanne Baumer. 2005. "Race and Ethnic Disparities in Cervical Cancer Screening in a Safety-Net System," *Maternal and Child Health Journal*. 9(3):285-295.
- Papageorge, Nicholas, and Seth Gershenson. 2016. "Do Teacher Expectations Matter?" *Brookings Institution*. September 16, 2016. Retrieved on April 6, 2019. (<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/brown-center-chalkboard/2016/09/16/do-teacher-expectations-matter/>)
- Parkin, Frank. 1979. *Marxism and Class Theory: A Bourgeois Critique*. Taylor and Francis Books, Ltd. Pp. 11-13,23-25,27-28,44-50,53-58,62-64,67-73,112-13.
- Pigott, Rowan L., Emory L. Cowen. 2000. "Teacher Race, Child Race, Racial Congruence, and Teacher Ratings of Children's School Adjustment," *Journal of School Psychology*. 38(2): 177-195.
- Putnam, Robert. 2015. *Our Kids: The American Dream in Crisis*. Simon & Schuster: New York, NY.
- Raja, Samina, Changxing Ma, and Pavan Yadav. 2008. "Beyond Food Deserts: Measuring and Mapping Racial Disparities in Neighborhood Food Environments," *Journal of Planning Education and Research*. 27(4):469-482.
- Ramey, David M. 2015. "The Social Structure of Criminalized and Medicalized School Discipline," *Sociology of Education*. 88 (3): 181-201.
- Reardon, Sean. F., and Kendra Bischoff. 2011. "Income Inequality and Income Segregation," *American Journal of Sociology*. 116(4):1092-1153.
- Riach, Peter A. and Judith Rich. 2002. "Field Experiments of Discrimination in the Market Place," *The Economic Journal*. 112(483):F480-F518.
- Rios-Aguilar, Cecilia, Judy Marquez Kiyama, and Michael Gravitt. 2011. "Funds of Knowledge for the Poor and Forms of Capital for the Rich? A Capital Approach to Examining Funds of Knowledge," *Theories and Research in Education*. 9(2):163-184.
- Rios-Aguilar, Cecilia, and Regina Deil-Amen. (2012). "Beyond Getting in and Fitting in: An Examination of Social Networks and Professionally Relevant Social Capital Among Latina/o University Students," *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*. 11:179.
- Rothstein, Richard. 2013. "For Public Schools, Segregation Then, Segregation Since: Education and the Unfinished March," *Economic Policy Institute*. Retrieved October 3, 2019. (<http://groundworkatmedgar.pbworks.com/w/file/attach/74115416/Unfinished-March-School-Segregation.pdf>)

- Routledge. 2016. "Cultural Capital." *Social Theory Re-Wired*. Abingdon, UK: Taylor and Francis Group, Retrieved July 20, 2019 (<http://routledgesoc.com/category/profile-tags/cultural-capital>).
- Schmader, Toni. 2010. "Stereotype Threat Deconstructed," *Current Directions in Psychological Science*. 19(1):14-18.
- Schofield, Janet Ward. 2001. "Maximizing the Benefits of Student Diversity: Lessons from School Desegregation Research." Pp. 99-108 in *Diversity Challenged: Evidence on the Impact of Affirmative Action*. Cambridge, Harvard: Education Publishing Group.
- Schofield, Janet Ward, and Leslie R.M. Hausmann. 2004. "The Conundrum of School Desegregation: Positive Student Outcomes and Waning Support." *University of Pittsburgh Law Review*. 66(1): 83-111.
- Schweinle, Amy, and Grace A. Mims. 2009. "Mathematics Self-Efficacy: Stereotype Threat Versus Resilience." *Social Psychology of Education*. 12:501.
- Sennett, Richard, and Jonathan Cobb. 1972. *The Hidden Injuries of Class*. New York: Norton.
- Shelvin, Kristal Hines, and Rocio Rivadeneyra, and Corinne Zimmerman. 2014. "Stereotype Threat in African American Children: The Role of Black Identity and Stereotype Awareness." *International Review of Social Psychology*. 27(3):175-204.
- Shils, Edward A. 1968. "Deference," in *Social Stratification*, ed. by J.A. Jackson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 104-8,115-17,119-22,126-29.
- Sirin, Selcuk R. 2005. "Socioeconomic Status and Academic Achievement: A Meta-Analytic Review of Research," *Review of Educational Research*. 75(3):417-453.
- Small, Mario L. 2009. "'How Many Cases Do I Need?' On Science and the Logic of Case Selection in Field Based Research." *Ethnography* 10(1): 5-38.
- Small, Mario L. 2008. "Lost in Translation: How Not to Make Qualitative Research More Scientific," *Workshop on Interdisciplinary Standards for Systematic Qualitative Research*, ed. by Michèle Lamont and Patricia White. Washington, DC: National Science Foundation. pp. 165-171.
- Snow, David A., and Leon Anderson. 1987. "Identity Work Among the Homeless: The Verbal Construction and Avowal of Personal Identities," *The American Journal of Sociology*. Vo 92:6 (May 1987). 1336-1371.
- Solomon, R. P. 1992. *Black Resistance in High School: Forging a Separatist Culture*. Albany: SUNY.

- Solt, Frederick. 2010. "Does Economic Inequality Depress Electoral Participation? Testing the Schattschneider Hypothesis," *Political Behavior*. 32(2):285-301.
- Sorenson, Aage B. 2001. "The Basic Concepts of Stratification Research Class, Status, and Power." *Social Stratification*, edited by David B. Grusky. Boulder: Westview Press. pp. 287-302.
- Stahl, Juliane F., Pia S. Schober, C. Katharina Spiess. 2018. "Parental Socio-Economic Status and Childcare Quality: Early Inequalities in Educational Opportunity?" *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*. 44(3):304-317.
- Stanford. August 31, 2011. "Using Atlas.ti for Qualitative Data Analysis." Retrieved from http://web.stanford.edu/group/ssds/cgi-bin/drupal/files/Guides/1112_UsingATLAsTi.pdf. on May 12, 2015.
- Stanton-Salazar, Ricardo. 2001. *Manufacturing Hope and Despair: The School and Kin Support Networks of U.S.-Mexican Youth*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Steele, C.M. 1997. "A Threat in the Air: How Stereotypes Shape Intellectual Identity and Performance." *American Psychologist*. 52(6):613-629.
- Steele, Claude. 2003. "Stereotype Threat and African-American Student Achievement," *Young, Gifted, and Black: Promoting High Achievement Among African-American Students*. Theresa Perry, Claude Steele, and Asa Hilliard III. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Stoll, Michael A., Steven Raphael, and Harry J. Holzer. 2004. "Black Job Applicants and the Hiring Officer's Race." *ILR Review*. 57(2):267-287.
- Suárez-Orozco, Carola and Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco. 1997. *Transformations: Immigration, Family Life and Achievement Motivation among Latino Students*. Stanford CA: Stanford University Press.
- Swartz, David. 1997. *Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Sykes, Alan O. (1993). "The Inaugural Case Lecture: An Introduction to Regression Analysis." *Chicago Working Paper in Law and Economics*. Chicago: University of Chicago. Vol. 20.
- Treiman, Donald J. 1976. "A Standard Occupational Prestige Scale for Use with Historical Data," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* VII. MIT Press.
- Umana-Taylor, A.J. 2003. "Language Brokering as a Stressor for Immigrant Children and their Families," pp. 157-159 in *Points and Counterpoints: Controversial Relationship and*

- Family Issues in the 21st Century (an Anthology)*, ed. by M. Coleman and L. Ganong. Los Angeles, CA: Roxbury Publishing, Co.
- Valdés, Guadalupe. 1996. *Con Respeto: Bridging the Distances Between Culturally Diverse Families and Schools*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Valenzuela, Angela. 1999. *Subtractive Schooling: U.S.-Mexican Youth and the Politics of Caring*. Albany: SUNY Press.
- Vasquez, Olga, Ricardo Stanton-Salazar and Hugh Mehan. 2000. "Engineering Success Through Institutional Support" in *The Academic Achievement of Minority Students*, edited by Shiela T. Gregory. Lanham NY: University Press of America.
- Veblen, Thorstein. 1973. *The Theory of the Leisure Class*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. pp. 35-36, 38-43, 61, 65-72, 94, 98.
- Walker, Renee E., Christopher R. Keane, and Jessica G. Burke. 2010. "Disparities and Access to Healthy Food in the United States: A Review of Food Deserts Literature," *Health & Place*. 16(5):876-884.
- Warner, WW. Lloyd. 1960. *Social Class in America*. Harper and Row Publishers. p. 5, 11-21, 23-24.
- Waters, Mary C. 1990. *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America*. Oakland, CA: UC Press.
- Watson, Tara. 2009. "Inequality and the Measurement of Residential Segregation by Income in American Neighborhoods," *Review of Income and Wealth*. 55(3):820-844.
- Weber. Max. 1946. "Class, Status, and Party," *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, ed. by H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, and translated by H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 180-95.
- Weber, Max. 1975. *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, translated by A.M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons. Free Press. Pp. 424-49.
- Wells, Amy Stuart, Jennifer Jellison Holme, Anita Tijerina Revilla, and Awo Korantemaa Atanda. 2005. *How Desegregation Changed Us: The Effects of Racially Mixed Schools on Students and Society*. New York, NY: Teachers College.
- White, Karl R. 1982. "The Relation Between Socioeconomic Status and Academic Achievement," *Psychological Bulletin*. 91(3):461-481.
- Williamson, Joel. 1980. *New People: Miscegenation and Mulattoes in the United States*. New York: The Free Press.

- Willis, Paul. 1977. *Learning to Labor*. New York: Columbia University.
- Woolf, Nicolas. 2007. "A Little Structure in Your Codes Will Make Your Research a Lot Easier," *ATLAS.ti Library*. http://atlasti.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/Woolf_2007-03_12.pdf. Retrieved on May 12, 2015.
- Wright, Erik Olin. 2002. "The Shadow of Exploitation in Weber's Class Analysis." *American Sociological Review*. 67:832-53.
- Yin, Robert. 2002. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Yosso, Tara J. 2005. "Whose Culture has Capital? A Critical Race Theory Discussion of Community Cultural Wealth," *Race, Ethnicity, and Education*. 8(1):69-91.
- Young, Alford A., Jr. 2008. "Lost in Translation: How Not to Make Qualitative Research More Scientific," *Workshop on Interdisciplinary Standards for Systematic Qualitative Research*, ed. by Michèle Lamont and Patricia White. Washington, DC: National Science Foundation. pp. 172-180.
- Zip Codes of the San Diego Region*. 2003. Sandag. Retrieved on October 8, 2011, from http://profilewarehouse.sandag.org/geographic_unit/zips.htm
- Zipin, Lew, Sam Sellar, and Robert Hattam. 2012. "Countering and Exceeding 'Capital': a 'Funds of Knowledge' Approach to Re-imagining Community," *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*. 33(2):179-192.
- Zschirnt, Eva, and Didier Ruedin. 2015. "Ethnic Discrimination in Hiring Decisions: A Meta-Analysis of Correspondence Tests 1990-2015," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. 42(7):1115-1134.

Appendix A: Additional Charts for the Dissertation

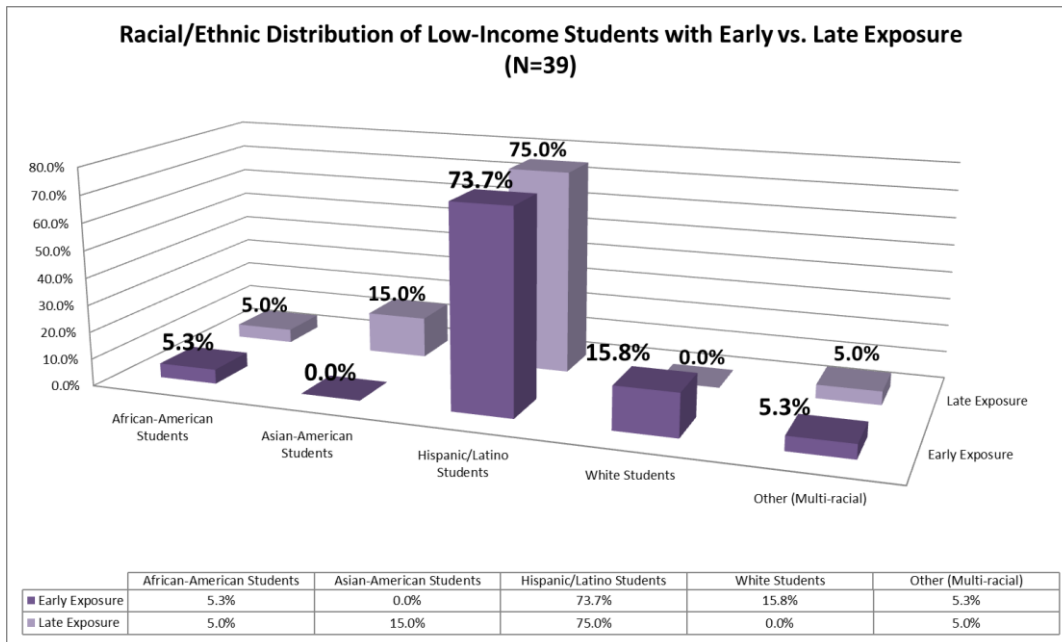
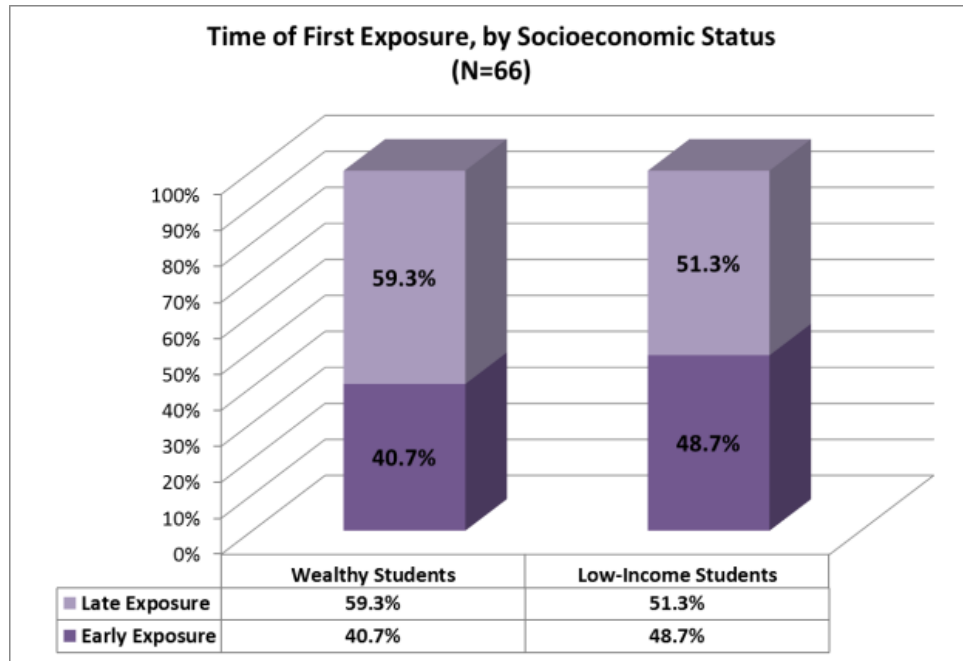
In addition to the variables, “Socioeconomic Status” and “Heterophily of Close Friends”, I had examined several other variables for possible effects on various educational outcomes. These included:

- Time of First Exposure: Did students first encounter other students who were different from themselves at an early point in their school trajectory (before or during elementary school), or later on (middle school or high school)?
- Heterophily of Classroom Networks: Did students have the chance to, and then subsequently choose to, talk to students who were different from themselves in the classroom (heterophilous vs homophilous classroom networks)?
- Heterophily of School Acquaintances: Did students have the chance to, and then subsequently choose to, engage with students who were different from themselves in various extracurricular activities (heterophilous vs homophilous acquaintance networks)?

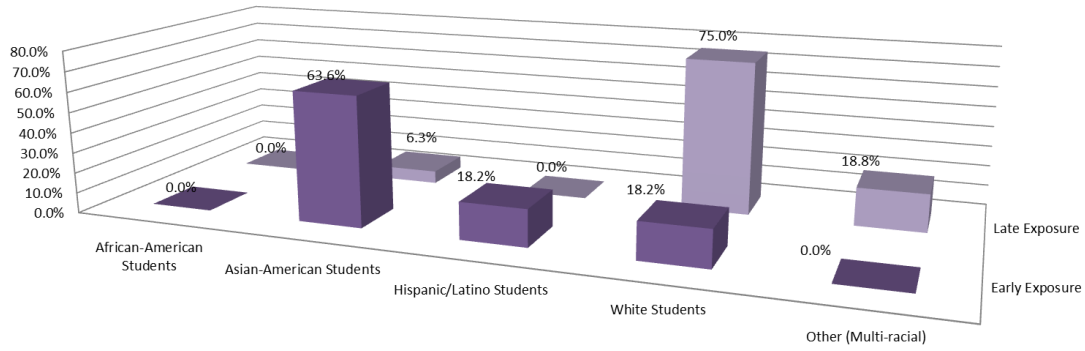
As with both “Socioeconomic Status” and “Heterophily of Close Friends”, I ran descriptive statistics on these additional variables for various educational outcomes. All of these variables had an uneven impact; none of them had the same explanatory power as “Heterophily of Close Friends”. In addition, a few of these variables (“Heterophily of Classroom Networks” and “Heterophily of School Acquaintances”) were often either correlated with one another, or with “Heterophily of Close Friends”. As a result, these extraneous variables were dropped from further analysis. Nevertheless, the subsequent graphs that had been generated over the course of the initial analysis are included here.

TIME OF FIRST EXPOSURE

“Time of First Exposure” was included in qualitative analysis in the chapter on AP classrooms, but charts were dropped from subsequent statistical analysis. They are included here.

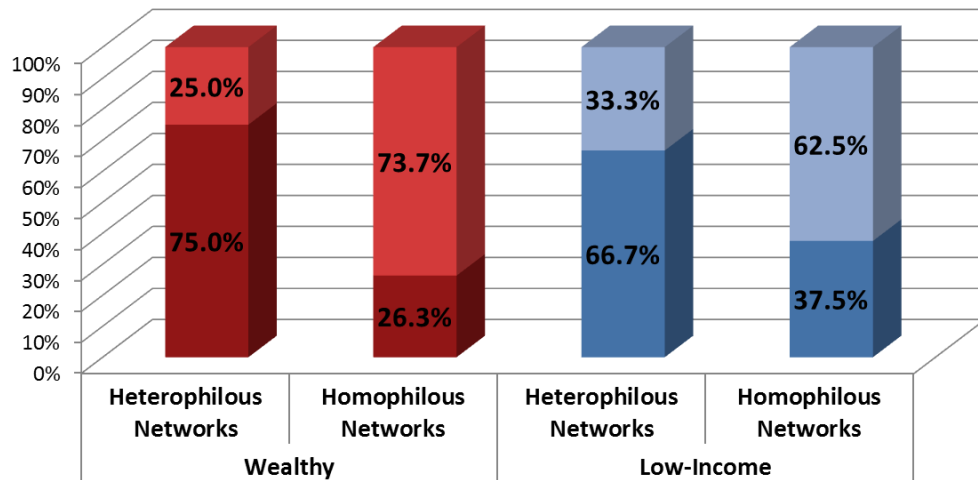


Racial/Ethnic Distribution of Wealthy Students with Early vs. Late Exposure (N=27)



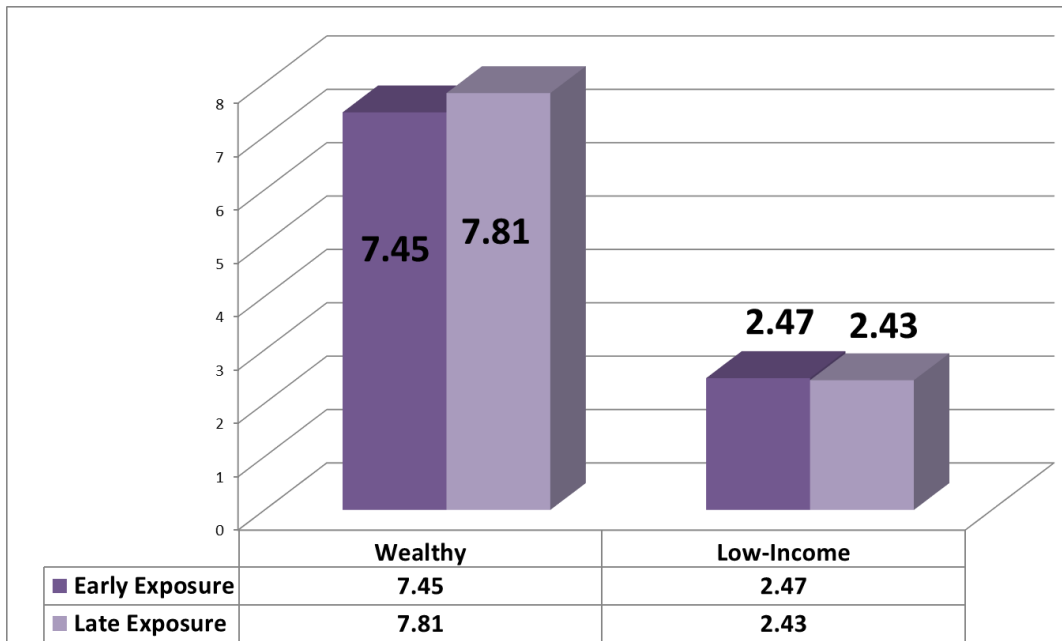
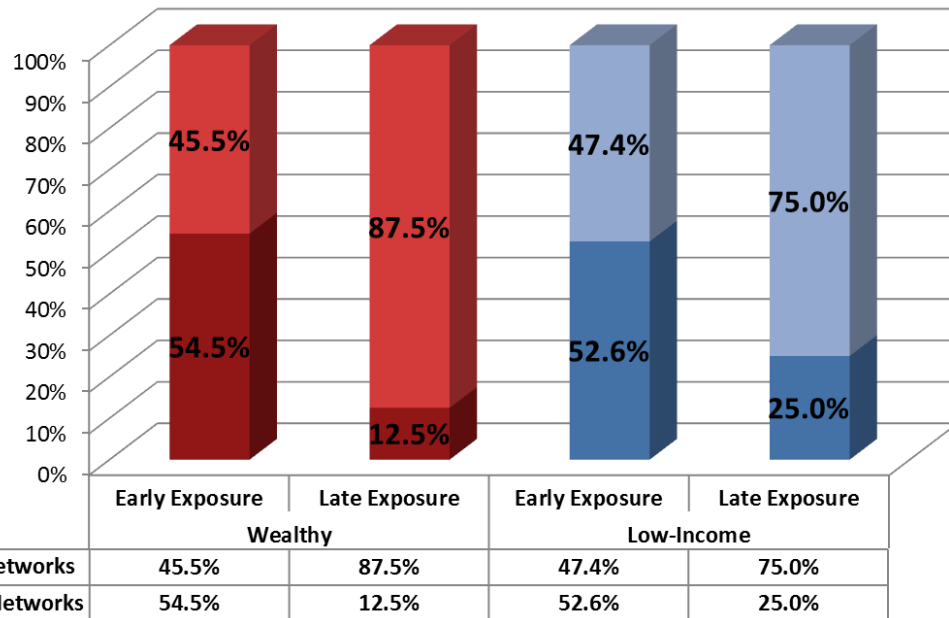
	African-American Students	Asian-American Students	Hispanic/Latino Students	White Students	Other (Multi-racial)
■ Early Exposure	0.0%	63.6%	18.2%	18.2%	0.0%
■ Late Exposure	0.0%	6.3%	0.0%	75.0%	18.8%

Time of First Exposure by "Close Friends" Network Composition, For Wealthy vs. Low-Income Students (N=66)

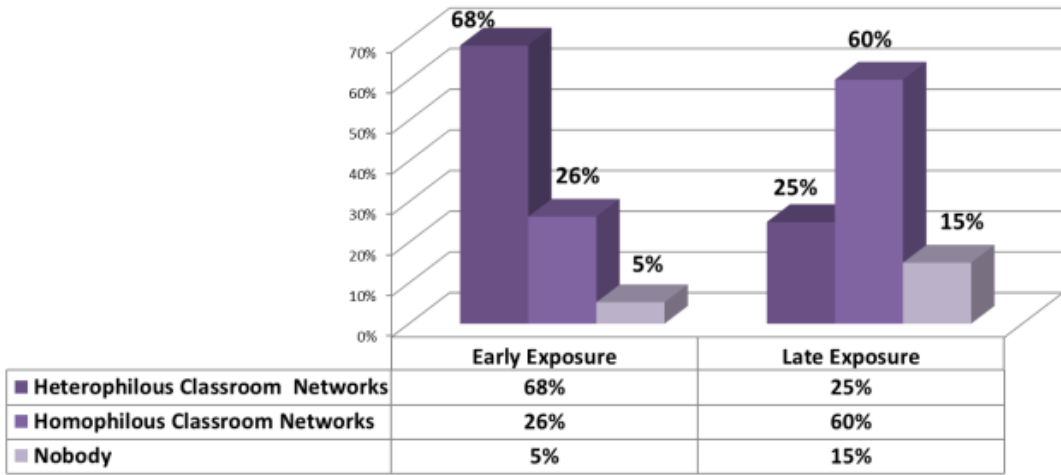


	Wealthy		Low-Income	
■ Late Exposure	25.0%	73.7%	33.3%	62.5%
■ Early Exposure	75.0%	26.3%	66.7%	37.5%

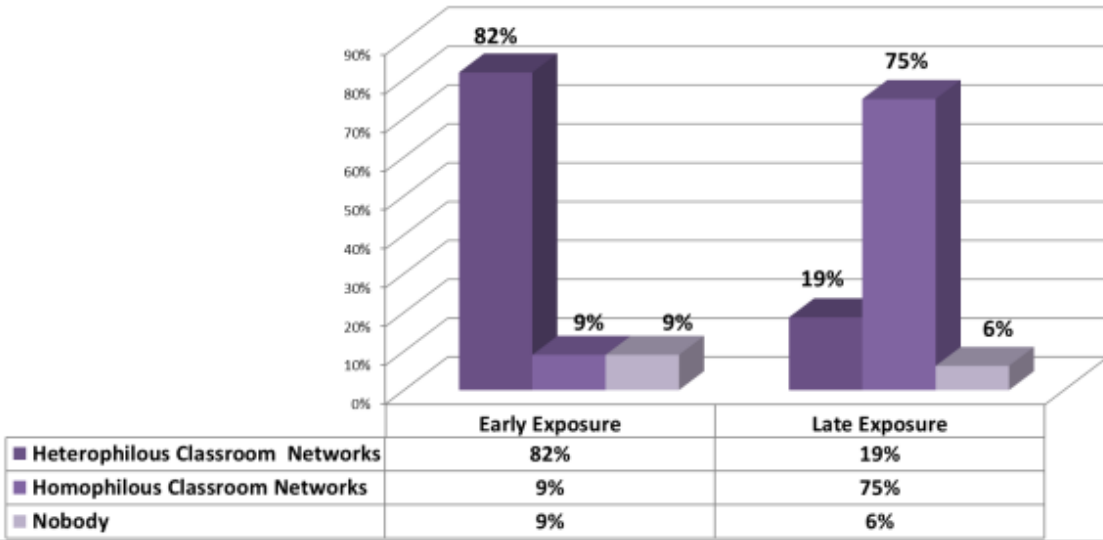
"Close Friends" Network Composition by Time of First Exposure, For Wealthy vs. Low-Income Students (N=66)



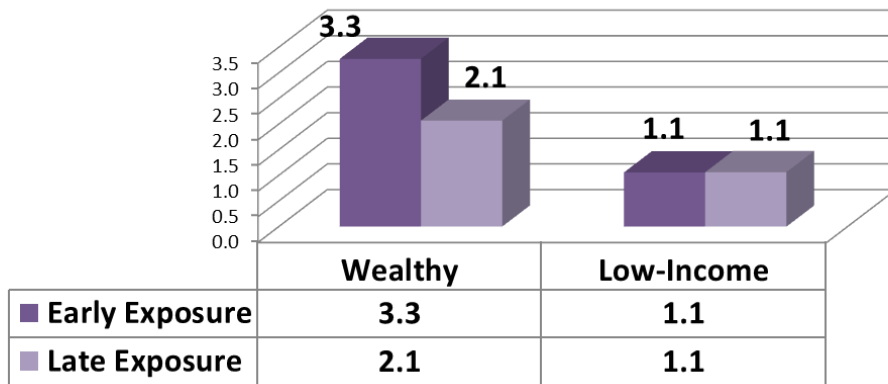
Composition of Low-Income Classroom Networks, by Time of Exposure (N=33)



Composition of Wealthy Classroom Networks, by Time of Exposure (N=27)



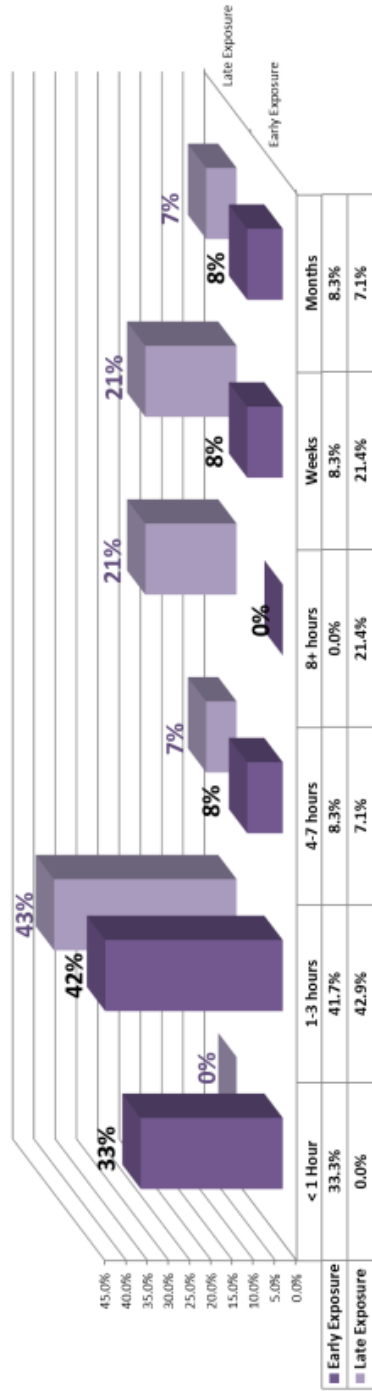
Club Participation by Time of Exposure, for Low-Income vs. Wealthy Students (N=59)



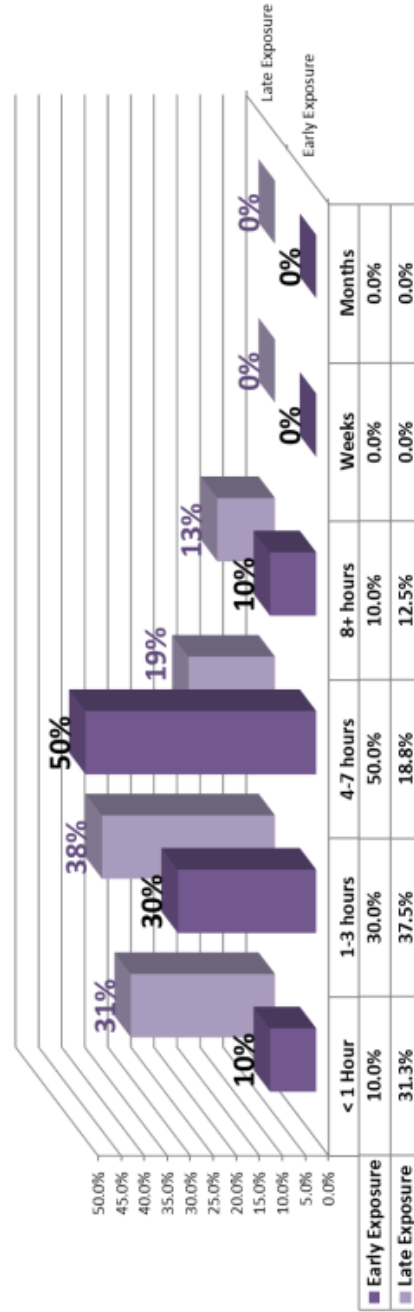
Sports Participation by Time of Exposure, for Low-Income vs. Wealthy Students (N=59)



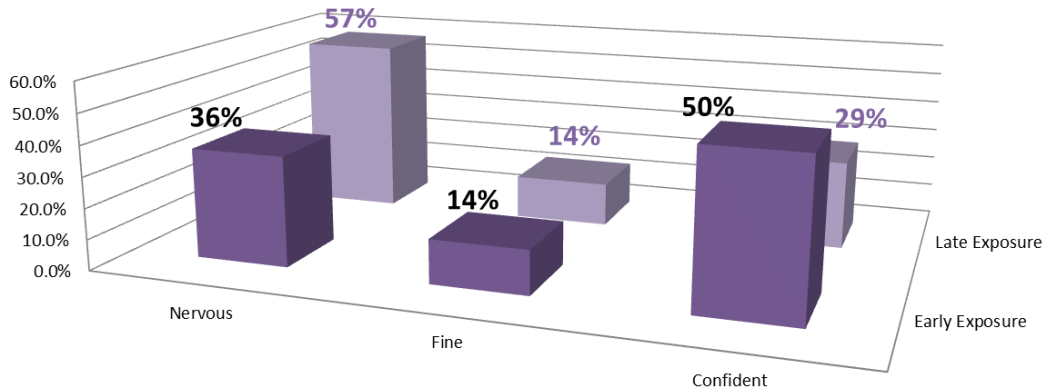
Amount of Time Low-Income Students Spent Preparing for Senior Exhibitions, by Time of Exposure



Amount of Time Wealthy Students Spent Preparing for Senior Exhibitions, by Time of Exposure

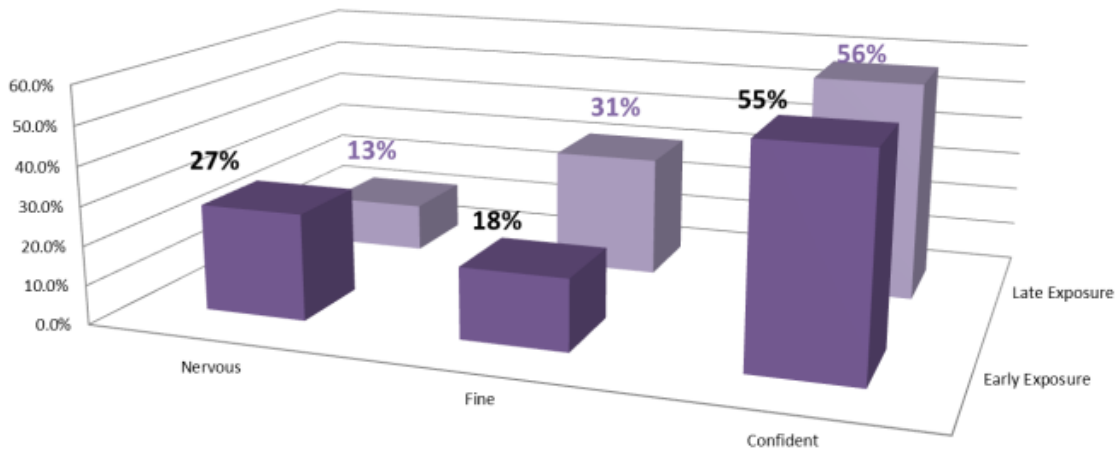


Low-Income Students' Feelings Before Presentation, by Time of Exposure (N=28)



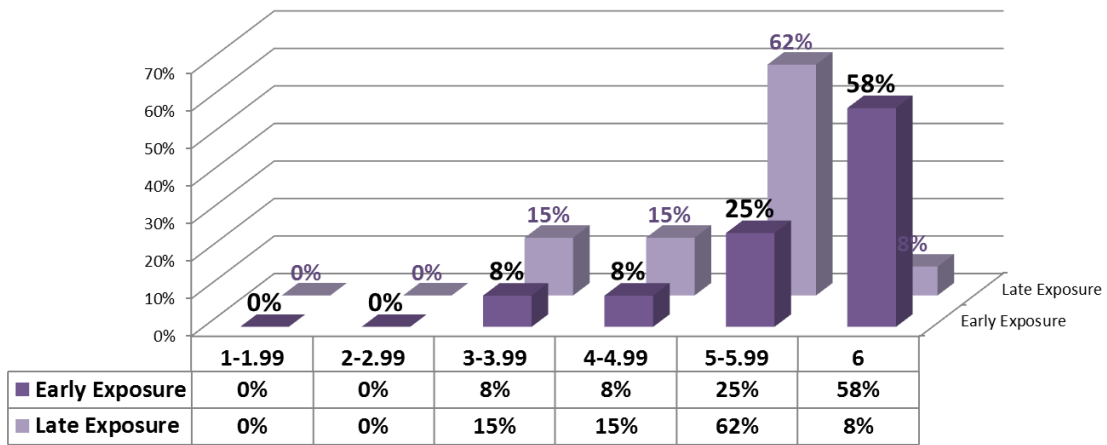
	Nervous	Fine	Confident
■ Early Exposure	35.7%	14.3%	50.0%
■ Late Exposure	57.1%	14.3%	28.6%

Wealthy Students' Feelings Before Presentation, by Time of Exposure (N=26)

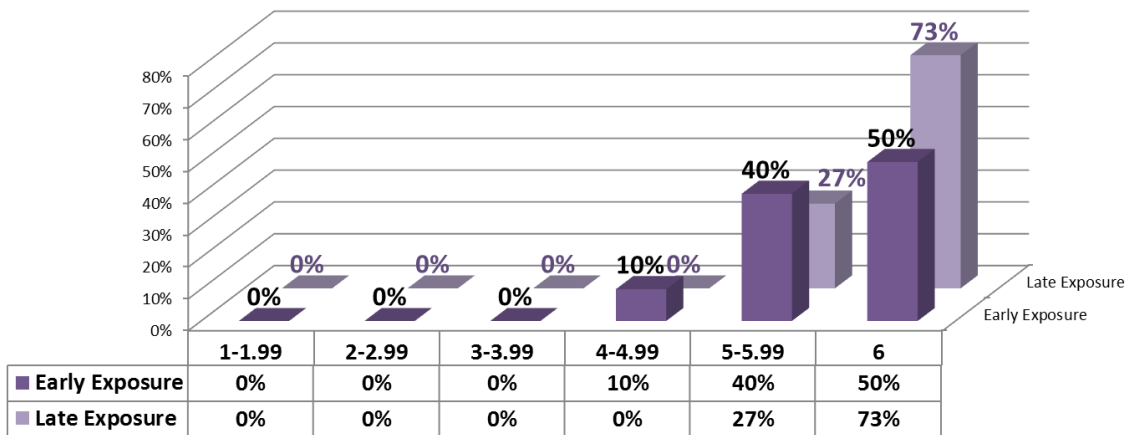


	Nervous	Fine	Confident
■ Early Exposure	27.3%	18.2%	54.5%
■ Late Exposure	12.5%	31.3%	56.3%

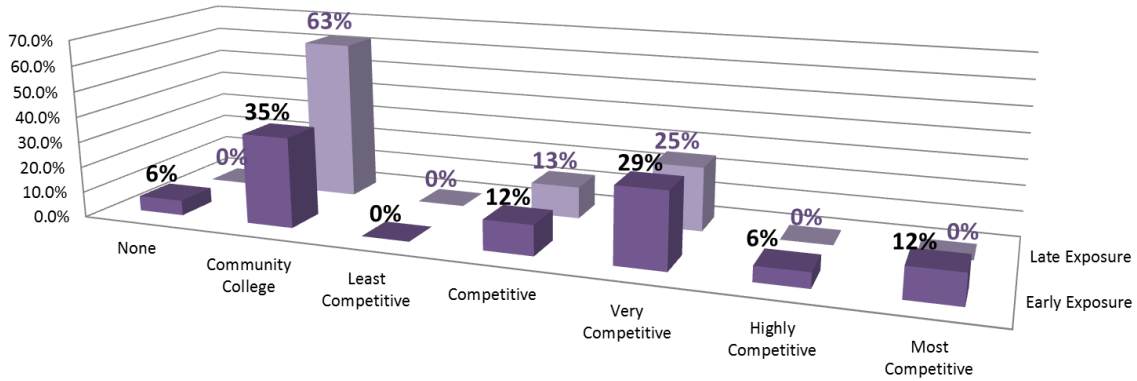
Low-Income Students' Scores, by Time of Exposure (N=25)



Wealthy Students' Scores, by Time of Exposure (N=25)

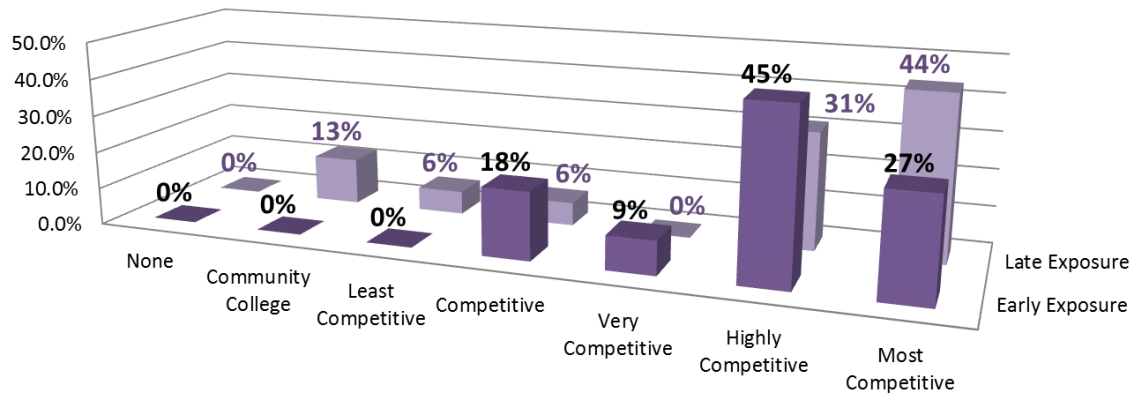


Low-Income Students' Future College's Selectivity Rating (Barron), by First Exposure (N=33)



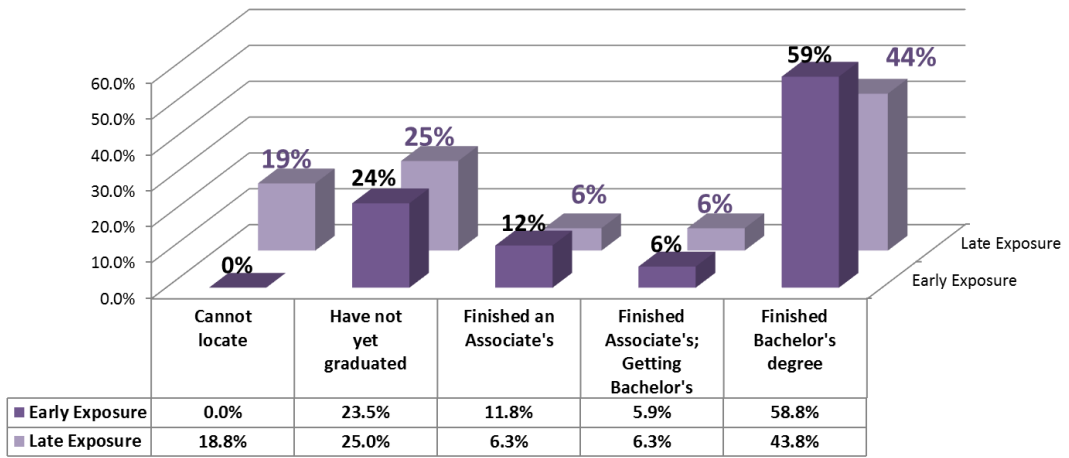
	None	Community College	Least Competitive	Competitive	Very Competitive	Highly Competitive	Most Competitive
■ Early Exposure	5.9%	35.3%	0.0%	11.8%	29.4%	5.9%	11.8%
■ Late Exposure	0.0%	62.5%	0.0%	12.5%	25.0%	0.0%	0.0%

Wealthy Students' Future College's Selectivity Rating (Barron), by First Exposure (N=27)

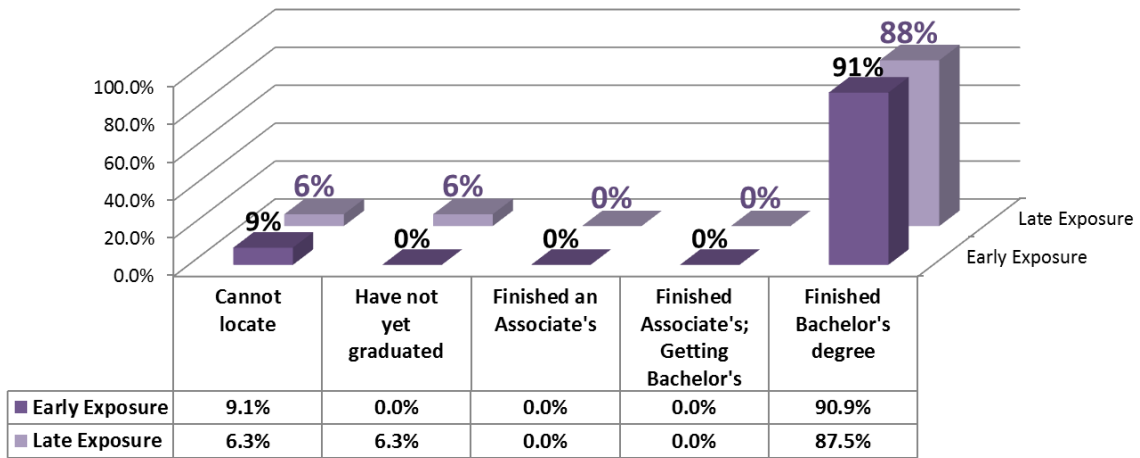


	None	Community College	Least Competitive	Competitive	Very Competitive	Highly Competitive	Most Competitive
■ Early Exposure	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	18.2%	9.1%	45.5%	27.3%
■ Late Exposure	0.0%	12.5%	6.3%	6.3%	0.0%	31.3%	43.8%

Low-Income Students' Degree Status, by First Exposure (N=33)

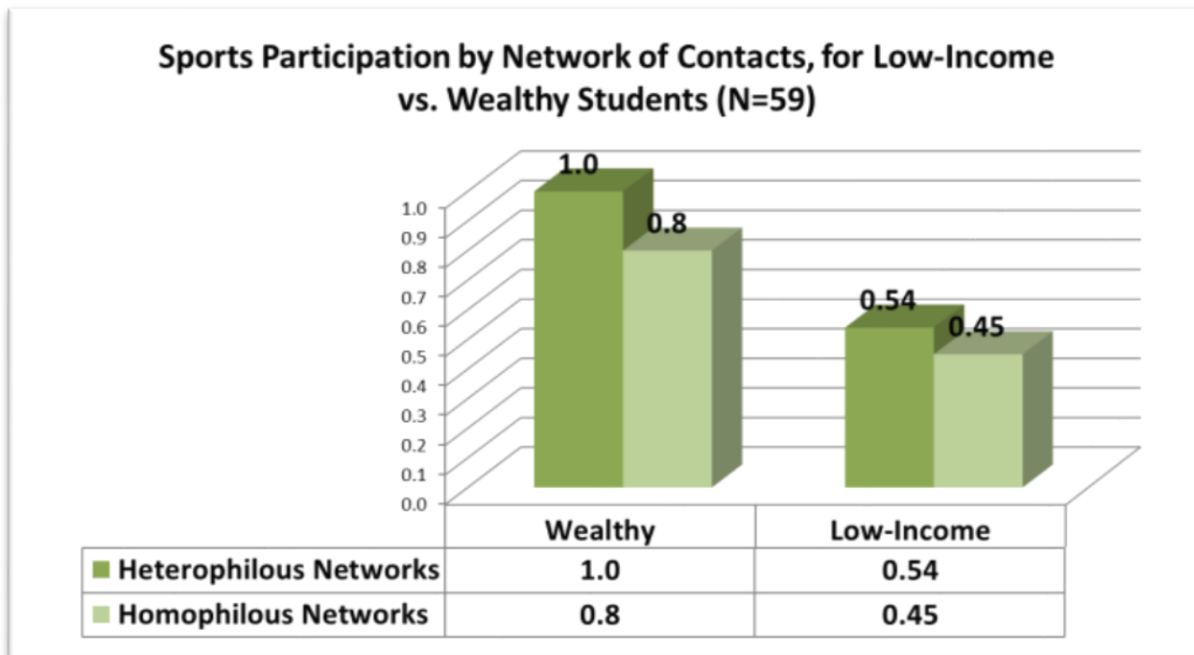
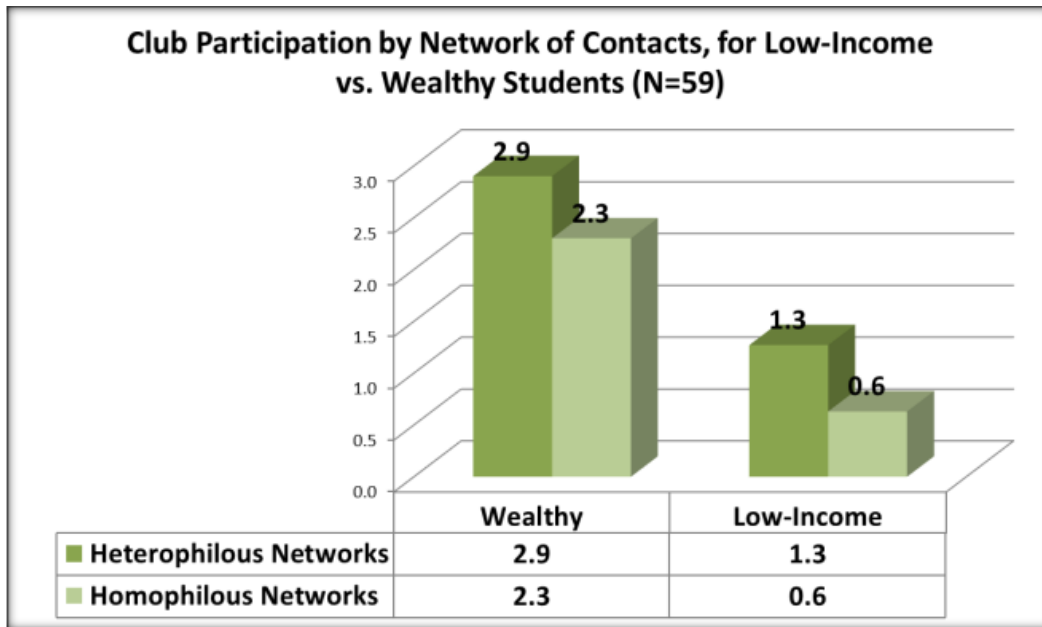


Wealthy Students' Degree Status by First Exposure (N=27)

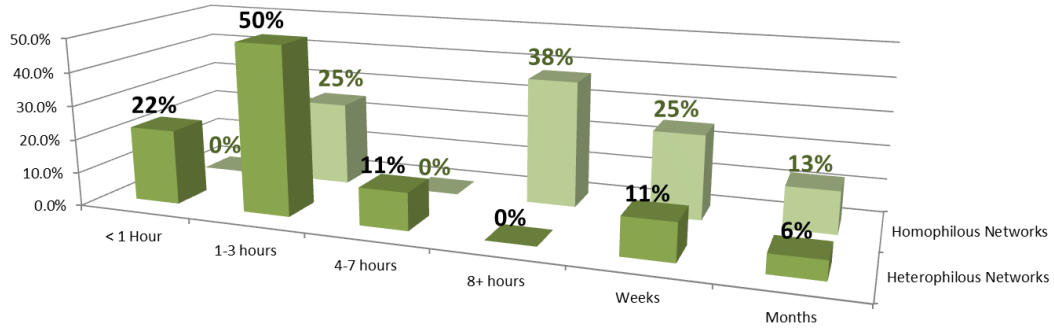


HETEROPHILY OF SCHOOL ACQUAINTANCES

“Heterophily of School Acquaintances” was occasionally a useful predictor for various educational outcomes, but was often not as helpful as “Heterophily of Close Networks.” Charts that were not included in the dissertation are included below.

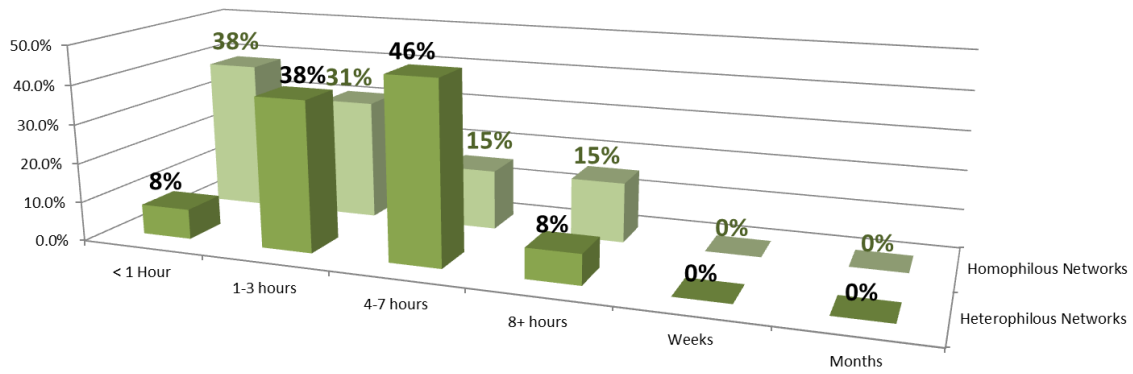


Amount of Time Low-Income Students Spent Preparing for Senior Presentations, by Contact Networks (N=26)



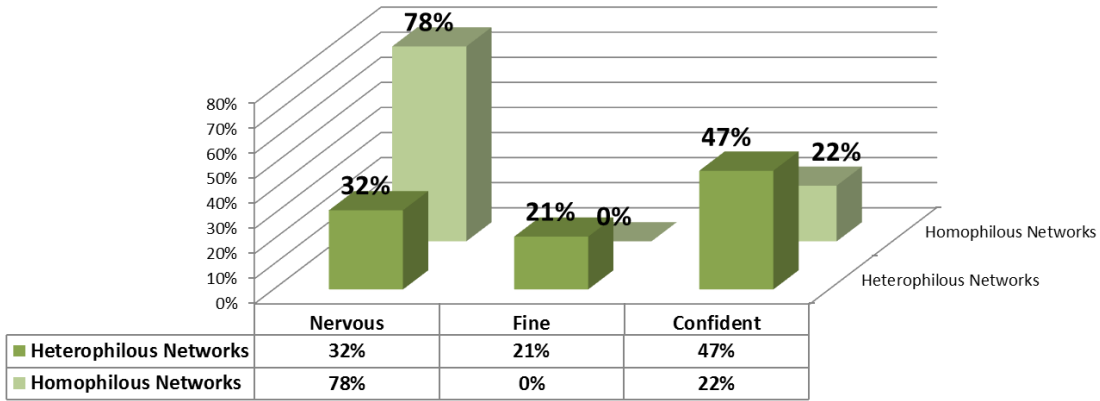
	< 1 Hour	1-3 hours	4-7 hours	8+ hours	Weeks	Months
Heterophilous Networks	22.2%	50.0%	11.1%	0.0%	11.1%	5.6%
Homophilous Networks	0.0%	25.0%	0.0%	37.5%	25.0%	12.5%

Amount of Time Wealthy Students Spent Preparing for Student Presentations, by Contact Networks (N=26)

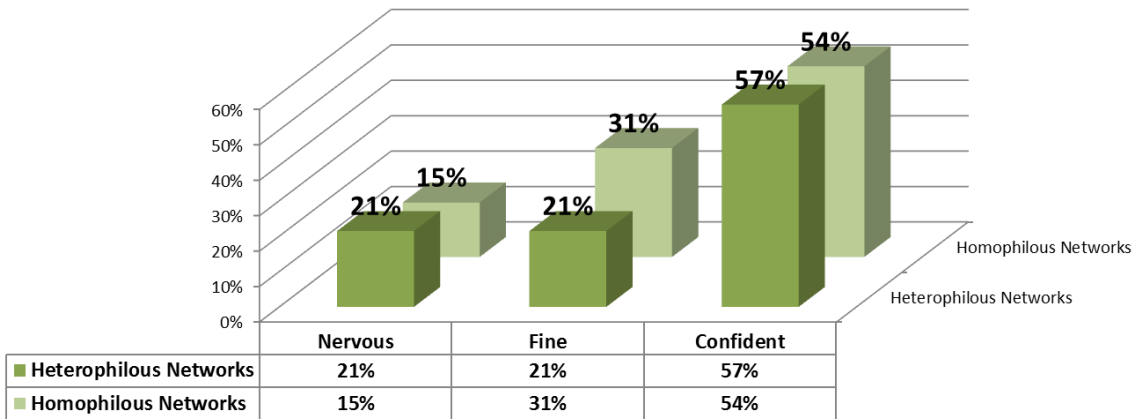


	< 1 Hour	1-3 hours	4-7 hours	8+ hours	Weeks	Months
Heterophilous Networks	7.7%	38.5%	46.2%	7.7%	0.0%	0.0%
Homophilous Networks	38.5%	30.8%	15.4%	15.4%	0.0%	0.0%

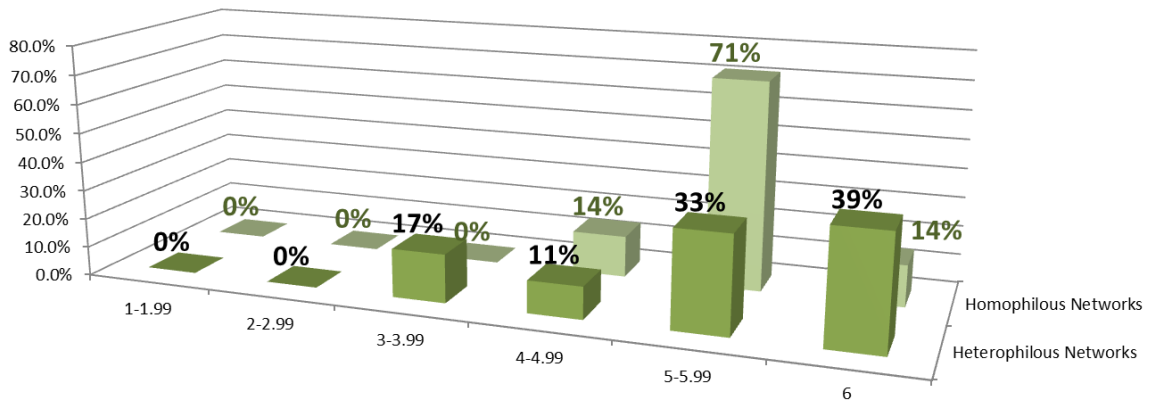
Low-Income Students' Feelings Before Presentation: Heterophilous Contact Networks vs Homophilous Contact Networks (N=28)



Wealthy Students' Feelings Before Presentation: Heterophilous Contact Networks vs. Homophilous Contact Networks (N=27)

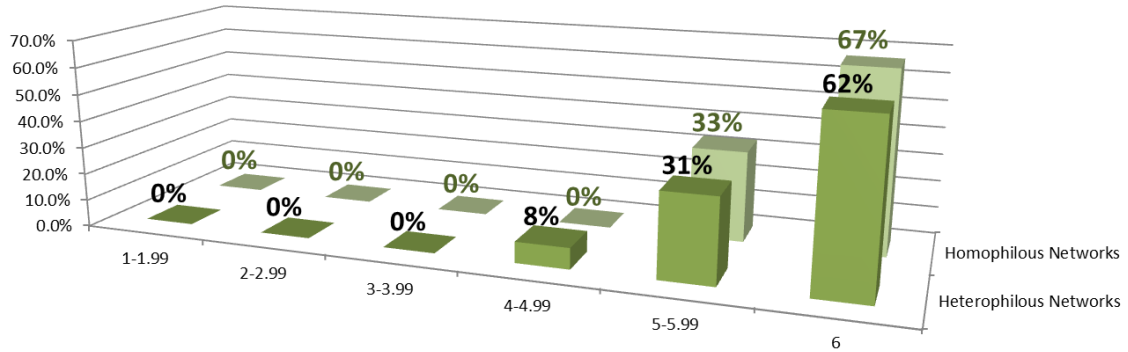


Low-Income Students' Scores: Heterophilous Contact Networks vs. Homophilous Contact Networks (N=25)



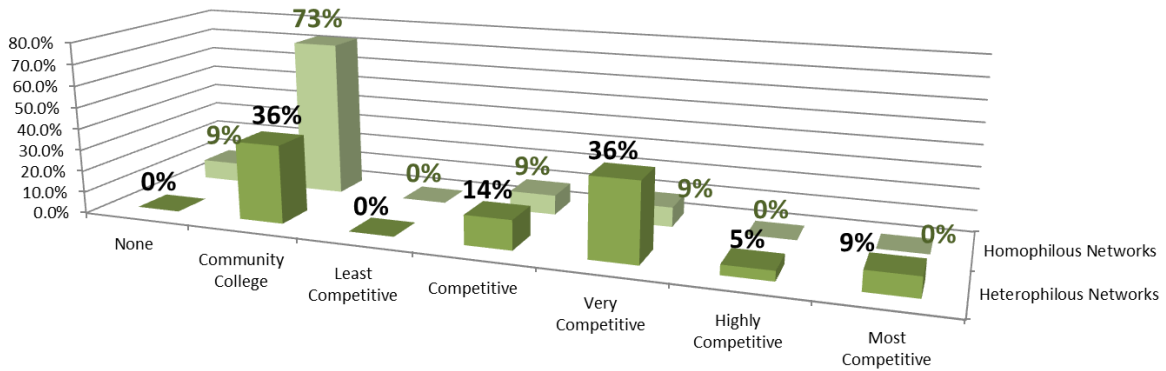
	1-1.99	2-2.99	3-3.99	4-4.99	5-5.99	6
■ Heterophilous Networks	0.0%	0.0%	16.7%	11.1%	33.3%	38.9%
■ Homophilous Networks	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	14.3%	71.4%	14.3%

Wealthy Students' Scores: Heterophilous Contact Networks vs. Homophilous Contact Networks (N=25)



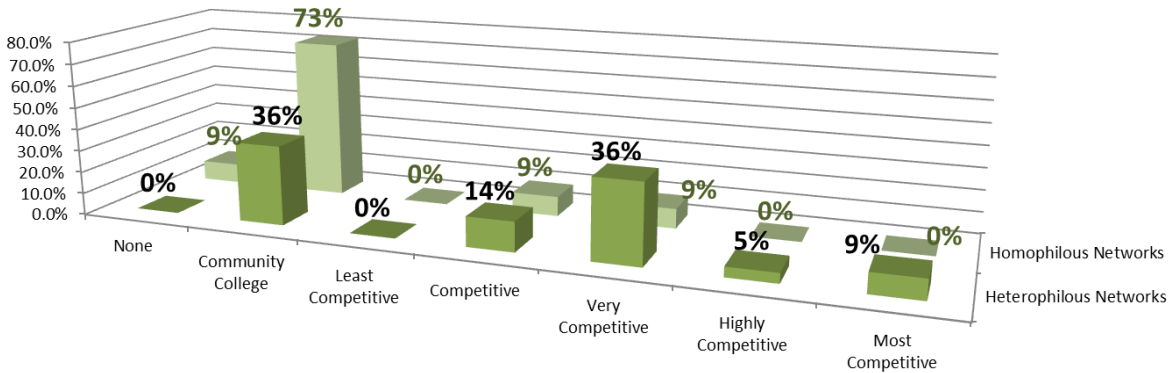
	1-1.99	2-2.99	3-3.99	4-4.99	5-5.99	6
■ Heterophilous Networks	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	7.7%	30.8%	61.5%
■ Homophilous Networks	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	33.3%	66.7%

Low-Income Students' Future College's Selectivity Rating (Barron's), by Contact Network Composition (N=33)



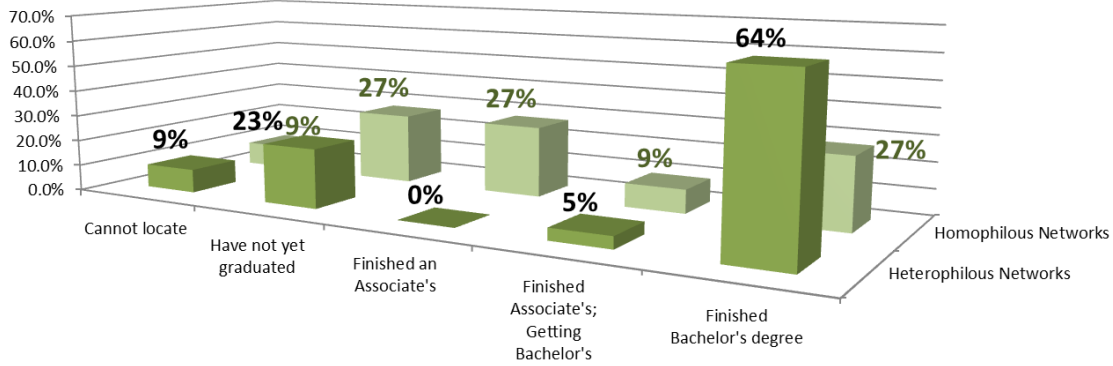
	None	Community College	Least Competitive	Competitive	Very Competitive	Highly Competitive	Most Competitive
■ Heterophilous Networks	0.0%	36.4%	0.0%	13.6%	36.4%	4.5%	9.1%
■ Homophilous Networks	9.1%	72.7%	0.0%	9.1%	9.1%	0.0%	0.0%

Low-Income Students' Future College's Selectivity Rating (Barron's), by Contact Network Composition (N=33)



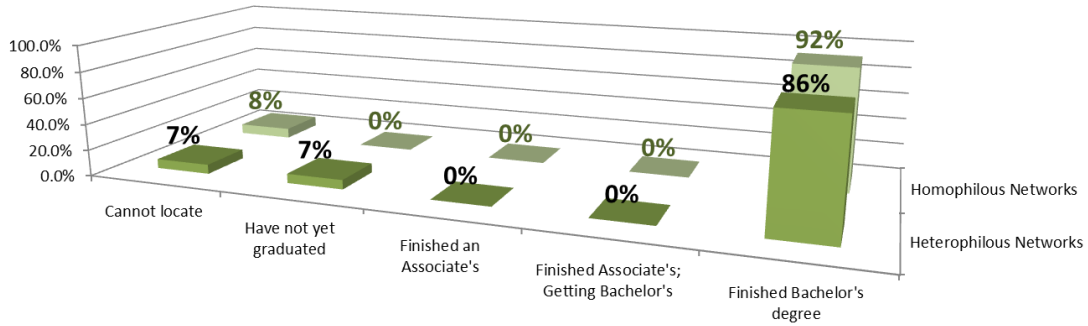
	None	Community College	Least Competitive	Competitive	Very Competitive	Highly Competitive	Most Competitive
■ Heterophilous Networks	0.0%	36.4%	0.0%	13.6%	36.4%	4.5%	9.1%
■ Homophilous Networks	9.1%	72.7%	0.0%	9.1%	9.1%	0.0%	0.0%

Low-Income Students' Degree Status, by Contact Networks (N=33)



	Cannot locate	Have not yet graduated	Finished an Associate's	Finished Associate's; Getting Bachelor's	Finished Bachelor's degree
■ Heterophilous Networks	9.1%	22.7%	0.0%	4.5%	63.6%
■ Homophilous Networks	9.1%	27.3%	27.3%	9.1%	27.3%

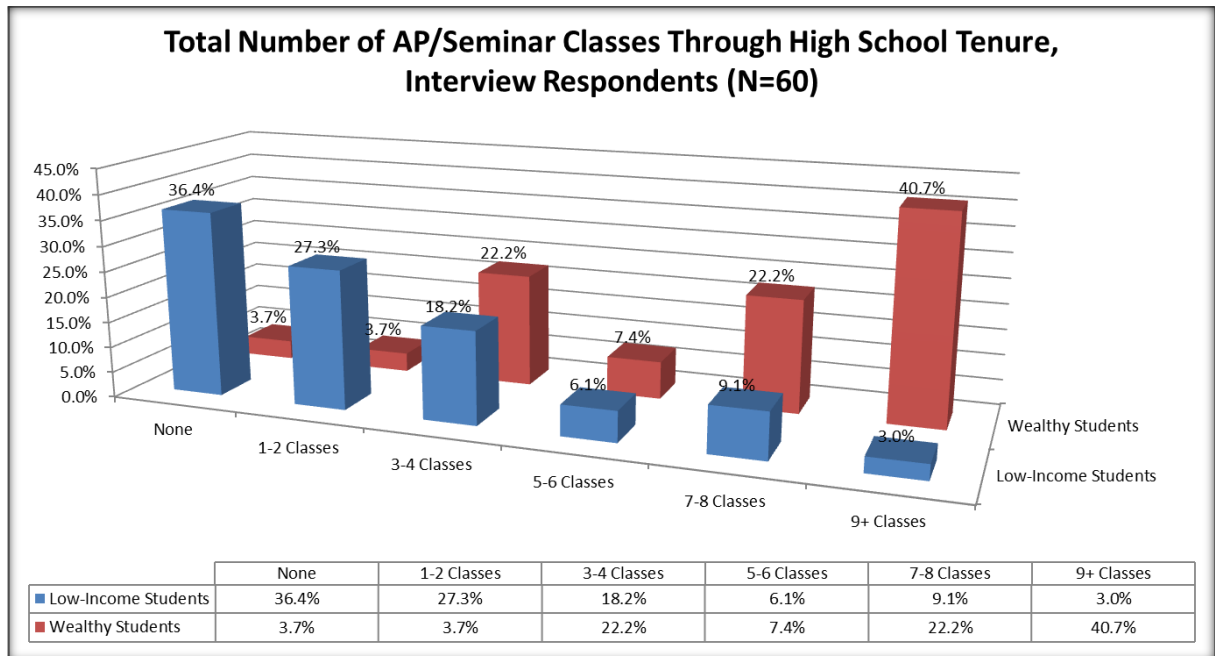
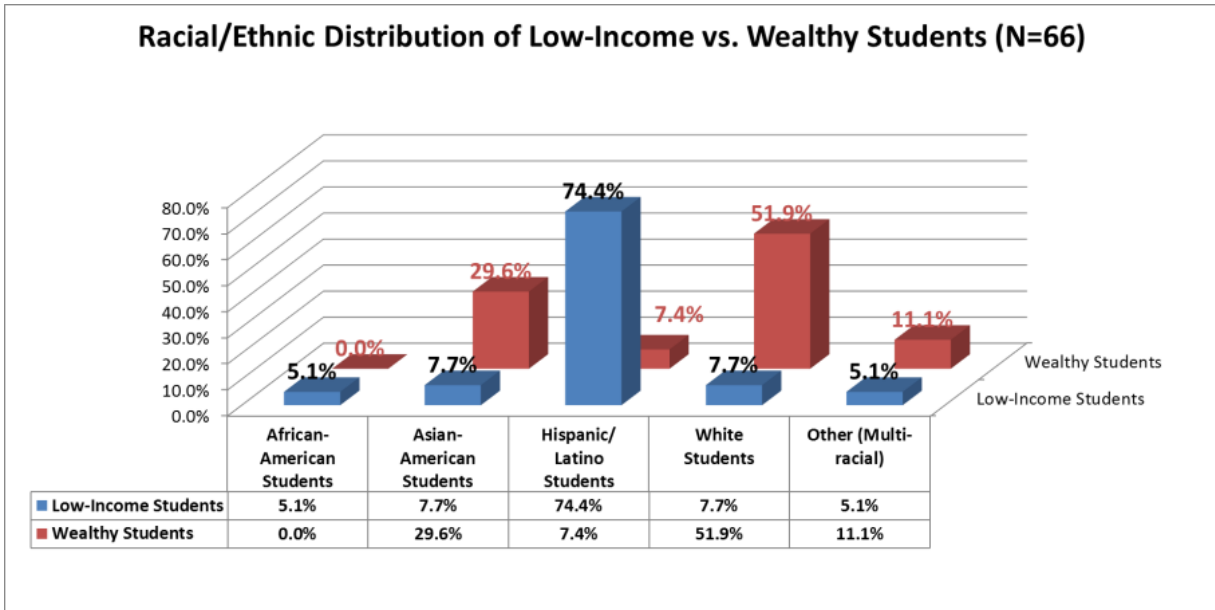
Wealthy Students' Degree Status, by Contact Networks (N=27)



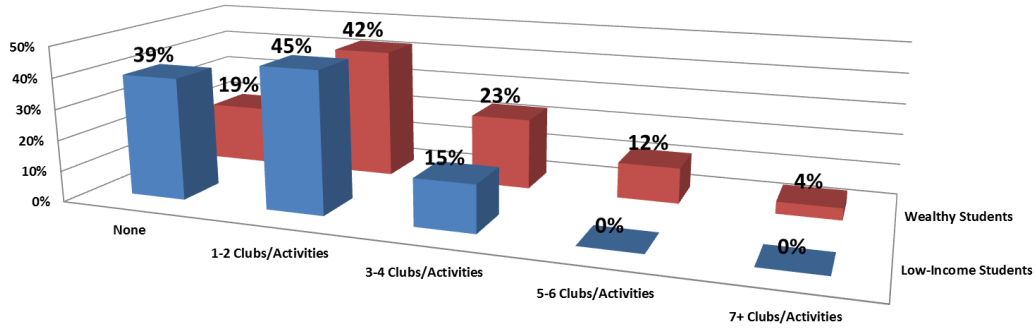
	Cannot locate	Have not yet graduated	Finished an Associate's	Finished Associate's; Getting Bachelor's	Finished Bachelor's degree
■ Heterophilous Networks	7.1%	7.1%	0.0%	0.0%	85.7%
■ Homophilous Networks	7.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	92.3%

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

Because I had information on both the entire senior class (via surveys), as well as more detailed information on students who had volunteered to participate in in-depth interviews, I ran analyses on both sets of data. There was no statistical significance between the two groups, so I opted to include information on the entire senior class in the dissertation. Any charts that were not included there (mostly charts involving the smaller group of 60 students) is included below.

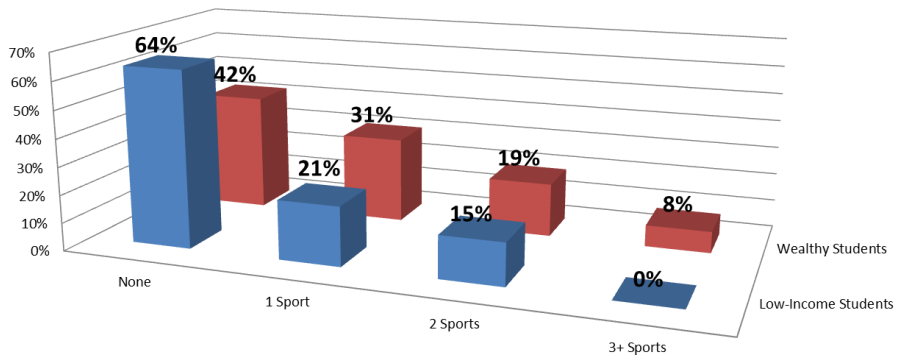


Involvement in School Clubs and Activities for Low-Income vs. Wealthy Students, Interview Respondents (N=60)



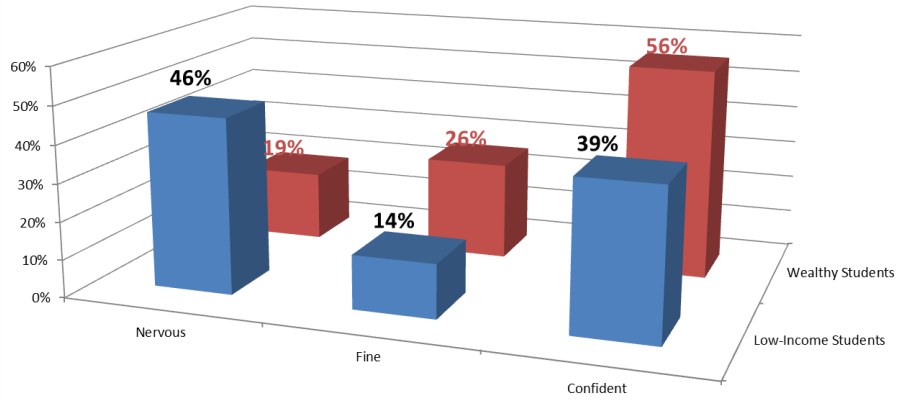
	None	1-2 Clubs/Activities	3-4 Clubs/Activities	5-6 Clubs/Activities	7+ Clubs/Activities
Low-Income Students	39%	45%	15%	0%	0%
Wealthy Students	19%	42%	23%	12%	4%

Involvement in School Sports for Low-Income vs. Wealthy Students, Interview Respondents (N=60)



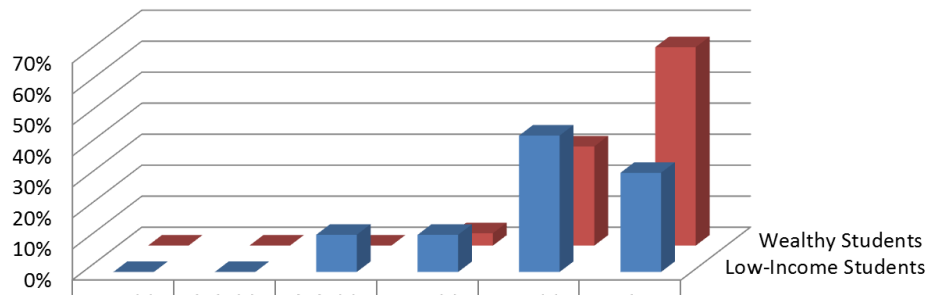
	None	1 Sport	2 Sports	3+ Sports
Low-Income Students	64%	21%	15%	0%
Wealthy Students	42%	31%	19%	8%

Students' Feelings Before the Senior Exhibition Presentation, by Socioeconomic Status (N=55)



	Nervous	Fine	Confident
■ Low-Income Students	46%	14%	39%
■ Wealthy Students	19%	26%	56%

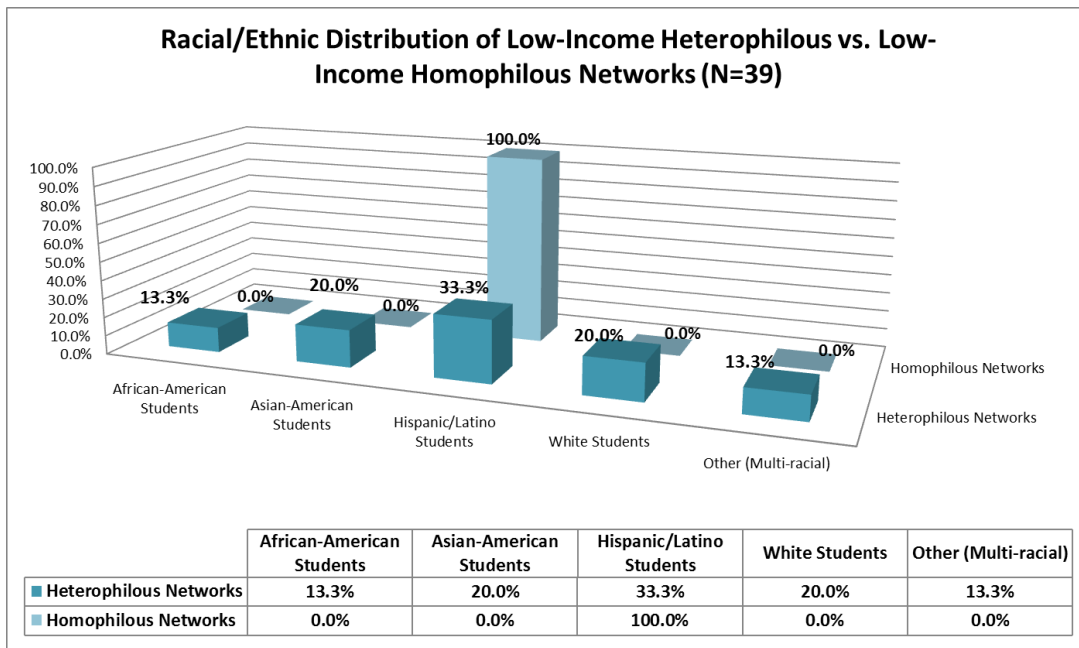
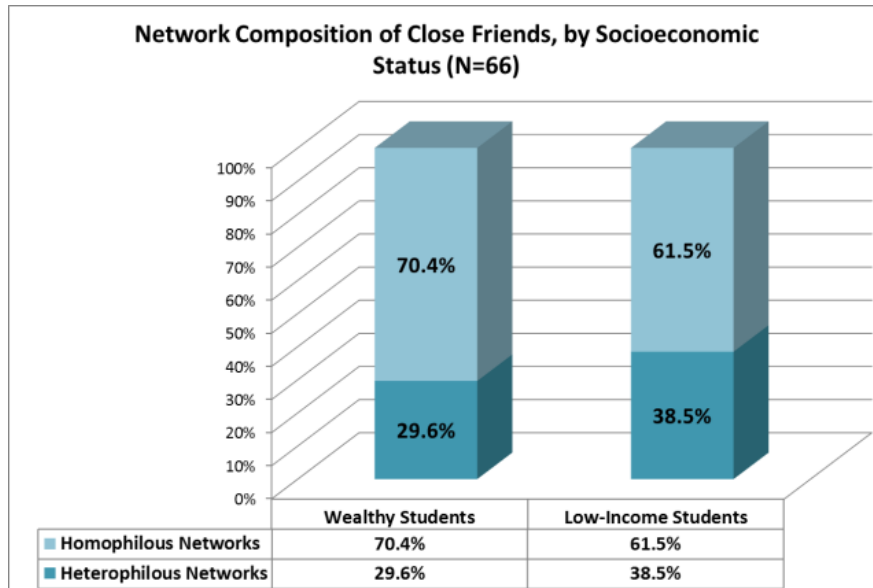
Senior Exhibition Scores on a Scale of 1-6, by Socioeconomic Status (N=50)



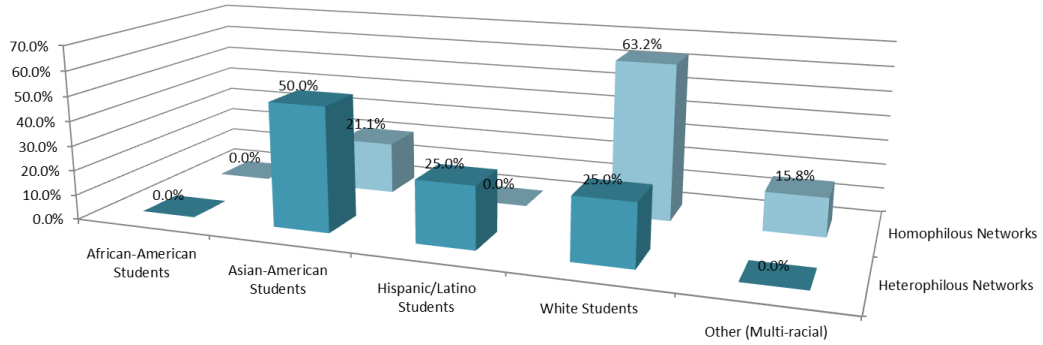
	1-1.99	2-2.99	3-3.99	4-4.99	5-5.99	6
■ Low-Income Students	0%	0%	12%	12%	44%	32%
■ Wealthy Students	0%	0%	0%	4%	32%	64%

HETEROPHILY OF CLOSE FRIENDS

Charts that were redundant or not directly relevant to the argument (often because they were examining wealthy students) were dropped from the dissertation. They are included below.

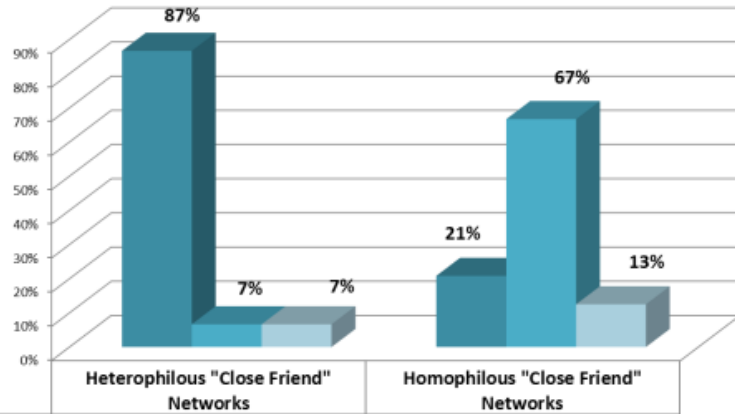


Racial/Ethnic Distribution of Wealthy Heterophilous vs. Wealthy Homophilous Networks (N=27)



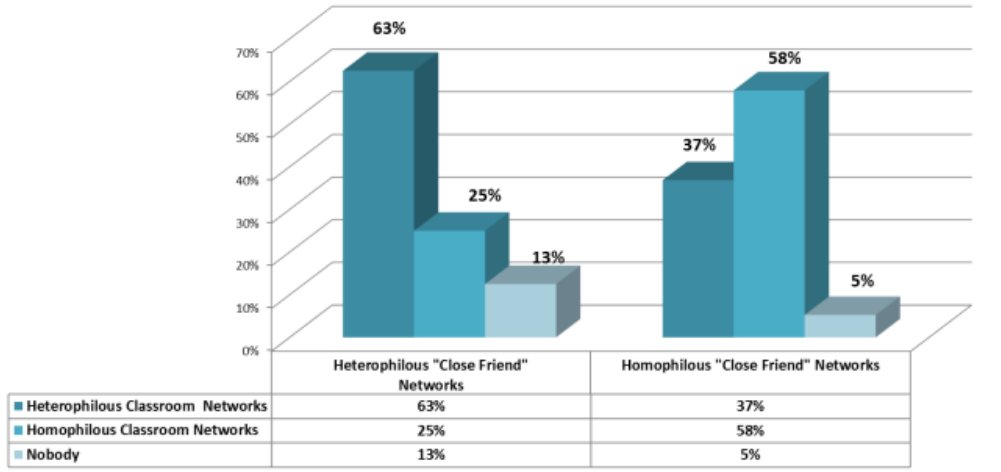
	African-American Students	Asian-American Students	Hispanic/Latino Students	White Students	Other (Multi-racial)
Heterophilous Networks	0.0%	50.0%	25.0%	25.0%	0.0%
Homophilous Networks	0.0%	21.1%	0.0%	63.2%	15.8%

Composition of Low-Income Classroom Networks, by Low-Income Network of Close Friends (n=33)

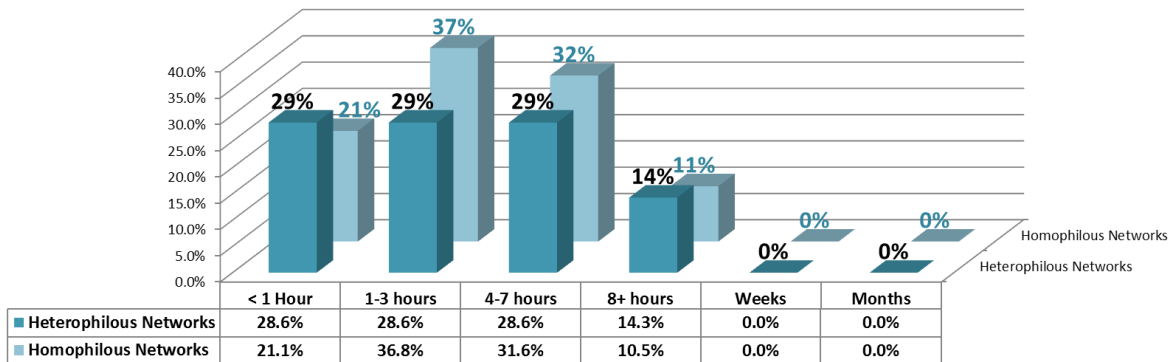


	Heterophilous "Close Friend" Networks	Homophilous "Close Friend" Networks
Heterophilous Classroom Networks	87%	21%
Homophilous Classroom Networks	7%	67%
Nobody	7%	13%

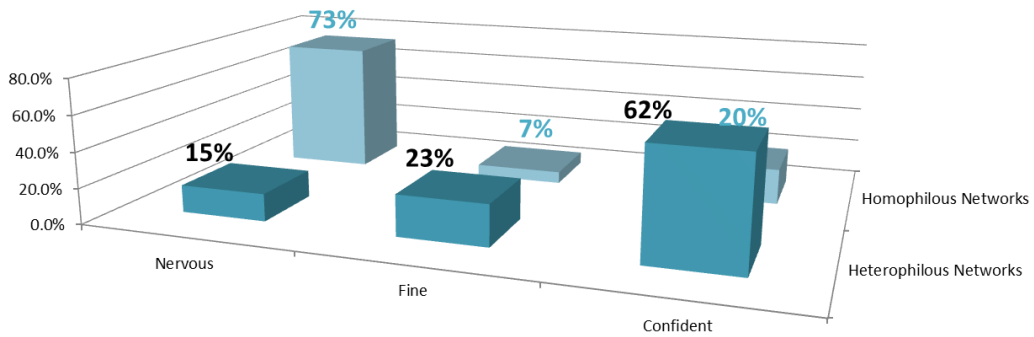
Composition of Wealthy Classroom Networks, by Wealthy Networks of Close Friends (N=27)



Amount of Time Wealthy Students Spent Preparing for Senior Exhibitions: Heterophilous Networks vs. Homophilous Networks

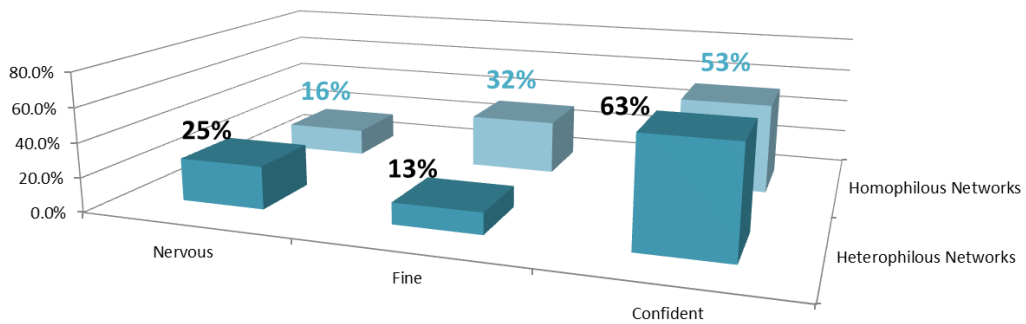


**Low-Income Students' Feelings Before the Senior Exhibition Presentation:
Heterophilous vs. Homophilous Networks (N=28)**



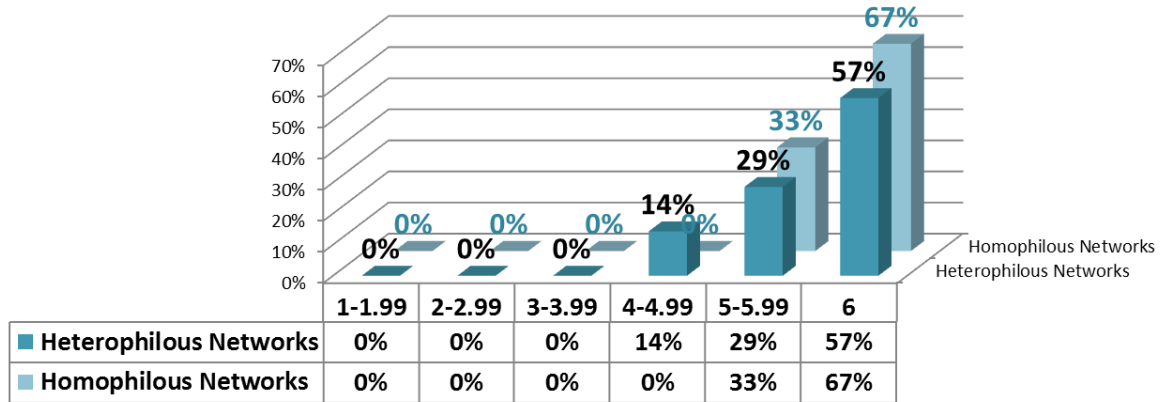
	Nervous	Fine	Confident
Heterophilous Networks	15.4%	23.1%	61.5%
Homophilous Networks	73.3%	6.7%	20.0%

**Wealthy Students' Feelings Before Presentation, Heterophilous vs.
Homophilous Networks (N=27)**

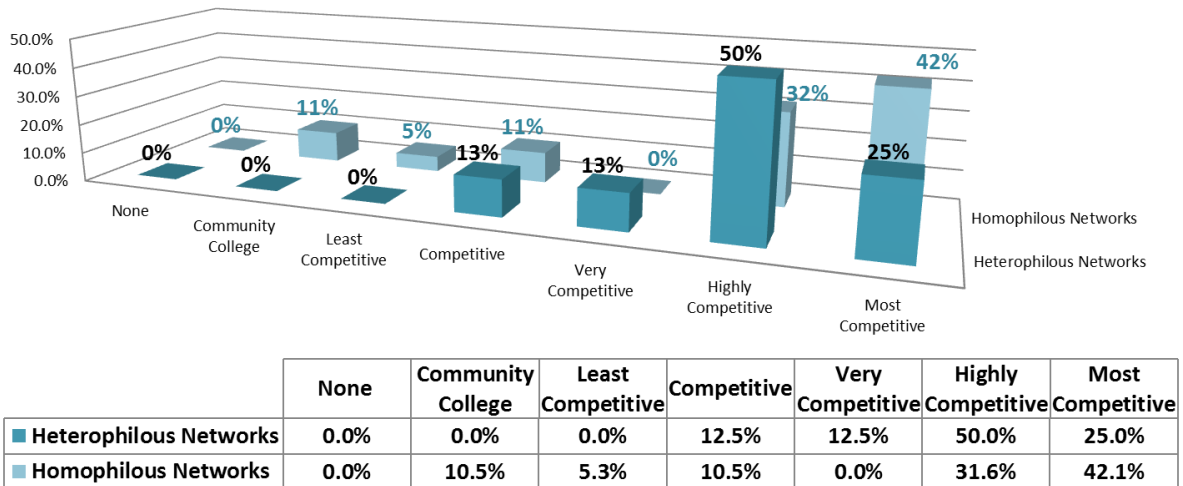


	Nervous	Fine	Confident
Heterophilous Networks	25.0%	12.5%	62.5%
Homophilous Networks	15.8%	31.6%	52.6%

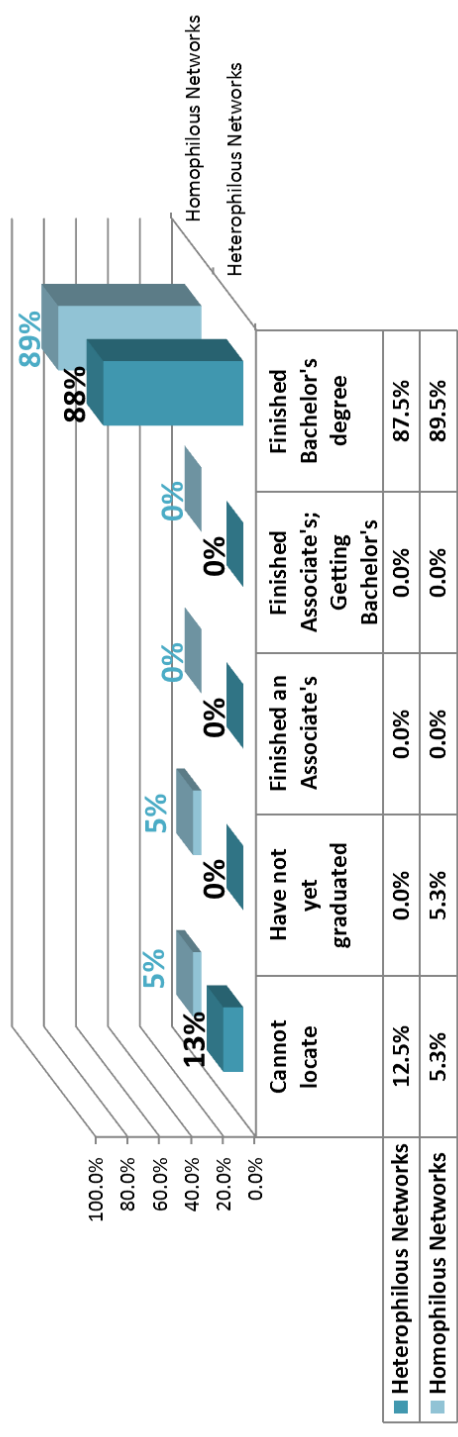
Wealthy Students' Scores: Heterophilous Networks vs. Homophilous Networks (N=25)



Wealthy Students' Future College's Selectivity Rating (Barron), by Network Composition (N=27)



Wealthy Students' Degree Status: Heterophilous Networks vs. Homophilous Networks (N=27)



EXTRA MANN-WHITNEY U TESTS

In addition to the tests for group difference that were included in the dissertation, I also ran a few other tests. They did not tell a particularly compelling story, but are included below.

A Mann-Whitney U test for group differences in the total number of AP/Seminar courses that students had taken over their high school tenure reveal that, as the literature suggests, there were indeed differences between wealthy students and low-income students (including both low-income students in heterophilous networks as well as those in homophilous networks).

A Mann-Whitney U test for group differences in the total number of sports that students had taken over their high school tenure revealed that there were no statistically significant differences between low-income students and wealthy students; nor between low-income students in heterophilous networks vs those in homophilous networks; nor between wealthy students in general and low-income students in heterophilous networks. The only statistically significant difference was between wealthy students and low-income students in homophilous networks. This may be because sports allowed for the “deep contact” that Allport mentioned, which meant that low-income students who participated in sports would likely develop heterophilous networks, while low-income students in homophilous networks might miss out when they opt out of sports participation.

Unsurprisingly, there continued to be a statistically significant difference between low-income students and wealthy students in terms of the total number of clubs/activities they had participated in over their high school tenure. In line with the rest of the findings in the dissertation, I found that there was a statistically significant difference between wealthy students and low-income students in homophilous networks, but that low-income students in heterophilous networks were virtually indistinguishable from their wealthier peers in terms of their extracurricular activities.

Mann-Whitney U Test for Group Difference in Total Number of AP/Seminar Courses over High School Tenure

	Descriptive Statistics			Test Statistics			
	N	Mean	Mean Rank	Mann-Whitney U	Wilcoxon W	Z-Score	p-value
<i>Wealthy vs. Low-Income Students</i>							
Wealthy Students	27	7.67	42.41	124	685	-4.82	.000***
Low-Income Students	33	2.45	20.76				
<i>Low-Income: Homophilous vs. Heterophilous Networks</i>							
Homophilous Networks	18	1.5	14.58	91.5	262.5	-1.62	0.117
Heterophilous Networks	15	3.6	19.9				
<i>Wealthy vs. Low-Income Students in Homophilous Networks</i>							
Wealthy Students	27	7.67	30.61	37.5	208.5	-4.79	.000***
Low-Income Students in Homophilous Groups	18	1.5	11.58				
<i>Wealthy vs. Low-Income Students in Heterophilous Networks</i>							
Wealthy Students	27	7.67	25.8	86.5	206.5	-3.06	.002**
Low-Income Students in Heterophilous Groups	15	3.6	13.77				

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001 (two-tailed).

Mann-Whitney U Test for Group Difference in Total Number of Sports Taken over High School Tenure

	Descriptive Statistics			Test Statistics			
	N	Mean	Mean Rank	Mann-Whitney U	Wilcoxon W	Z-Score	p-value
<i>Wealthy vs. Low-Income Students</i>							
Wealthy Students	27	0.92	33.88	328	889	-1.7	0.088
Low-Income Students	33	0.52	26.94				
<i>Low-Income: Homophilous vs. Heterophilous Networks</i>							
Homophilous Networks	18	0.28	14.44	89	260	-1.95	0.1
Heterophilous Networks	15	0.8	20.07				
<i>Wealthy vs. Low-Income Students in Homophilous Networks</i>							
Wealthy Students	26	0.92	25.98	143.5	314.5	-2.42	.016*
Low-Income Students in Homophilous Groups	18	0.28	17.47				
<i>Wealthy vs. Low-Income Students in Heterophilous Networks</i>							
Wealthy Students	26	0.92	21.4	184.5	304.5	-0.303	0.78
Low-Income Students in Heterophilous Groups	15	0.8	20.3				

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001 (two-tailed).

Mann-Whitney U Test for Group Difference in Total Number of Clubs/Activities over High School Tenure

	Descriptive Statistics			Test Statistics			
	N	Mean	Mean Rank	Mann-Whitney U	Wilcoxon W	Z-Score	p-value
<i>Wealthy vs. Low-Income Students</i>							
Wealthy Students	26	2.6	36.88	250	811	-2.81	.005**
Low-Income Students	33	1.06	24.58				
<i>Low-Income: Homophilous vs. Heterophilous Networks</i>							
Homophilous Networks	18	0.89	15.78	113	284	-0.839	0.442
Heterophilous Networks	15	1.27	18.47				
<i>Wealthy vs. Low-Income Students in Homophilous Networks</i>							
Wealthy Students	26	2.58	26.8	37.5	208.5	-4.79	.006**
Low-Income Students in Homophilous Groups	18	0.89	16.28				
<i>Wealthy vs. Low-Income Students in Heterophilous Networks</i>							
Wealthy Students	26	2.58	23.58	128	248	-1.85	0.072
Low-Income Students in Heterophilous Groups	15	1.27	16.53				

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001 (two-tailed).

Appendix B: SPSS Results

The statistical analysis was run on SPSS. Results from SPSS are below, divided by the chapter sections they appeared in within the dissertation.

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

Immigration, by Socioeconomic Status

Crosstab

			Class		Total
			Wealthy	Low-Income	
Immigrnt	Non-Immigrant	Count	18	4	22
		% within Immigrnt	81.8%	18.2%	100.0%
		% within Class	66.7%	10.5%	33.8%
		% of Total	27.7%	6.2%	33.8%
	Immigrant/Immigrant child	Count	9	34	43
		% within Immigrnt	20.9%	79.1%	100.0%
		% within Class	33.3%	89.5%	66.2%
		% of Total	13.8%	52.3%	66.2%
Total	Count	27	38	65	
	% within Immigrnt	41.5%	58.5%	100.0%	
	% within Class	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total	41.5%	58.5%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	22.219 ^a	1	.000		
Continuity Correction ^b	19.782	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	23.256	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	21.877	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	65				

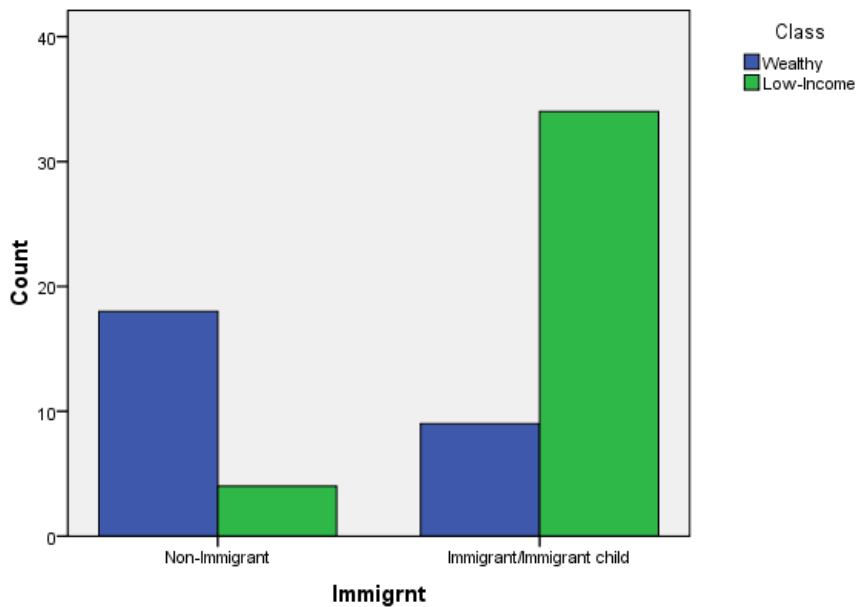
a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 9.14.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.585	.000
	Cramer's V	.585	.000
N of Valid Cases		65	

Bar Chart



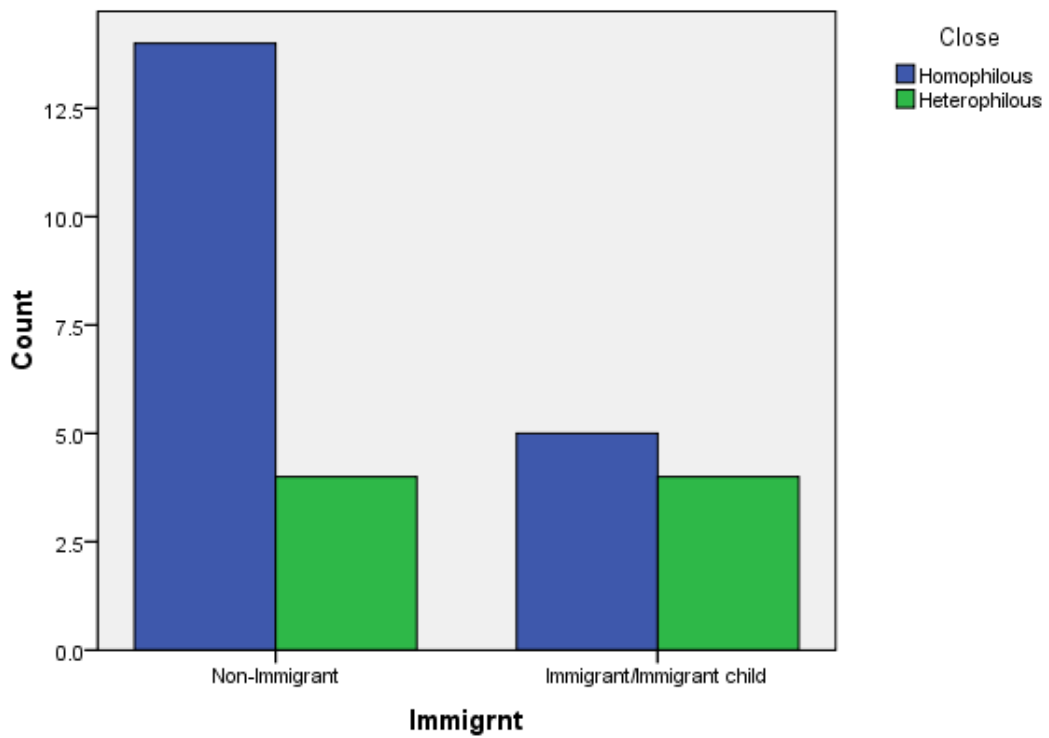
Crosstab

Class				Close		Total	
				Homophilous	Heterophilous		
Wealthy	Immigrnt	Non-Immigrant	Count	14	4	18	
			% within Immigrnt	77.8%	22.2%	100.0%	
			% within Close	73.7%	50.0%	66.7%	
			% of Total	51.9%	14.8%	66.7%	
	Immigrant/Immigrant child			Count	5	4	9
				% within Immigrnt	55.6%	44.4%	100.0%
				% within Close	26.3%	50.0%	33.3%
				% of Total	18.5%	14.8%	33.3%
	Total			Count	19	8	27
				% within Immigrnt	70.4%	29.6%	100.0%
				% within Close	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
				% of Total	70.4%	29.6%	100.0%
Low-Income	Immigrnt	Non-Immigrant	Count	0	4	4	
			% within Immigrnt	.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
			% within Close	.0%	26.7%	10.5%	
			% of Total	.0%	10.5%	10.5%	
	Immigrant/Immigrant child			Count	23	11	34
				% within Immigrnt	67.6%	32.4%	100.0%
				% within Close	100.0%	73.3%	89.5%
				% of Total	60.5%	28.9%	89.5%
	Total			Count	23	15	38
				% within Immigrnt	60.5%	39.5%	100.0%
				% within Close	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
				% of Total	60.5%	39.5%	100.0%

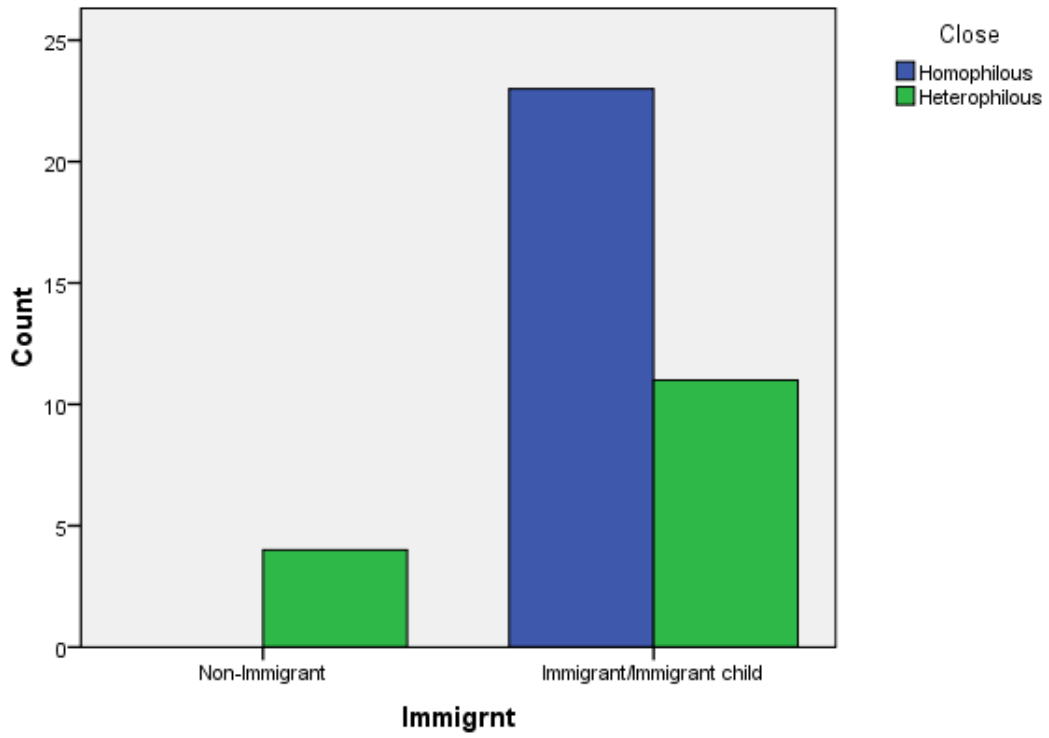
Symmetric Measures

Class			Value	Approx. Sig.
Wealthy	Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.229	.233
		Cramer's V	.229	.233
	N of Valid Cases		27	
Low-Income	Nominal by Nominal	Phi	-.425	.009
		Cramer's V	.425	.009
	N of Valid Cases		38	

Class=Wealthy



Class=Low-Income



Language Spoken in Home, by Socioeconomic Status

Crosstab

			Class		Total
			Wealthy	Low-Income	
Language	English	Count	18	7	25
		% within Language	72.0%	28.0%	100.0%
		% within Class	69.2%	18.9%	39.7%
		% of Total	28.6%	11.1%	39.7%
	Non-English	Count	8	30	38
		% within Language	21.1%	78.9%	100.0%
		% within Class	30.8%	81.1%	60.3%
		% of Total	12.7%	47.6%	60.3%
Total	Count	26	37	63	
	% within Language	41.3%	58.7%	100.0%	
	% within Class	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total	41.3%	58.7%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	16.149 ^a	1	.000		
Continuity Correction ^b	14.115	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	16.645	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	15.892	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	63				

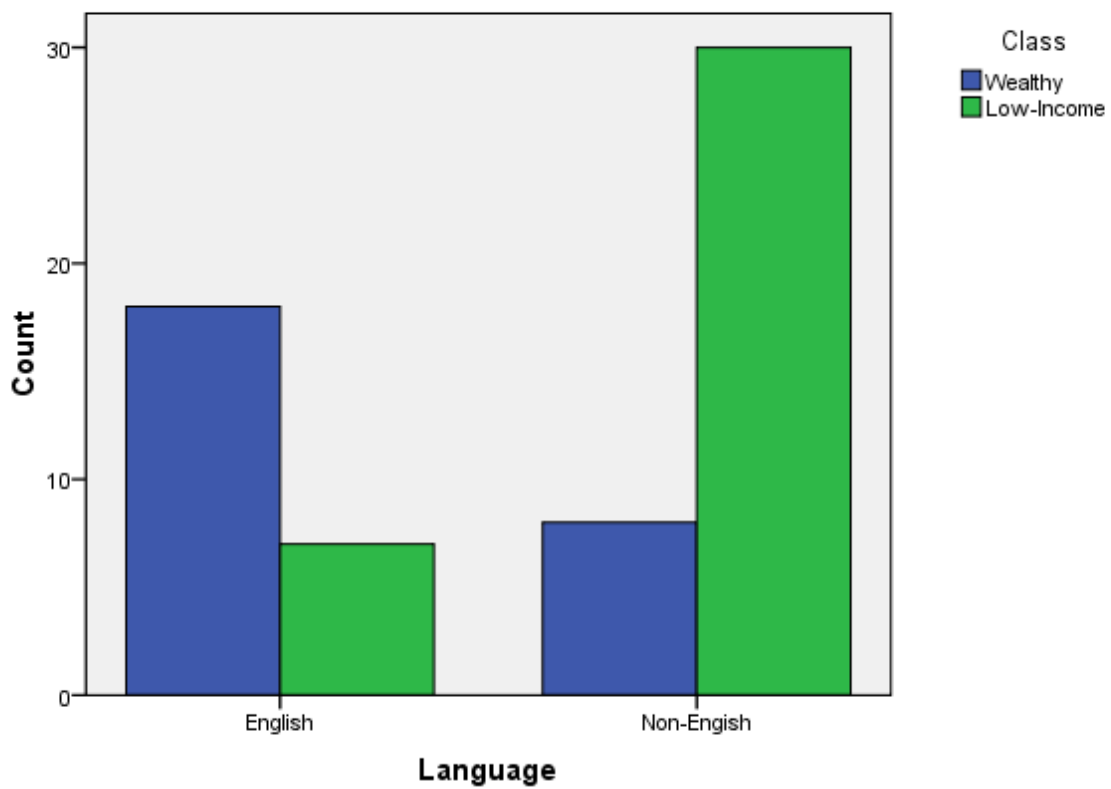
a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 10.32.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.506	.000
	Cramer's V	.506	.000
N of Valid Cases		63	

Bar Chart



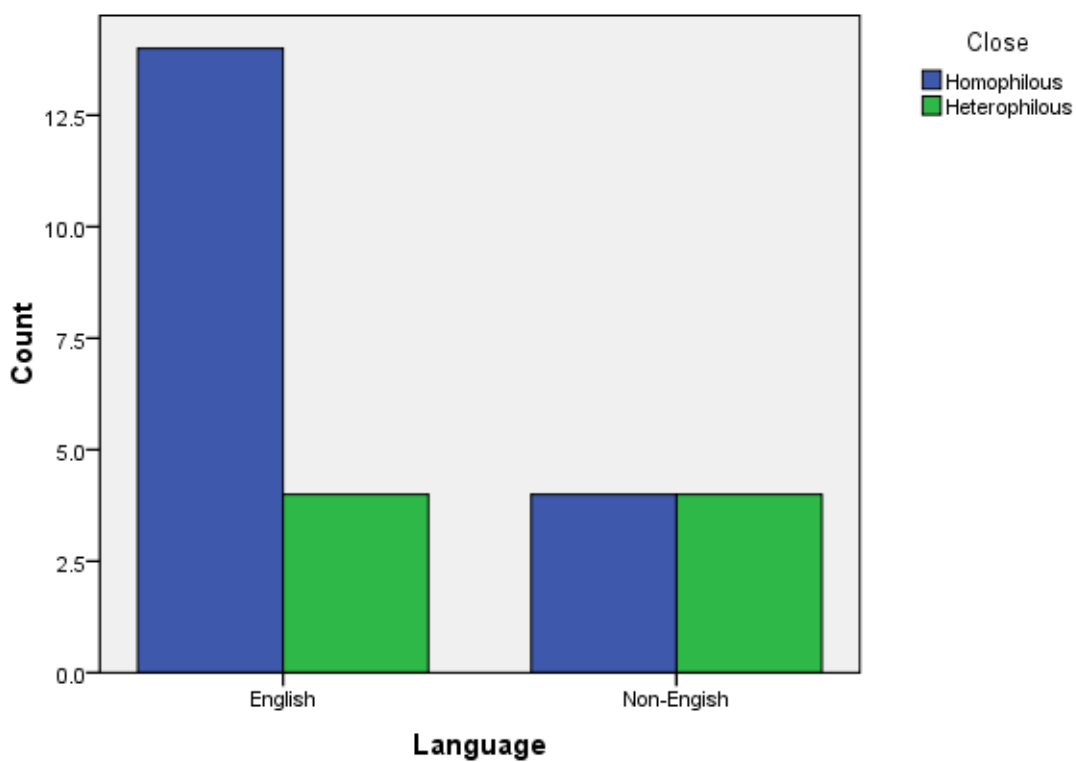
Crosstab

Class				Close		Total
				Homophilous	Heterophilous	
Wealthy	Language	English	Count	14	4	18
			% within Language	77.8%	22.2%	100.0%
			% within Close	77.8%	50.0%	69.2%
			% of Total	53.8%	15.4%	69.2%
	Non-English	Count	4	4	8	
		% within Language	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%	
		% within Close	22.2%	50.0%	30.8%	
		% of Total	15.4%	15.4%	30.8%	
	Total	Count	18	8	26	
		% within Language	69.2%	30.8%	100.0%	
		% within Close	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
		% of Total	69.2%	30.8%	100.0%	
Low-Income	Language	English	Count	0	7	7
			% within Language	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
			% within Close	.0%	50.0%	18.9%
			% of Total	.0%	18.9%	18.9%
	Non-English	Count	23	7	30	
		% within Language	76.7%	23.3%	100.0%	
		% within Close	100.0%	50.0%	81.1%	
		% of Total	62.2%	18.9%	81.1%	
	Total	Count	23	14	37	
		% within Language	62.2%	37.8%	100.0%	
		% within Close	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
		% of Total	62.2%	37.8%	100.0%	

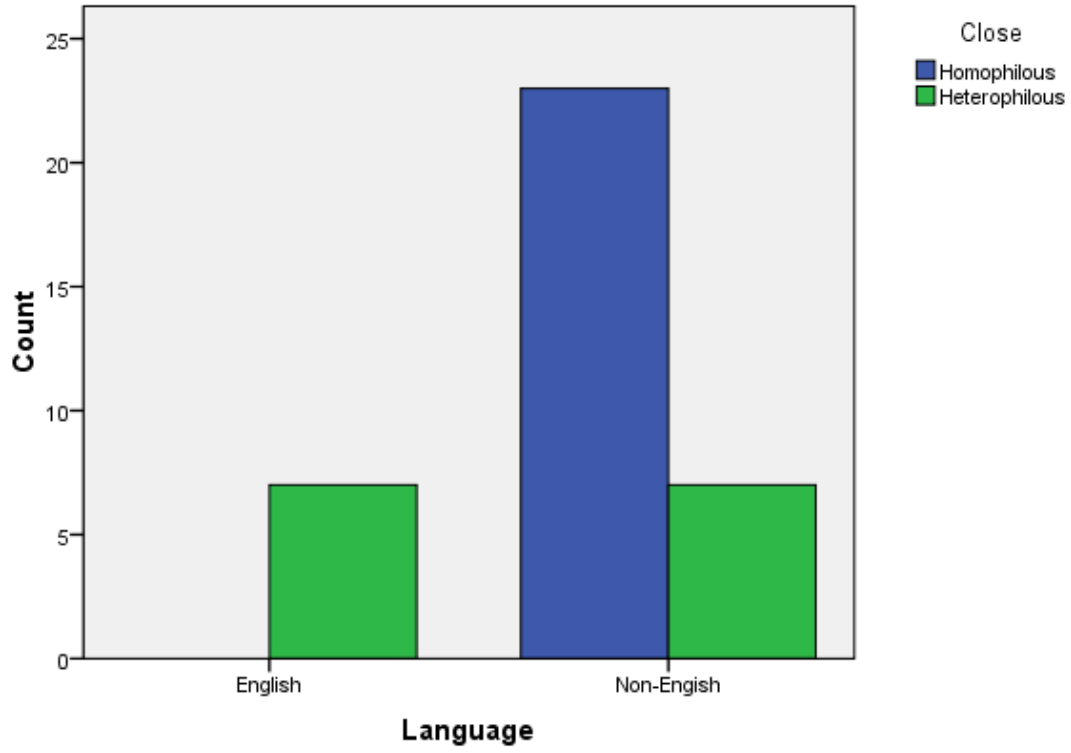
Symmetric Measures

Class			Value	Approx. Sig.
Wealthy	Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.278	.157
		Cramer's V	.278	.157
	N of Valid Cases		26	
Low-Income	Nominal by Nominal	Phi	-.619	.000
		Cramer's V	.619	.000
	N of Valid Cases		37	

Class=Wealthy



Class=Low-Income



Distance from School, by Socioeconomic Status

Crosstab

			Class		Total
			Wealthy	Low-Income	
Distance	Near	Count	22	6	28
		% within Distance	78.6%	21.4%	100.0%
		% within Class	81.5%	15.4%	42.4%
		% of Total	33.3%	9.1%	42.4%
	Far	Count	5	33	38
		% within Distance	13.2%	86.8%	100.0%
		% within Class	18.5%	84.6%	57.6%
		% of Total	7.6%	50.0%	57.6%
Total	Count	27	39	66	
	% within Distance	40.9%	59.1%	100.0%	
	% within Class	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total	40.9%	59.1%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	28.536 ^a	1	.000		
Continuity Correction ^b	25.894	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	30.612	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	28.104	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	66				

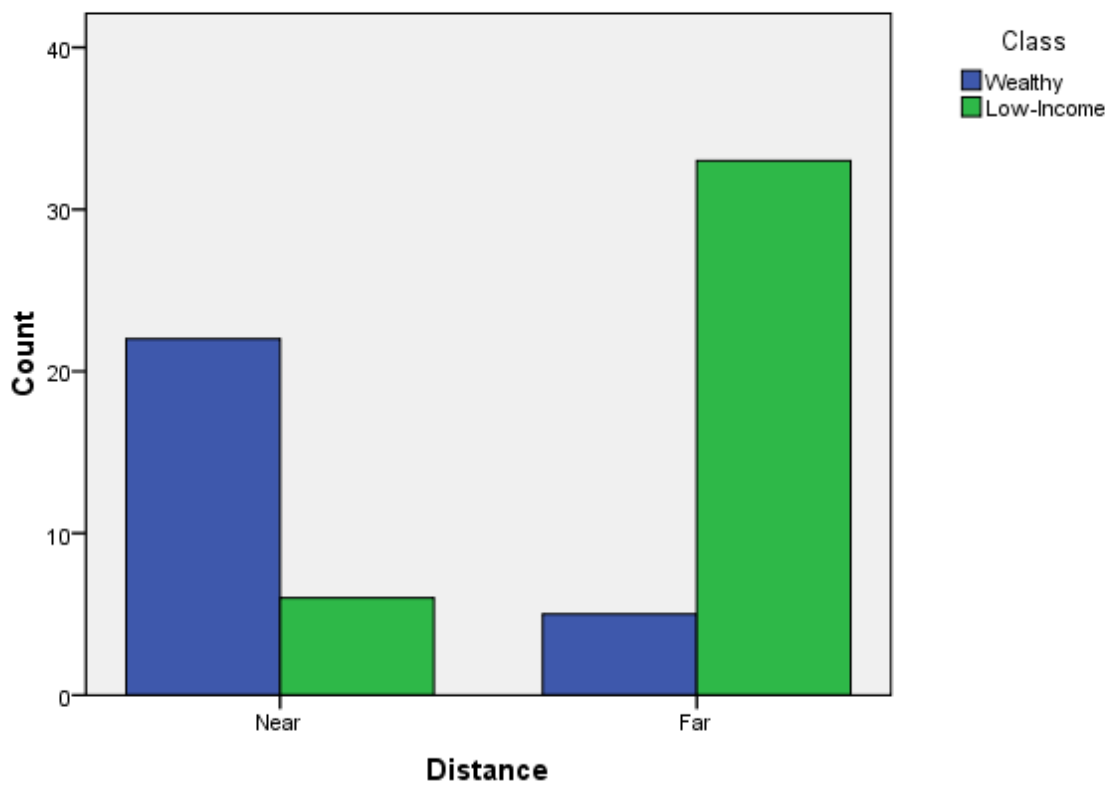
a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 11.45.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.658	.000
	Cramer's V	.658	.000
N of Valid Cases		66	

Bar Chart



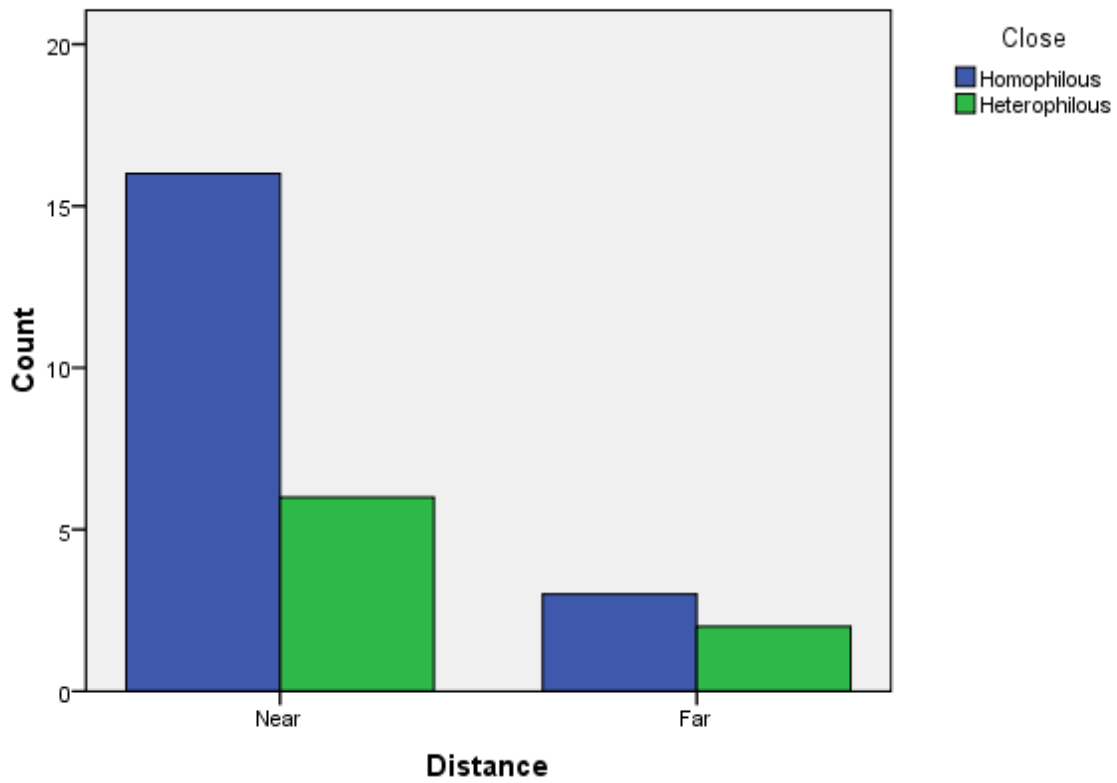
Crosstab

Class				Close		Total
				Homophilous	Heterophilous	
Wealthy	Distance	Near	Count	16	6	22
			% within Distance	72.7%	27.3%	100.0%
			% within Close	84.2%	75.0%	81.5%
			% of Total	59.3%	22.2%	81.5%
	Far	Far	Count	3	2	5
			% within Distance	60.0%	40.0%	100.0%
			% within Close	15.8%	25.0%	18.5%
			% of Total	11.1%	7.4%	18.5%
	Total	Total	Count	19	8	27
			% within Distance	70.4%	29.6%	100.0%
			% within Close	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
			% of Total	70.4%	29.6%	100.0%
Low-Income	Distance	Near	Count	1	5	6
			% within Distance	16.7%	83.3%	100.0%
			% within Close	4.2%	33.3%	15.4%
			% of Total	2.6%	12.8%	15.4%
	Far	Far	Count	23	10	33
			% within Distance	69.7%	30.3%	100.0%
			% within Close	95.8%	66.7%	84.6%
			% of Total	59.0%	25.6%	84.6%
	Total	Total	Count	24	15	39
			% within Distance	61.5%	38.5%	100.0%
			% within Close	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
			% of Total	61.5%	38.5%	100.0%

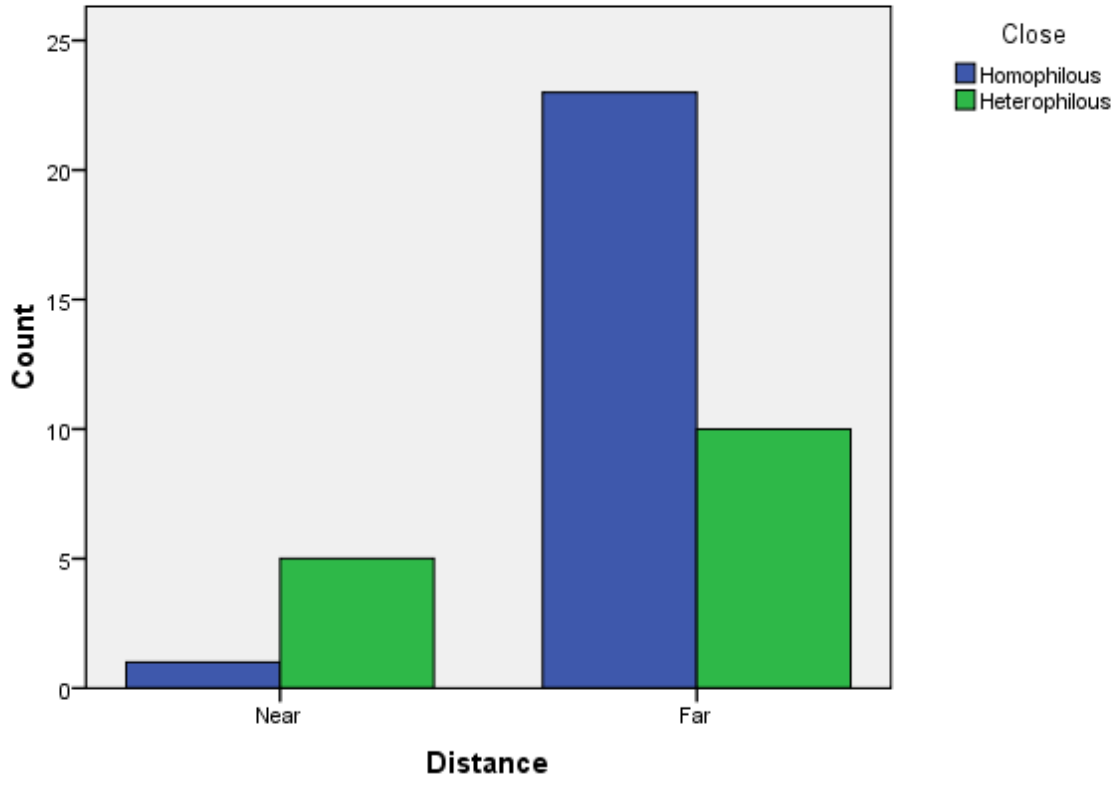
Symmetric Measures

Class			Value	Approx. Sig.
Wealthy	Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.108	.574
		Cramer's V	.108	.574
	N of Valid Cases		27	
Low-Income	Nominal by Nominal	Phi	-.393	.014
		Cramer's V	.393	.014
	N of Valid Cases		39	

Class=Wealthy



Class=Low-Income



Parent's Education, by Socioeconomic Status

Crosstab

			Class		Total
			Wealthy	Low-Income	
FrstClge	Parents went to College	Count	27	9	36
		% within FrstClge	75.0%	25.0%	100.0%
		% within Class	100.0%	23.1%	54.5%
		% of Total	40.9%	13.6%	54.5%
Total	First-generation	Count	0	30	30
		% within FrstClge	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% within Class	.0%	76.9%	45.5%
		% of Total	.0%	45.5%	45.5%
Total		Count	27	39	66
		% within FrstClge	40.9%	59.1%	100.0%
		% within Class	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	40.9%	59.1%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	38.077 ^a	1	.000		
Continuity Correction ^b	35.038	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	48.813	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	37.500	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	66				

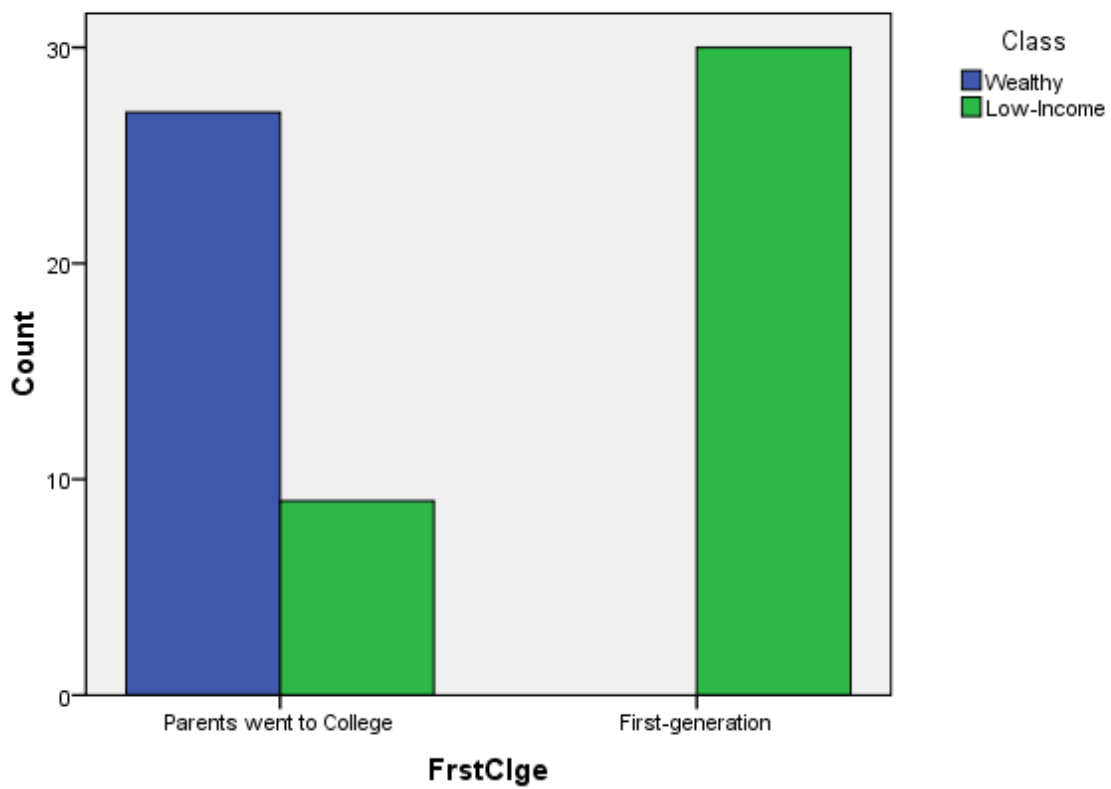
a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 12.27.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.760	.000
	Cramer's V	.760	.000
N of Valid Cases		66	

Bar Chart



Crosstab

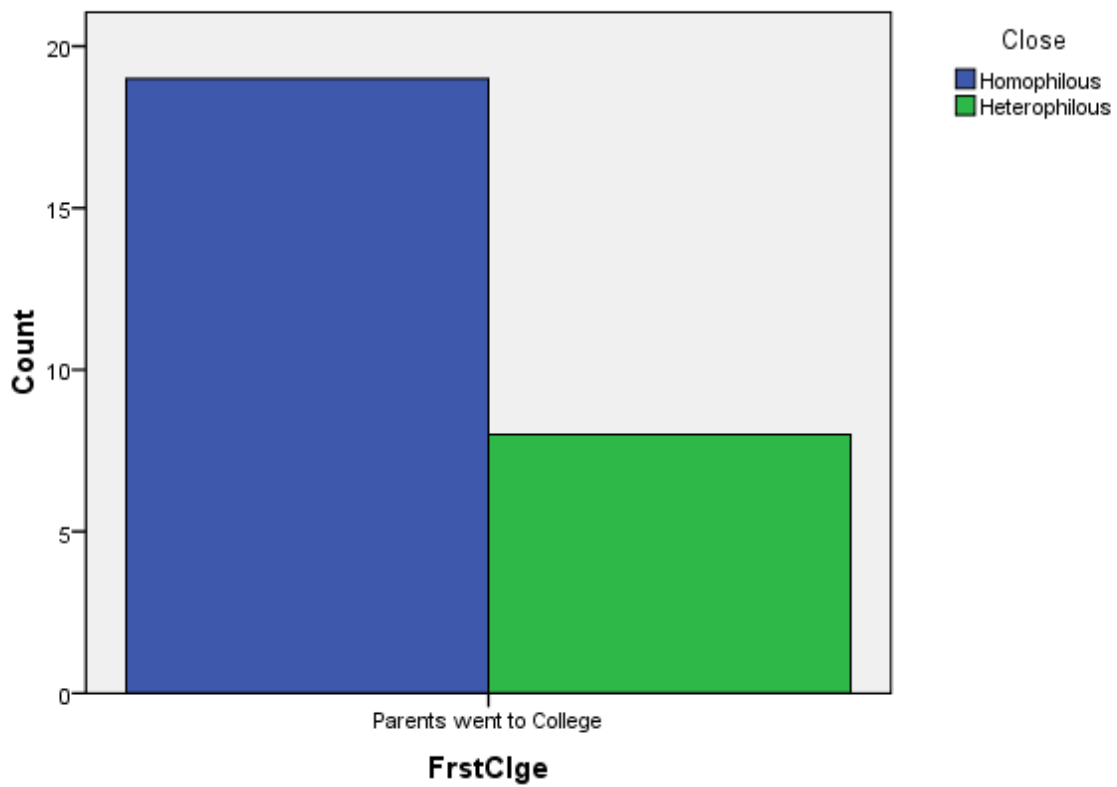
Class				Close		Total	
				Homophilous	Heterophilous		
Wealthy	FrstClge	Parents went to College	Count	19	8	27	
			% within FrstClge	70.4%	29.6%	100.0%	
			% within Close	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
			% of Total	70.4%	29.6%	100.0%	
	Total	Count		19	8	27	
		% within FrstClge		70.4%	29.6%	100.0%	
		% within Close		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
		% of Total		70.4%	29.6%	100.0%	
	Low-Income	FrstClge	Parents went to College	Count	2	7	9
				% within FrstClge	22.2%	77.8%	100.0%
				% within Close	8.3%	46.7%	23.1%
				% of Total	5.1%	17.9%	23.1%
First-generation		Count		22	8	30	
		% within FrstClge		73.3%	26.7%	100.0%	
		% within Close		91.7%	53.3%	76.9%	
		% of Total		56.4%	20.5%	76.9%	
Total		Count		24	15	39	
		% within FrstClge		61.5%	38.5%	100.0%	
		% within Close		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
		% of Total		61.5%	38.5%	100.0%	

Symmetric Measures

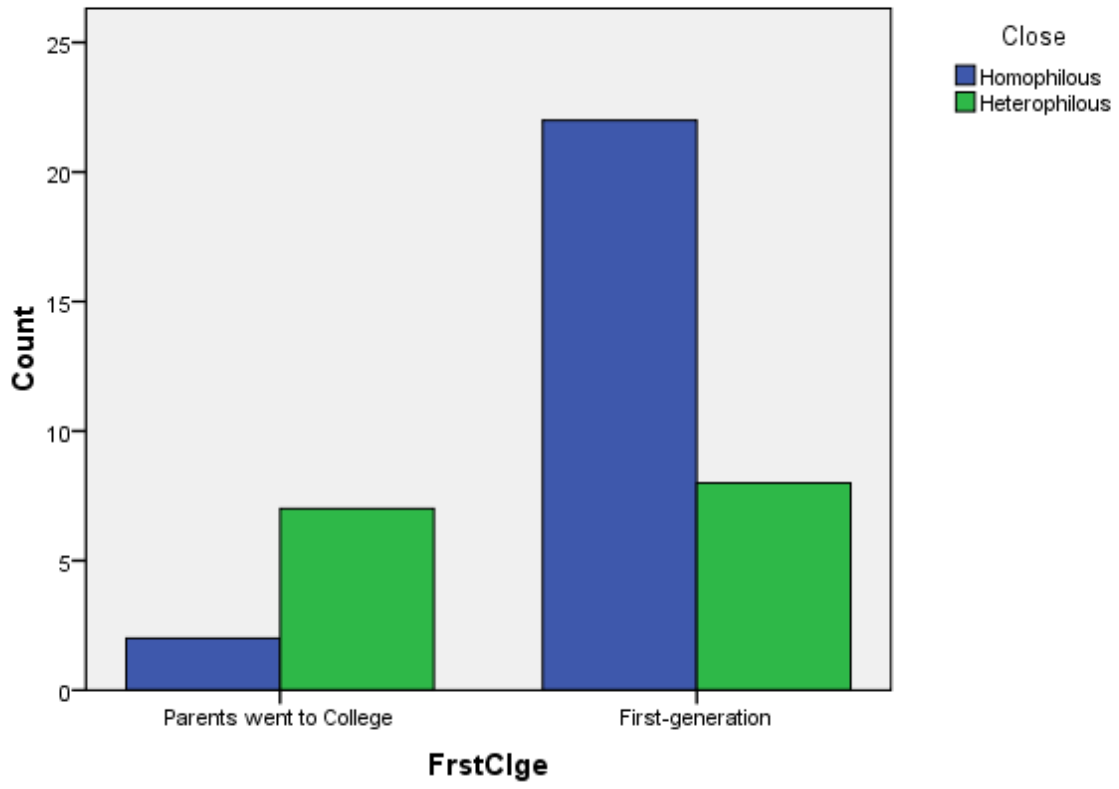
Class			Value	Approx. Sig.
Wealthy	Nominal by Nominal	Phi	. ^a	
	N of Valid Cases		27	
Low-Income	Nominal by Nominal	Phi	-.443	.006
		Cramer's V	.443	.006
	N of Valid Cases		39	

a. No statistics are computed because FrstClge is a constant.

Class=Wealthy



Class=Low-Income



AP CLASSROOM

Race

I tried to run a one-way ANOVA on race and AP/Seminar courses, but the Levene statistic showed that we cannot assume homogeneity of variance, so I ran a non-parametric test instead (Kruskal-Wallis).

Descriptives

APSem

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
					African-American	3		
Asian-American	18	8.7778	5.38577	1.26944	6.0995	11.4561	.00	17.00
Hispanic/Latino	67	1.7761	2.49740	.30511	1.1670	2.3853	.00	11.00
White	102	5.0588	4.18584	.41446	4.2366	5.8810	.00	16.00
Other/Biracial	33	3.8182	3.49513	.60842	2.5789	5.0575	.00	14.00
Total	223	4.1390	4.21425	.28221	3.5829	4.6952	.00	17.00

Test of Homogeneity of Variances

APSem

Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
10.638	4	218	.000

Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable:APSem

	(I) Race	(J) Race	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Tukey HSD	African-American	Asian-American	-7.44444*	2.33943	.014	-13.8796	-1.0093
		Hispanic/Latino	-.44279	2.21385	1.000	-6.5325	5.6470
		White	-3.72549	2.19751	.439	-9.7703	2.3193
		Other/Biracial	-2.48485	2.26220	.807	-8.7076	3.7379
	Asian-American	African-American	7.44444*	2.33943	.014	1.0093	13.8796
		Hispanic/Latino	7.00166*	.99594	.000	4.2621	9.7412
		White	3.71895*	.95907	.001	1.0808	6.3571
		Other/Biracial	4.95960*	1.09923	.000	1.9359	7.9833
	Hispanic/Latino	African-American	.44279	2.21385	1.000	-5.6470	6.5325
		Asian-American	-7.00166*	.99594	.000	-9.7412	-4.2621
		White	-3.28270*	.58993	.000	-4.9055	-1.6599
		Other/Biracial	-2.04206	.79782	.082	-4.2367	.1525
	White	African-American	3.72549	2.19751	.439	-2.3193	9.7703
		Asian-American	-3.71895*	.95907	.001	-6.3571	-1.0808
		Hispanic/Latino	3.28270*	.58993	.000	1.6599	4.9055
		Other/Biracial	1.24064	.75129	.466	-.8260	3.3072
Other/Biracial	African-American	2.48485	2.26220	.807	-3.7379	8.7076	
	Asian-American	-4.95960*	1.09923	.000	-7.9833	-1.9359	
	Hispanic/Latino	2.04206	.79782	.082	-.1525	4.2367	
	White	-1.24064	.75129	.466	-3.3072	.8260	
Games-Howell	African-American	Asian-American	-7.44444*	1.43385	.001	-11.8125	-3.0764
		Hispanic/Latino	-.44279	.73317	.965	-4.4078	3.5222
		White	-3.72549*	.78500	.044	-7.2952	-.1558
		Other/Biracial	-2.48485	.90256	.149	-5.7946	.8249
	Asian-American	African-American	7.44444*	1.43385	.001	3.0764	11.8125
		Hispanic/Latino	7.00166*	1.30559	.000	3.0756	10.9277
		White	3.71895	1.33538	.075	-.2630	7.7009

	Other/Biracial	4.95960*	1.40771	.013	.8254	9.0938
Hispanic/Latino	African-American	.44279	.73317	.965	-3.5222	4.4078
	Asian-American	-7.00166*	1.30559	.000	-10.9277	-3.0756
	White	-3.28270*	.51465	.000	-4.7021	-1.8633
	Other/Biracial	-2.04206*	.68064	.033	-3.9701	-.1140
White	African-American	3.72549*	.78500	.044	.1558	7.2952
	Asian-American	-3.71895	1.33538	.075	-7.7009	.2630
	Hispanic/Latino	3.28270*	.51465	.000	1.8633	4.7021
	Other/Biracial	1.24064	.73618	.450	-.8257	3.3069
Other/Biracial	African-American	2.48485	.90256	.149	-.8249	5.7946
	Asian-American	-4.95960*	1.40771	.013	-9.0938	-.8254
	Hispanic/Latino	2.04206*	.68064	.033	.1140	3.9701
	White	-1.24064	.73618	.450	-3.3069	.8257

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

The results for the Kruskal-Wallis test is below.

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum	Percentiles		
						25th	50th (Median)	75th
APSem	223	4.1390	4.21425	.00	17.00	.0000	3.0000	7.0000
Race	223	3.6457	.87768	1.00	5.00	3.0000	4.0000	4.0000

Ranks

	Race	N	Mean Rank
APSem	African-American	3	73.50
	Asian-American	18	166.81
	Hispanic/Latino	67	75.37
	White	102	127.60
	Other/Biracial	33	111.76
	Total	223	

Test Statistics^{a,b}

	APSem
Chi-Square	42.761
df	4
Asymp. Sig.	.000

a. Kruskal Wallis Test

b. Grouping Variable: Race

Descriptives

APSem

SES	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
					Wealthy			
African-American	1	2.0000	2.00	2.00
Asian-American	14	9.5000	5.36011	1.43255	6.4052	12.5948	.00	17.00
Hispanic/Latino	13	4.3846	3.61798	1.00345	2.1983	6.5709	.00	11.00
White	92	5.4022	4.16701	.43444	4.5392	6.2651	.00	16.00
Other/Biracial	22	5.0000	3.40867	.72673	3.4887	6.5113	.00	14.00
Total	142	5.6268	4.30340	.36113	4.9128	6.3407	.00	17.00
Low-Income								
African-American	2	1.0000	1.41421	1.00000	-11.7062	13.7062	.00	2.00
Asian-American	4	6.2500	5.37742	2.68871	-2.3067	14.8067	.00	13.00
Hispanic/Latino	54	1.1481	1.65298	.22494	.6970	1.5993	.00	7.00
White	10	1.9000	2.96086	.93630	-.2181	4.0181	.00	7.00
Other/Biracial	11	1.4545	2.33939	.70535	-.1171	3.0262	.00	6.00
Total	81	1.5309	2.41395	.26822	.9971	2.0646	.00	13.00

Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable:APSem

SES	(I) Race	(J) Race	Mean Difference (I- J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval		
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound	
Low- Income	Tukey HSD	African- American	Asian-American	-5.25000	1.90358	.055	-10.5693	.0693
			Hispanic/Latino	-.14815	1.58279	1.000	-4.5710	4.2747
			White	-.90000	1.70261	.984	-5.6577	3.8577
			Other/Biracial	-.45455	1.68966	.999	-5.1761	4.2670
		Asian-American	African- American	5.25000	1.90358	.055	-.0693	10.5693
			Hispanic/Latino	5.10185*	1.13901	.000	1.9191	8.2846
			White	4.35000*	1.30039	.011	.7163	7.9837
			Other/Biracial	4.79545*	1.28339	.003	1.2092	8.3817
		Hispanic/Latino	African- American	.14815	1.58279	1.000	-4.2747	4.5710
			Asian-American	-5.10185*	1.13901	.000	-8.2846	-1.9191
			White	-.75185	.75672	.857	-2.8664	1.3627
			Other/Biracial	-.30640	.72712	.993	-2.3382	1.7254
	White	African- American	.90000	1.70261	.984	-3.8577	5.6577	
		Asian-American	-4.35000*	1.30039	.011	-7.9837	-.7163	
		Hispanic/Latino	.75185	.75672	.857	-1.3627	2.8664	
		Other/Biracial	.44545	.96040	.990	-2.2382	3.1292	
	Other/Biracial	African- American	.45455	1.68966	.999	-4.2670	5.1761	
		Asian-American	-4.79545*	1.28339	.003	-8.3817	-1.2092	
		Hispanic/Latino	.30640	.72712	.993	-1.7254	2.3382	
		White	-.44545	.96040	.990	-3.1292	2.2382	
Games- Howell	African- American	Asian-American	-5.25000	2.86865	.471	-18.6033	8.1033	
		Hispanic/Latino	-.14815	1.02499	1.000	-21.2919	20.9956	
		White	-.90000	1.36991	.955	-7.7847	5.9847	

	Other/Biracial	-.45455	1.22373	.993	-8.9889	8.0798
Asian-American	African-American	5.25000	2.86865	.471	-8.1033	18.6033
	Hispanic/Latino	5.10185	2.69810	.465	-9.0684	19.2721
	White	4.35000	2.84707	.600	-8.7486	17.4486
	Other/Biracial	4.79545	2.77969	.519	-8.7072	18.2981
Hispanic/Latino	African-American	.14815	1.02499	1.000	-20.9956	21.2919
	Asian-American	-5.10185	2.69810	.465	-19.2721	9.0684
	White	-.75185	.96295	.931	-3.9172	2.4134
	Other/Biracial	-.30640	.74035	.993	-2.6627	2.0499
White	African-American	.90000	1.36991	.955	-5.9847	7.7847
	Asian-American	-4.35000	2.84707	.600	-17.4486	8.7486
	Hispanic/Latino	.75185	.96295	.931	-2.4134	3.9172
	Other/Biracial	.44545	1.17226	.995	-3.1178	4.0087
Other/Biracial	African-American	.45455	1.22373	.993	-8.0798	8.9889
	Asian-American	-4.79545	2.77969	.519	-18.2981	8.7072
	Hispanic/Latino	.30640	.74035	.993	-2.0499	2.6627
	White	-.44545	1.17226	.995	-4.0087	3.1178

ADDITION OF SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS AND RACE LAYERS

I followed this up with some non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis tests that layered race and socioeconomic status in different ways.

Descriptive Statistics

SES		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum	Percentiles		
							25th	50th (Median)	75th
Wealthy	APSem	142	5.6268	4.30340	.00	17.00	2.0000	5.0000	8.0000
	Race	142	3.8451	.82768	1.00	5.00	4.0000	4.0000	4.0000
Low-Income	APSem	81	1.5309	2.41395	.00	13.00	.0000	.0000	2.0000
	Race	81	3.2963	.85797	1.00	5.00	3.0000	3.0000	4.0000

Ranks

SES		Race	N	Mean Rank
Wealthy	APSem	African-American	1	34.50
		Asian-American	14	101.18
		Hispanic/Latino	13	60.69
		White	92	69.97
		Other/Biracial	22	67.09
		Total	142	
Low-Income	APSem	African-American	2	40.75
		Asian-American	4	63.38
		Hispanic/Latino	54	39.70
		White	10	40.50
		Other/Biracial	11	39.73
		Total	81	

Descriptive Statistics

Race	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum	Percentiles			
						25th	50th (Median)	75th	
African-American	APSem	3	1.3333	1.15470	.00	2.00	.0000	2.0000	2.0000
	SES	3	1.6667	.57735	1.00	2.00	1.0000	2.0000	2.0000
Asian-American	APSem	18	8.7778	5.38577	.00	17.00	4.7500	7.5000	13.5000
	SES	18	1.2222	.42779	1.00	2.00	1.0000	1.0000	1.2500
Hispanic/Latino	APSem	67	1.7761	2.49740	.00	11.00	.0000	1.0000	3.0000
	SES	67	1.8060	.39844	1.00	2.00	2.0000	2.0000	2.0000
White	APSem	102	5.0588	4.18584	.00	16.00	1.0000	4.5000	8.0000
	SES	102	1.0980	.29884	1.00	2.00	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000
Other/Biracial	APSem	33	3.8182	3.49513	.00	14.00	.5000	3.0000	6.0000
	SES	33	1.3333	.47871	1.00	2.00	1.0000	1.0000	2.0000

Ranks

Race	SES	N	Mean Rank	
African-American	APSem	Wealthy	1	2.50
		Low-Income	2	1.75
		Total	3	
Asian-American	APSem	Wealthy	14	10.18
		Low-Income	4	7.13
		Total	18	
Hispanic/Latino	APSem	Wealthy	13	48.31
		Low-Income	54	30.56
		Total	67	
White	APSem	Wealthy	92	54.08
		Low-Income	10	27.80
		Total	102	
Other/Biracial	APSem	Wealthy	22	20.55
		Low-Income	11	9.91
		Total	33	

Test Statistics^{a,b}

Race		APSem
African-American	Chi-Square	.500
	df	1
	Asymp. Sig.	.480
Asian-American	Chi-Square	1.026
	df	1
	Asymp. Sig.	.311
Hispanic/Latino	Chi-Square	9.723
	df	1
	Asymp. Sig.	.002
White	Chi-Square	7.219
	df	1
	Asymp. Sig.	.007
Other/Biracial	Chi-Square	9.067
	df	1
	Asymp. Sig.	.003

a. Kruskal Wallis Test

b. Grouping Variable: SES

Test Statistics^{a,b}

SES		APSem
Wealthy	Chi-Square	9.453
	df	4
	Asymp. Sig.	.051
Low-Income	Chi-Square	4.467
	df	4
	Asymp. Sig.	.346

a. Kruskal Wallis Test

b. Grouping Variable: Race

AP/SEMINAR INFORMATION

I ran an independent samples t-test and, because a Shapiro-Welk test indicated that the dependent variable did not have a normal distribution for each category (violating one of the key assumptions of the independent samples t-test), I also ran a Mann-Whitney U test. I was interested in whether there were differences in the total number of AP/Seminar classes that were taken by low-income students and wealthy students. The total number of AP/Seminar classes taken by wealthy students (mean rank = 136.15) was statistically significantly higher than for low-income students (mean rank = 69.65), $U = 2321$, $z = -7.504$, $p = .000$.

Group Statistics

SES		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
APSem	Wealthy	142	5.6268	4.30340	.36113
	Low-Income	81	1.5309	2.41395	.26822

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	Lower	Upper	
APSem	Equal variances assumed	37.102	.000	7.883	221	.000	4.09590	.51959	3.07191	5.11988	
	Equal variances not assumed			9.105	220.960	.000	4.09590	.44984	3.20937	4.98243	

Tests of Normality

	Kolmogorov-Smirnov ^a			Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistic	df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.
APSem	.163	223	.000	.874	223	.000

a. Lilliefors Significance Correction

Ranks

	SES	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
APSem	Wealthy	142	136.15	19334.00
	Low-Income	81	69.65	5642.00
	Total	223		
NAvid	Wealthy	141	122.45	17265.00
	Low-Income	81	92.44	7488.00
	Total	222		
Sports	Wealthy	141	117.21	16526.00
	Low-Income	81	101.57	8227.00
	Total	222		

Test Statistics^a

	APSem	NAvid	Sports
Mann-Whitney U	2321.000	4167.000	4906.000
Wilcoxon W	5642.000	7488.000	8227.000
Z	-7.504	-3.452	-1.912
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.001	.056

a. Grouping Variable: SES

AP/SEMINAR FOR LOW-INCOME STUDENTS IN HETEROPHILOUS NETWORKS

Group Statistics

Class		Close	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Wealthy	APandSEM	Homophilous	19	7.6842	4.11032	.94297
		Heterophilous	8	7.6250	4.13824	1.46309
Low-Income	APandSEM	Homophilous	18	1.5000	1.88648	.44465
		Heterophilous	15	3.6000	3.69942	.95519

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances			t-test for Equality of Means					
Class		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Wealthy	APandSEM Equal variances assumed	.245	.625	.034	25	.973	.05921	1.73565	-3.51543	3.63385
	Equal variances not assumed			.034	13.141	.973	.05921	1.74064	-3.69710	3.81552
Low-Income	APandSEM Equal variances assumed	5.710	.023	-2.106	31	.043	-2.10000	.99697	-4.13333	-.06667
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.993	19.953	.060	-2.10000	1.05361	-4.29812	.09812

Tests of Normality

Class	Close	Kolmogorov-Smirnov ^a		Shapiro-Wilk	
		Statistic	df	Statistic	df
Wealthy	APandSEM	.131	19	.200 [*]	19
	Homophilous			.969	7
	Heterophilous	.291	7	.894	7
	CLUBNavd	.188	19	.921	19
	Homophilous			.760	7
	Heterophilous	.300	7	.764	7
Low-Income	Sports	.307	19	.000	19
	Homophilous			.937	7
	Heterophilous	.241	7	.200 [*]	7
	APandSEM	.229	18	.014	18
	Homophilous			.780	15
	Heterophilous	.168	15	.200 [*]	15
Low-Income	CLUBNavd	.252	18	.004	18
	Homophilous			.799	15
	Heterophilous	.249	15	.013	15
	Sports	.463	18	.000	18
	Homophilous			.552	15
	Heterophilous	.290	15	.001	15

Ranks

Class	Close	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks	
Wealthy	APandSEM	Homophilous	19	14.32	272.00
		Heterophilous	8	13.25	106.00
		Total	27		
	CLUBNavd	Homophilous	19	13.13	249.50
		Heterophilous	7	14.50	101.50
		Total	26		
	Sports	Homophilous	19	11.71	222.50
		Heterophilous	7	18.36	128.50
		Total	26		
Low-Income	APandSEM	Homophilous	18	14.58	262.50
		Heterophilous	15	19.90	298.50
		Total	33		
	CLUBNavd	Homophilous	18	15.78	284.00
		Heterophilous	15	18.47	277.00
		Total	33		
	Sports	Homophilous	18	14.44	260.00
		Heterophilous	15	20.07	301.00
		Total	33		

Test Statistics^b

Class		APandSEM	CLUBNavd	Sports
Wealthy	Mann-Whitney U	70.000	59.500	32.500
	Wilcoxon W	106.000	249.500	222.500
	Z	-.320	-.411	-2.085
	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.749	.681	.037
	Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.775 ^a	.692 ^a	.048 ^a
Low-Income	Mann-Whitney U	91.500	113.000	89.000
	Wilcoxon W	262.500	284.000	260.000
	Z	-1.618	-.839	-1.947
	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.106	.402	.052
	Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.117 ^a	.442 ^a	.100 ^a

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Close

EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

Clubs/Extracurricular Activities

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
APSem	222	99.6%	1	.4%	223	100.0%
NAvid	222	99.6%	1	.4%	223	100.0%
Sports	222	99.6%	1	.4%	223	100.0%

Tests of Normality

	Kolmogorov-Smirnov ^a			Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistic	df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.
APSem	.164	222	.000	.873	222	.000
NAvid	.219	222	.000	.822	222	.000
Sports	.307	222	.000	.767	222	.000

a. Lilliefors Significance Correction

Ranks

SES		N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
APSem	Wealthy	142	136.15	19334.00
	Low-Income	81	69.65	5642.00
	Total	223		
NAvid	Wealthy	141	122.45	17265.00
	Low-Income	81	92.44	7488.00
	Total	222		
Sports	Wealthy	141	117.21	16526.00
	Low-Income	81	101.57	8227.00
	Total	222		

Test Statistics^a

	APSem	NAvid	Sports
Mann-Whitney U	2321.000	4167.000	4906.000
Wilcoxon W	5642.000	7488.000	8227.000
Z	-7.504	-3.452	-1.912
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.001	.056

a. Grouping Variable: SES

Clubs/Extracurricular Activities: Heterophilous vs Homophilous Groups

Group Statistics

Class	Close		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Wealthy	CLUBNavd	Homophilous	19	2.2632	1.85119	.42469
		Heterophilous	7	3.4286	3.99404	1.50961
Low-Income	CLUBNavd	Homophilous	18	.8889	1.02262	.24103
		Heterophilous	15	1.2667	1.27988	.33046

Independent Samples Test

Class	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means							95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	Lower	Upper		
	Wealthy	2.292	.143	-1.029	24	.314	-1.16541	1.13228	-3.50233	1.17151	
Low-Income	.990	.327	-.943	31	.353	-.37778	.40064	-1.19488	.43933		
			-.743	6.973	.482	-1.16541	1.56621	-4.87657	2.54575		
			-.924	26.647	.364	-.37778	.40903	-1.21755	.46200		

Tests of Normality

Class	Close	Kolmogorov-Smirnov ^a			Shapiro-Wilk			
		Statistic	df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.	
Wealthy	APandSEM	Homophilous	.131	19	.200 [*]	.969	19	.766
		Heterophilous	.291	7	.074	.894	7	.297
	CLUBNavd	Homophilous	.188	19	.075	.921	19	.117
		Heterophilous	.300	7	.056	.760	7	.016
	Sports	Homophilous	.307	19	.000	.764	19	.000
		Heterophilous	.241	7	.200 [*]	.937	7	.609
Low-Income	APandSEM	Homophilous	.229	18	.014	.780	18	.001
		Heterophilous	.168	15	.200 [*]	.865	15	.028
	CLUBNavd	Homophilous	.252	18	.004	.799	18	.001
		Heterophilous	.249	15	.013	.862	15	.026
	Sports	Homophilous	.463	18	.000	.552	18	.000
		Heterophilous	.290	15	.001	.771	15	.002

Ranks

Class	Close	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks	
Wealthy	APandSEM	Homophilous	19	14.32	272.00
		Heterophilous	8	13.25	106.00
	Total	27			
	CLUBNavd	Homophilous	19	13.13	249.50
		Heterophilous	7	14.50	101.50
		Total	26		
	Sports	Homophilous	19	11.71	222.50
		Heterophilous	7	18.36	128.50
		Total	26		
Low-Income	APandSEM	Homophilous	18	14.58	262.50
		Heterophilous	15	19.90	298.50
		Total	33		
	CLUBNavd	Homophilous	18	15.78	284.00
		Heterophilous	15	18.47	277.00
		Total	33		
	Sports	Homophilous	18	14.44	260.00
		Heterophilous	15	20.07	301.00
		Total	33		

Test Statistics^b

Class		APandSEM	CLUBNavd	Sports
Wealthy	Mann-Whitney U	70.000	59.500	32.500
	Wilcoxon W	106.000	249.500	222.500
	Z	-.320	-.411	-2.085
	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.749	.681	.037
	Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.775 ^a	.692 ^a	.048 ^a
Low-Income	Mann-Whitney U	91.500	113.000	89.000
	Wilcoxon W	262.500	284.000	260.000
	Z	-1.618	-.839	-1.947
	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.106	.402	.052
	Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.117 ^a	.442 ^a	.100 ^a

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Close

Sports: Low-Income vs. Wealthy Students

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
APSem	222	99.6%	1	.4%	223	100.0%
NAvid	222	99.6%	1	.4%	223	100.0%
Sports	222	99.6%	1	.4%	223	100.0%

Tests of Normality

	Kolmogorov-Smirnov ^a			Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistic	df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.
APSem	.164	222	.000	.873	222	.000
NAvid	.219	222	.000	.822	222	.000
Sports	.307	222	.000	.767	222	.000

a. Lilliefors Significance Correction

Ranks

SES		N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
APSem	Wealthy	142	136.15	19334.00
	Low-Income	81	69.65	5642.00
	Total	223		
NAvid	Wealthy	141	122.45	17265.00
	Low-Income	81	92.44	7488.00
	Total	222		
Sports	Wealthy	141	117.21	16526.00
	Low-Income	81	101.57	8227.00
	Total	222		

Test Statistics^a

	APSem	NAvid	Sports
Mann-Whitney U	2321.000	4167.000	4906.000
Wilcoxon W	5642.000	7488.000	8227.000
Z	-7.504	-3.452	-1.912
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.001	.056

a. Grouping Variable: SES

Sports for Heterophilous vs Homophilous Groups

Group Statistics

Class	Close		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Wealthy	Sports	Homophilous	19	.6842	.88523	.20308
		Heterophilous	7	1.5714	.97590	.36886
Low-Income	Sports	Homophilous	18	.2778	.57451	.13541
		Heterophilous	15	.8000	.86189	.22254

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
Class		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Wealthy	Sports	.065	.801	-2.208	24	.037	-.88722	.40179	-1.71648	-.05796
	Equal variances assumed									
Low-Income	Sports	5.854	.022	-2.079	31	.046	-.52222	.25125	-1.03465	-.00980
	Equal variances not assumed				23.620	.057	-.52222	.26050	-1.06033	.01588

Tests of Normality

Class	Close	Kolmogorov-Smirnov ^a			Shapiro-Wilk			
		Statistic	df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.	
Wealthy	APandSEM	Homophilous	.131	19	.200 [*]	.969	19	.766
		Heterophilous	.291	7	.074	.894	7	.297
	CLUBNavd	Homophilous	.188	19	.075	.921	19	.117
		Heterophilous	.300	7	.056	.760	7	.016
	Sports	Homophilous	.307	19	.000	.764	19	.000
		Heterophilous	.241	7	.200 [*]	.937	7	.609
Low-Income	APandSEM	Homophilous	.229	18	.014	.780	18	.001
		Heterophilous	.168	15	.200 [*]	.865	15	.028
	CLUBNavd	Homophilous	.252	18	.004	.799	18	.001
		Heterophilous	.249	15	.013	.862	15	.026
	Sports	Homophilous	.463	18	.000	.552	18	.000
		Heterophilous	.290	15	.001	.771	15	.002

Ranks

Class	Close	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks	
Wealthy	APandSEM	Homophilous	19	14.32	272.00
		Heterophilous	8	13.25	106.00
	Total		27		
	CLUBNavd	Homophilous	19	13.13	249.50
		Heterophilous	7	14.50	101.50
		Total		26	
	Sports	Homophilous	19	11.71	222.50
		Heterophilous	7	18.36	128.50
		Total		26	
Low-Income	APandSEM	Homophilous	18	14.58	262.50
		Heterophilous	15	19.90	298.50
		Total		33	
	CLUBNavd	Homophilous	18	15.78	284.00
		Heterophilous	15	18.47	277.00
		Total		33	
	Sports	Homophilous	18	14.44	260.00
		Heterophilous	15	20.07	301.00
		Total		33	

Test Statistics^b

Class		APandSEM	CLUBNavd	Sports
Wealthy	Mann-Whitney U	70.000	59.500	32.500
	Wilcoxon W	106.000	249.500	222.500
	Z	-.320	-.411	-2.085
	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.749	.681	.037
	Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.775 ^a	.692 ^a	.048 ^a
Low-Income	Mann-Whitney U	91.500	113.000	89.000
	Wilcoxon W	262.500	284.000	260.000
	Z	-1.618	-.839	-1.947
	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.106	.402	.052
	Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.117 ^a	.442 ^a	.100 ^a

a. Not corrected for ties.

b. Grouping Variable: Close

SENIOR YEAR

Comparing Students by Socioeconomic Status

Descriptive Statistics

	Descriptive Statistics				
	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
PrepRaw	52	7.5767	13.44745	.00	80.00
Prep	52	2.6154	1.34535	1.00	6.00
ScoreRaw	50	5.4208	.82290	3.00	6.00
College	60	4.4667	1.97841	1.00	7.00
Future	56	4.3571	1.15095	2.00	5.00
Class	66	1.5909	.49543	1.00	2.00

Descriptive Statistics

	Percentiles		
	25th	50th (Median)	75th
PrepRaw	1.0000	2.7500	6.3750
Prep	2.0000	2.0000	3.0000
ScoreRaw	5.0000	5.6600	6.0000
College	2.0000	5.0000	6.0000
Future	4.0000	5.0000	5.0000
Class	1.0000	2.0000	2.0000

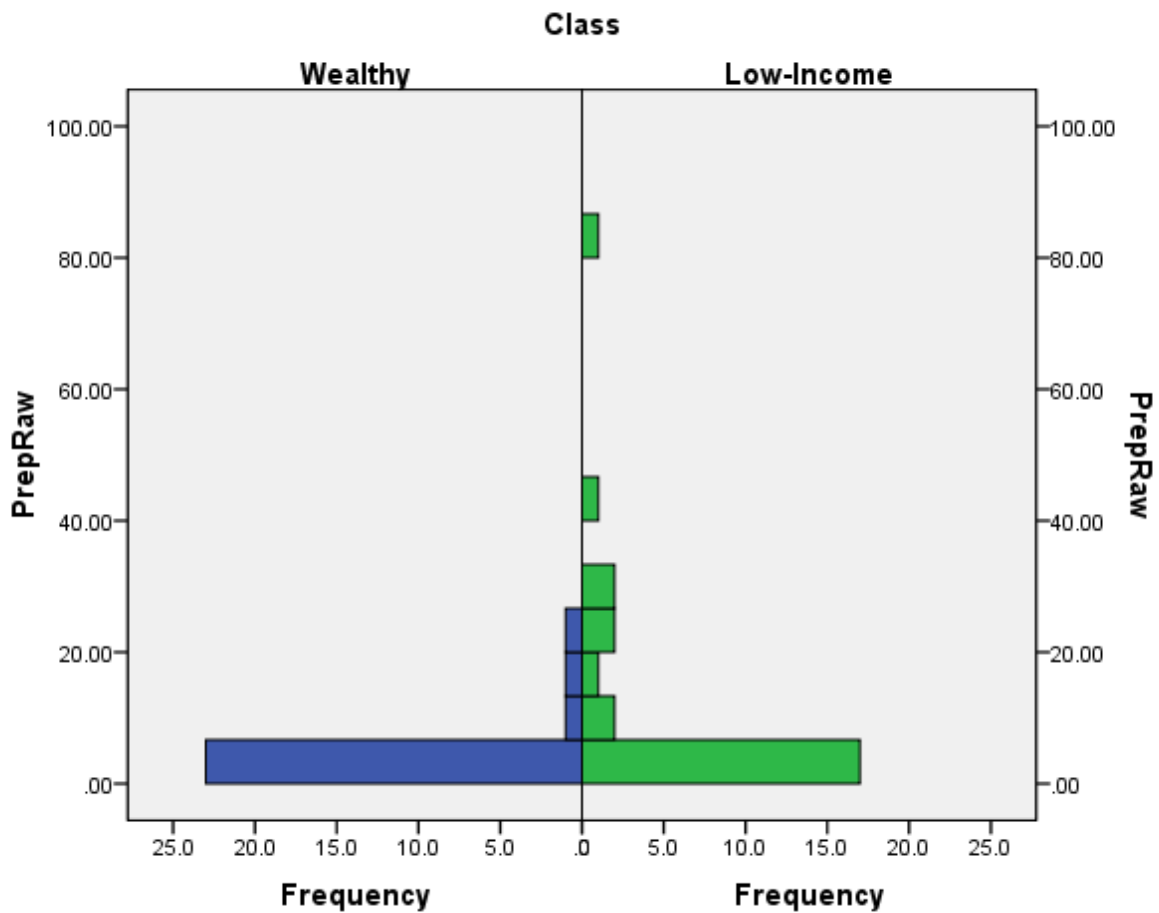
Ranks

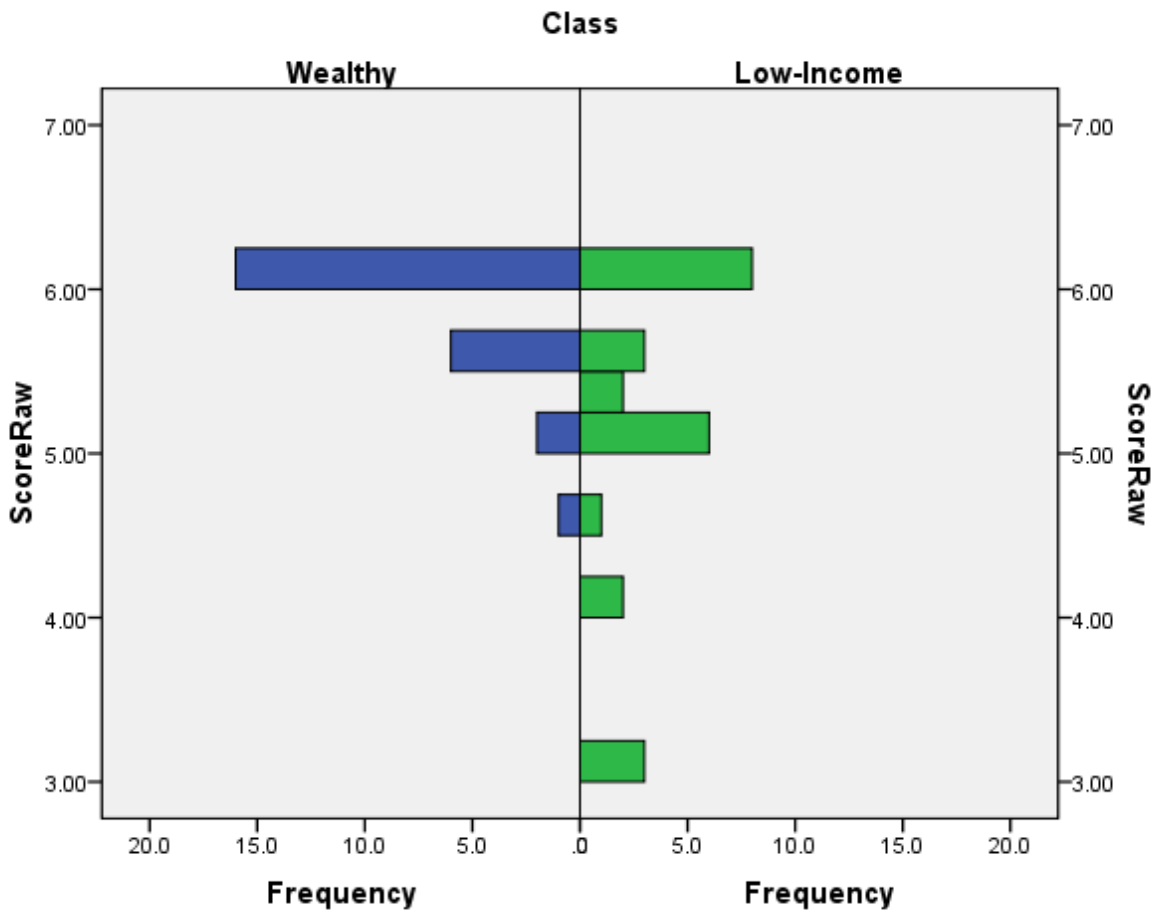
Class		N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
PrepRaw	Wealthy	26	24.58	639.00
	Low-Income	26	28.42	739.00
	Total	52		
Prep	Wealthy	26	24.31	632.00
	Low-Income	26	28.69	746.00
	Total	52		
ScoreRaw	Wealthy	25	31.10	777.50
	Low-Income	25	19.90	497.50
	Total	50		
College	Wealthy	27	41.50	1120.50
	Low-Income	33	21.50	709.50
	Total	60		
Future	Wealthy	25	34.76	869.00
	Low-Income	31	23.45	727.00
	Total	56		

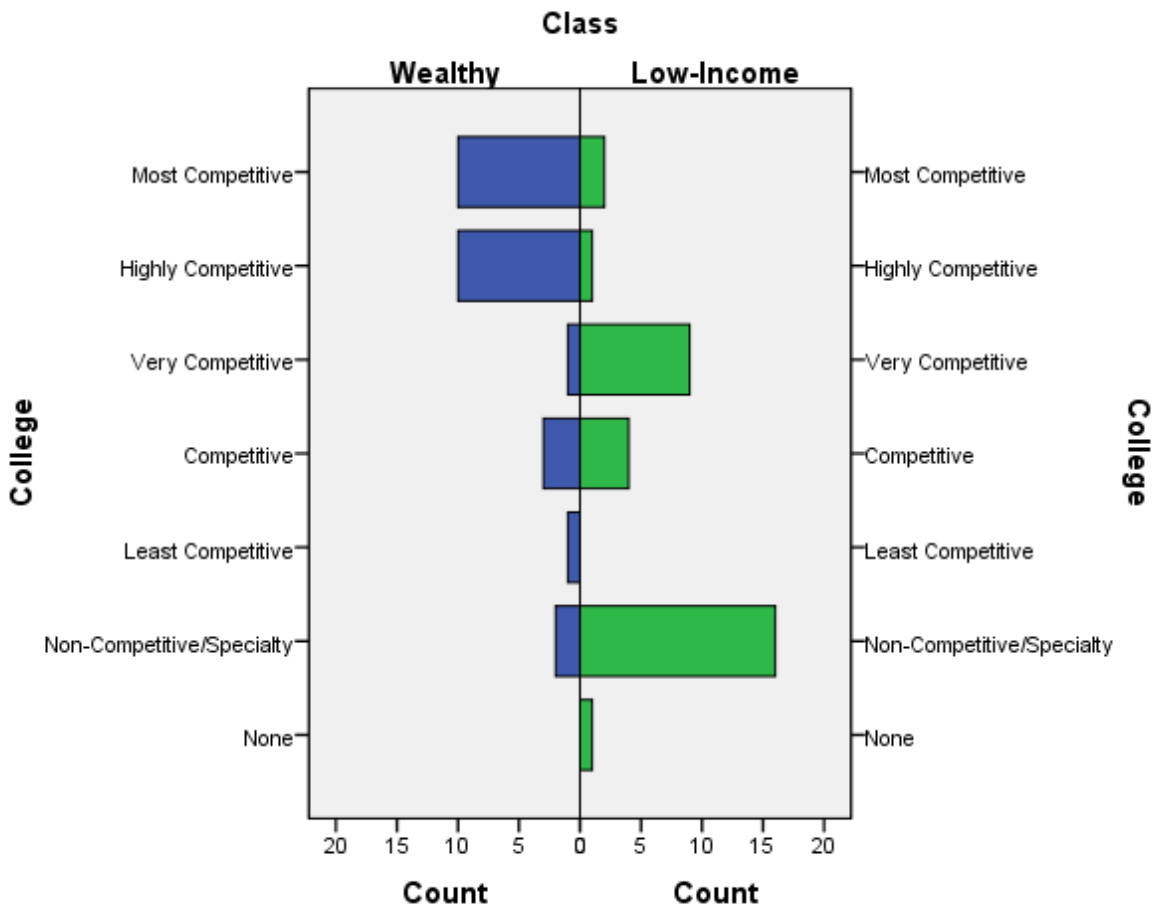
Test Statistics^a

	PrepRaw	Prep	ScoreRaw	College	Future
Mann-Whitney U	288.000	281.000	172.500	148.500	231.000
Wilcoxon W	639.000	632.000	497.500	709.500	727.000
Z	-.917	-1.083	-2.890	-4.521	-3.321
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.359	.279	.004	.000	.001

a. Grouping Variable: Class









Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Included		Excluded		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Prep * Class	52	78.8%	14	21.2%	66	100.0%
PrepRaw * Class	52	78.8%	14	21.2%	66	100.0%
ScoreRaw * Class	50	75.8%	16	24.2%	66	100.0%
College * Class	60	90.9%	6	9.1%	66	100.0%
Future * Class	56	84.8%	10	15.2%	66	100.0%

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Included		Excluded		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Prep * Class	52	78.8%	14	21.2%	66	100.0%
PrepRaw * Class	52	78.8%	14	21.2%	66	100.0%
ScoreRaw * Class	50	75.8%	16	24.2%	66	100.0%
College * Class	60	90.9%	6	9.1%	66	100.0%

Report

Class		Prep	PrepRaw	ScoreRaw	College	Future
Wealthy	Mean	2.3077	3.9965	5.7656	5.7037	4.8800
	N	26	26	25	27	25
	Std. Deviation	.97033	4.83211	.39994	1.53960	.60000
	Median	2.0000	2.2500	6.0000	6.0000	5.0000
Low-Income	Mean	2.9231	11.1569	5.0760	3.4545	3.9355
	N	26	26	25	33	31
	Std. Deviation	1.59808	17.85752	.98738	1.71557	1.31493
	Median	2.0000	3.0000	5.2500	2.0000	5.0000
Total	Mean	2.6154	7.5767	5.4208	4.4667	4.3571
	N	52	52	50	60	56
	Std. Deviation	1.34535	13.44745	.82290	1.97841	1.15095
	Median	2.0000	2.7500	5.6600	5.0000	5.0000

Comparing Low-Income Students by Network Composition

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
PrepRaw	26	11.1569	17.85752	.00	80.00
Prep	26	2.9231	1.59808	1.00	6.00
ScoreRaw	25	5.0760	.98738	3.00	6.00
College	33	3.4545	1.71557	1.00	7.00
Future	31	3.9355	1.31493	2.00	5.00
Close	39	1.3846	.49286	1.00	2.00

Descriptive Statistics

	Percentiles		
	25th	50th (Median)	75th
PrepRaw	1.0000	3.0000	16.2500
Prep	2.0000	2.0000	4.2500
ScoreRaw	4.7500	5.2500	6.0000
College	2.0000	2.0000	5.0000
Future	2.0000	5.0000	5.0000
Close	1.0000	1.0000	2.0000

Ranks

	Close	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
PrepRaw	Homophilous	13	18.65	242.50
	Heterophilous	13	8.35	108.50
	Total	26		
Prep	Homophilous	13	18.81	244.50
	Heterophilous	13	8.19	106.50
	Total	26		
ScoreRaw	Homophilous	14	12.71	178.00
	Heterophilous	11	13.36	147.00
	Total	25		
College	Homophilous	18	11.97	215.50
	Heterophilous	15	23.03	345.50
	Total	33		
Future	Homophilous	16	12.38	198.00
	Heterophilous	15	19.87	298.00
	Total	31		

Test Statistics^b

	PrepRaw	Prep	ScoreRaw	College	Future
Mann-Whitney U	17.500	15.500	73.000	44.500	62.000
Wilcoxon W	108.500	106.500	178.000	215.500	198.000
Z	-3.445	-3.697	-.224	-3.519	-2.537
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.000	.822	.000	.011
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.000 ^a	.000 ^a	.851 ^a	.001 ^a	.021 ^a

a. Not corrected for ties.

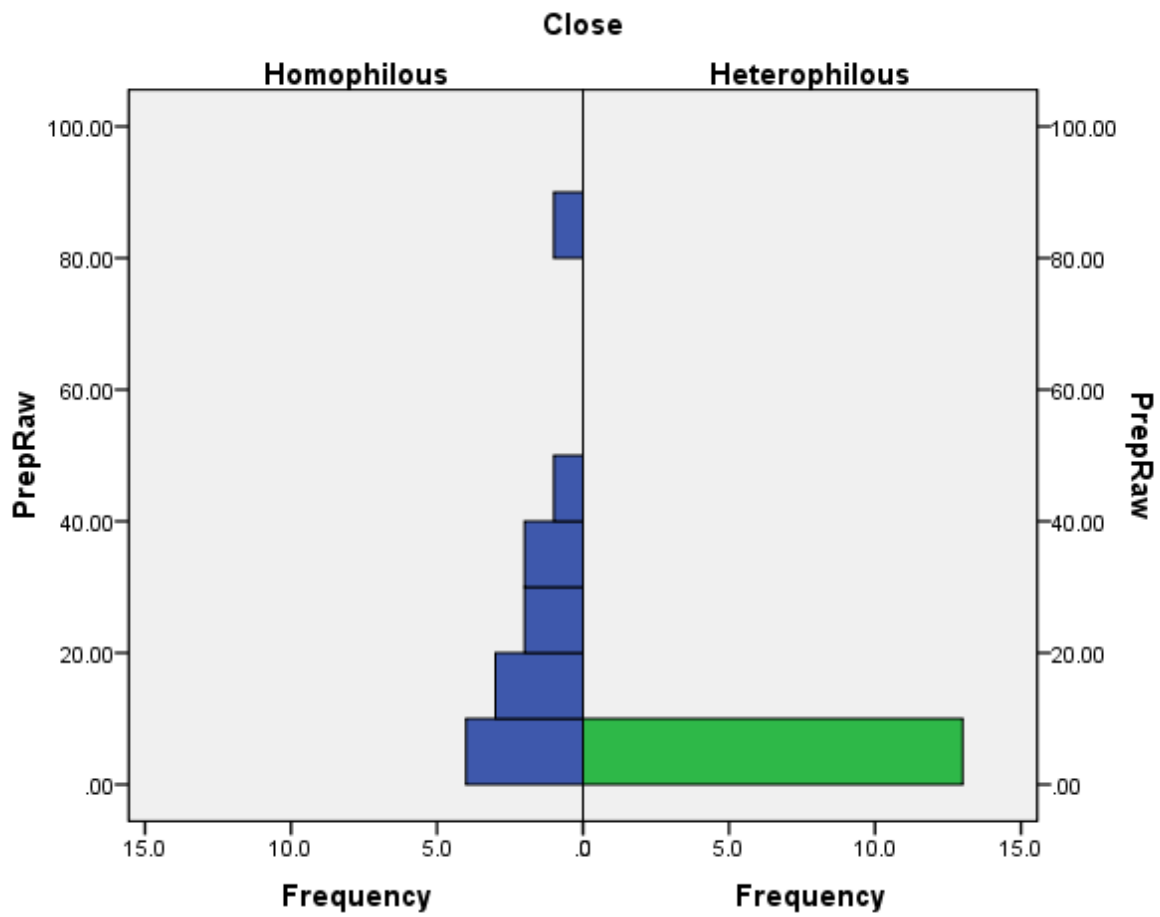
b. Grouping Variable: Close

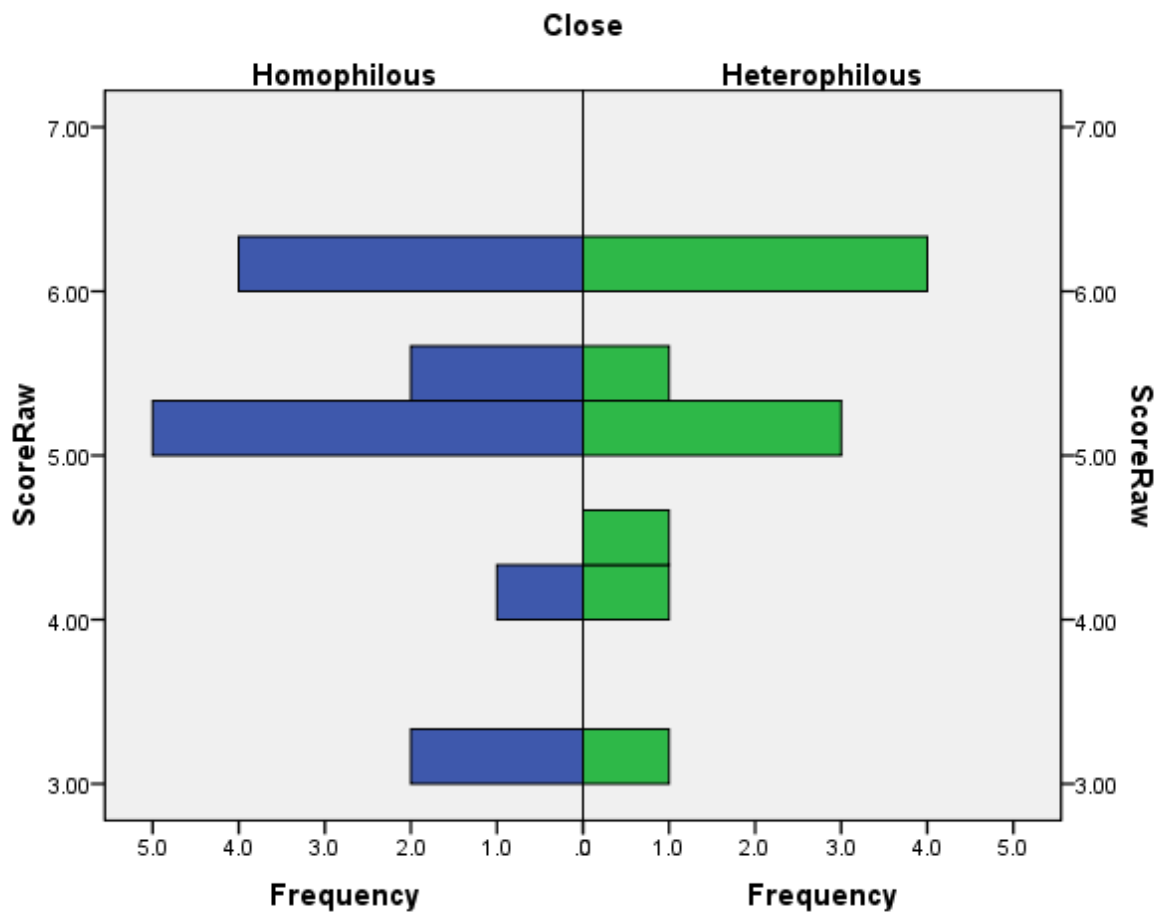
Case Processing Summary

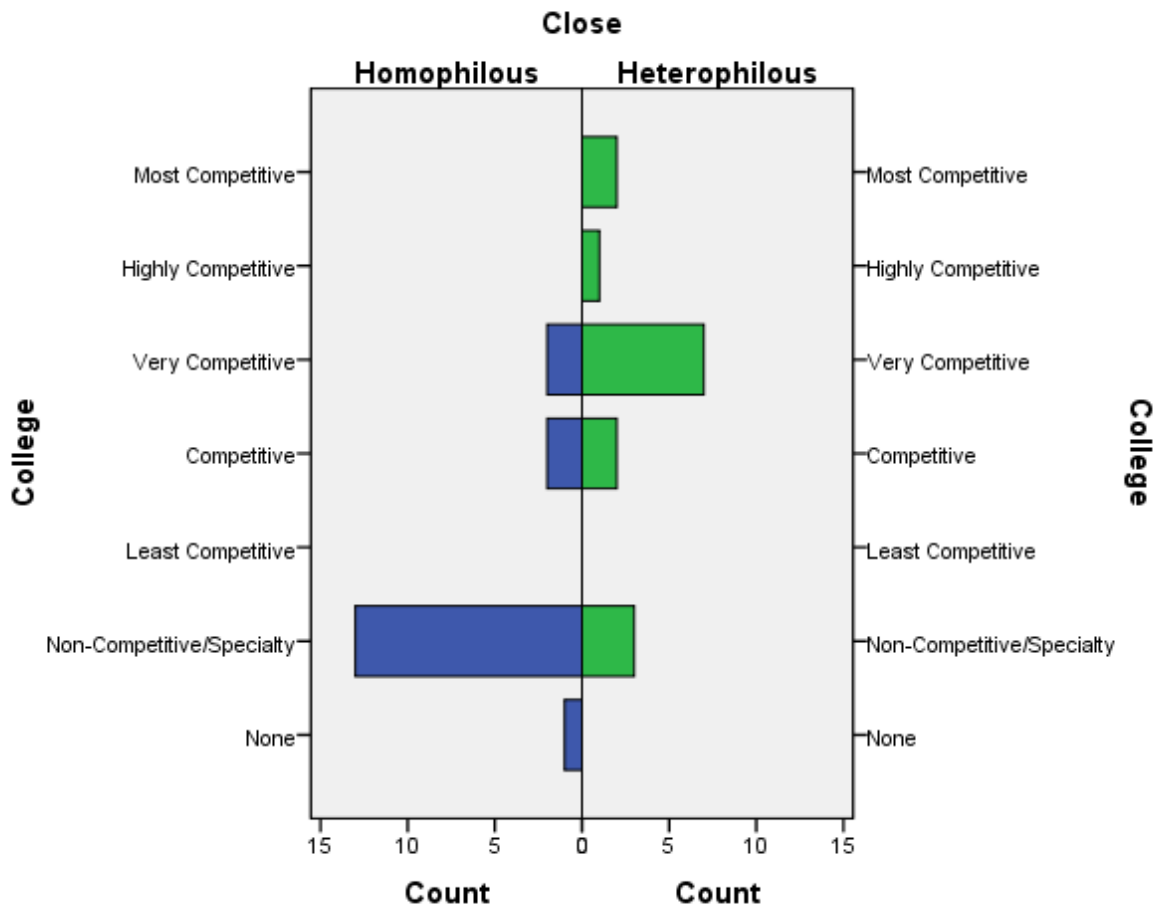
	Cases					
	Included		Excluded		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Prep * Close	26	66.7%	13	33.3%	39	100.0%
PrepRaw * Close	26	66.7%	13	33.3%	39	100.0%
ScoreRaw * Close	25	64.1%	14	35.9%	39	100.0%
College * Close	33	84.6%	6	15.4%	39	100.0%
Future * Close	31	79.5%	8	20.5%	39	100.0%

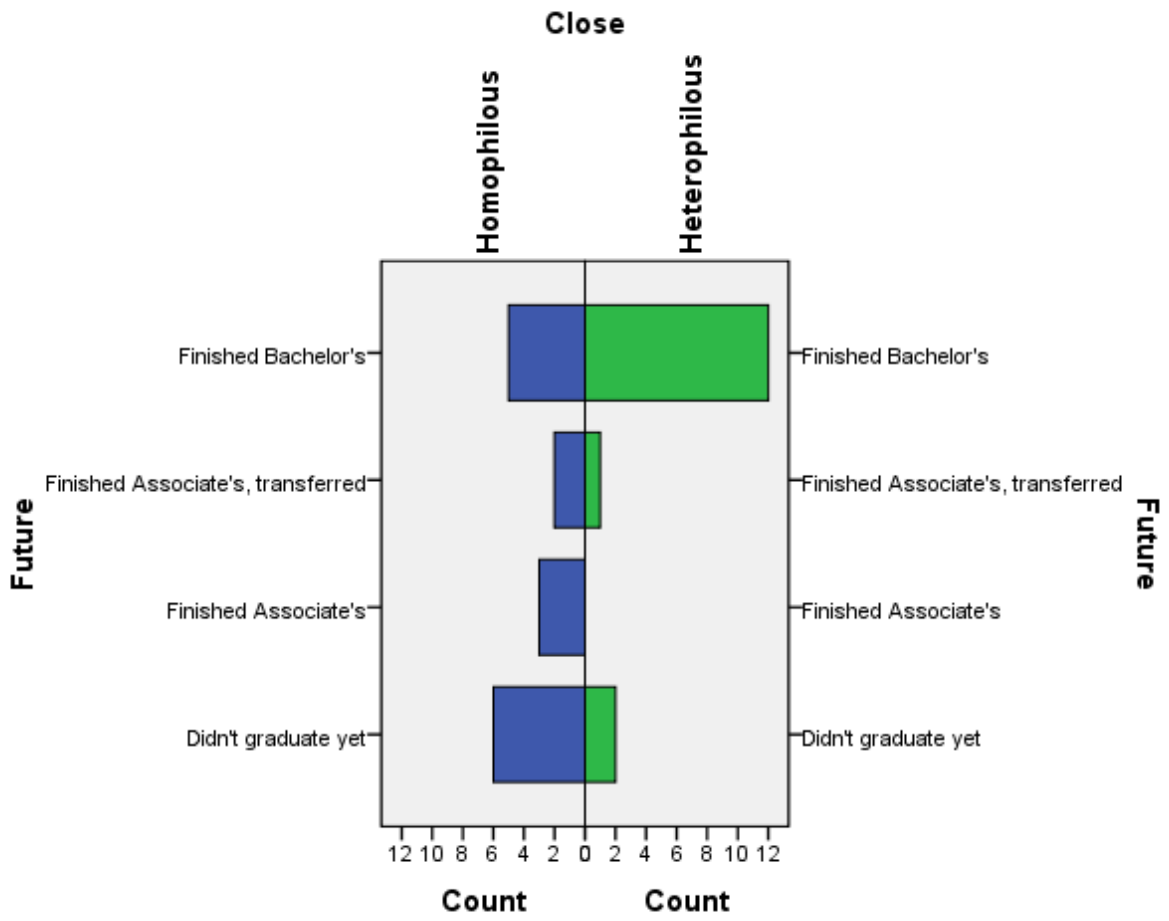
Report

Close		Prep	PrepRaw	ScoreRaw	College	Future
Homophilous	Mean	4.0769	20.6923	5.0350	2.5000	3.3750
	N	13	13	14	18	16
	Std. Deviation	1.44115	21.57790	1.02946	1.15045	1.31022
	Median	4.0000	15.0000	5.1650	2.0000	3.0000
Heterophilous	Mean	1.7692	1.6215	5.1282	4.6000	4.5333
	N	13	13	11	15	15
	Std. Deviation	.59914	1.32254	.97813	1.59463	1.06010
	Median	2.0000	1.5000	5.2500	5.0000	5.0000
Total	Mean	2.9231	11.1569	5.0760	3.4545	3.9355
	N	26	26	25	33	31
	Std. Deviation	1.59808	17.85752	.98738	1.71557	1.31493
	Median	2.0000	3.0000	5.2500	2.0000	5.0000









Comparing Low-Income Students in Homophilous Networks to Wealthy Students

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
PrepRaw	39	9.5618	15.03227	.03	80.00
Prep	39	2.8974	1.41039	1.00	6.00
ScoreRaw	39	5.5033	.76788	3.00	6.00
College	45	4.4222	2.10507	1.00	7.00
Future	41	4.2927	1.18836	2.00	5.00
Class	51	1.4706	.50410	1.00	2.00

Descriptive Statistics

	Percentiles		
	25th	50th (Median)	75th
PrepRaw	1.5000	4.0000	12.5000
Prep	2.0000	3.0000	4.0000
ScoreRaw	5.0000	6.0000	6.0000
College	2.0000	5.0000	6.0000
Future	3.5000	5.0000	5.0000
Class	1.0000	1.0000	2.0000

Ranks

Class		N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
PrepRaw	Wealthy	26	15.98	415.50
	Low-Income	13	28.04	364.50
	Total	39		
Prep	Wealthy	26	15.73	409.00
	Low-Income	13	28.54	371.00
	Total	39		
ScoreRaw	Wealthy	25	23.40	585.00
	Low-Income	14	13.93	195.00
	Total	39		
College	Wealthy	27	30.70	829.00
	Low-Income	18	11.44	206.00
	Total	45		
Future	Wealthy	25	26.08	652.00
	Low-Income	16	13.06	209.00
	Total	41		

Test Statistics^b

	PrepRaw	Prep	ScoreRaw	College	Future
Mann-Whitney U	64.500	58.000	90.000	35.000	73.000
Wilcoxon W	415.500	409.000	195.000	206.000	209.000
Z	-3.120	-3.392	-2.685	-4.971	-4.239
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.001	.007	.000	.000
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.001 ^a	.001 ^a	.012 ^a		.000 ^a

a. Not corrected for ties.

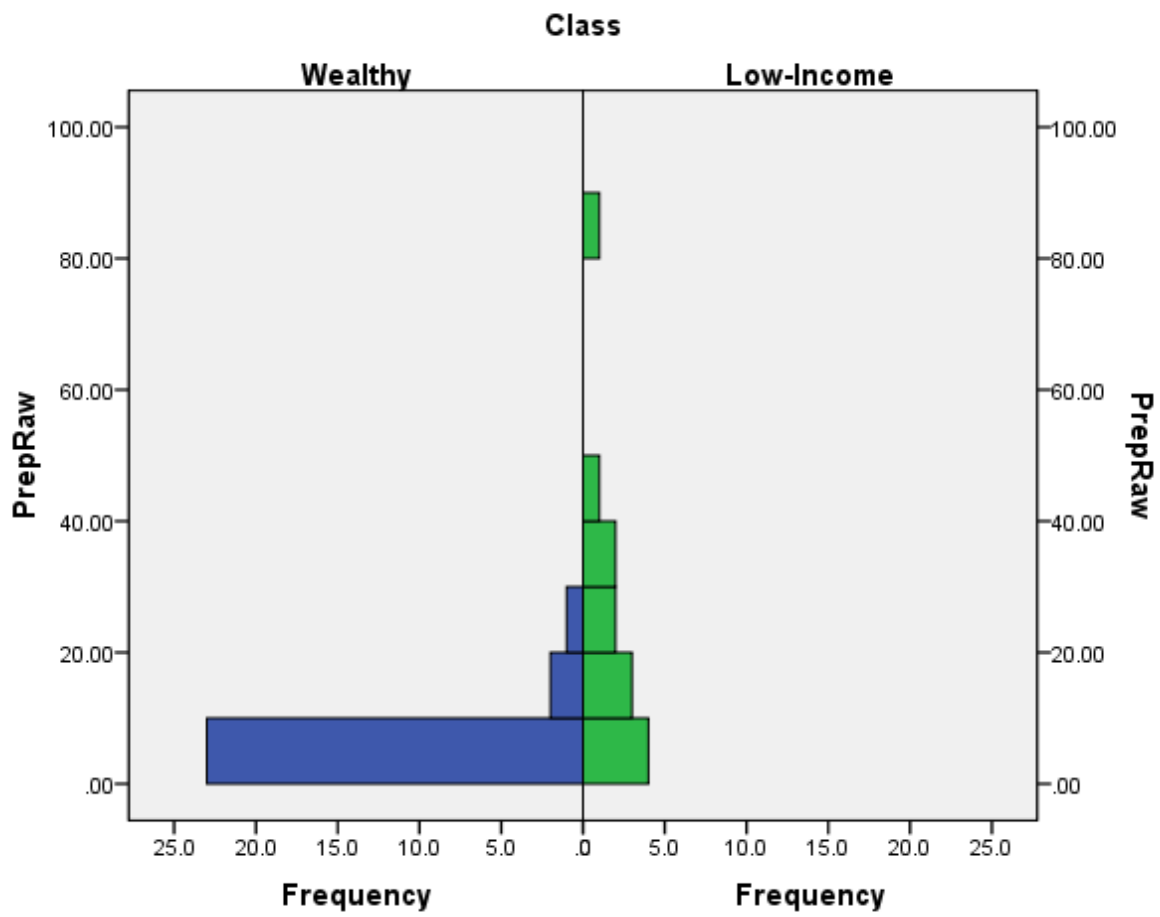
b. Grouping Variable: Class

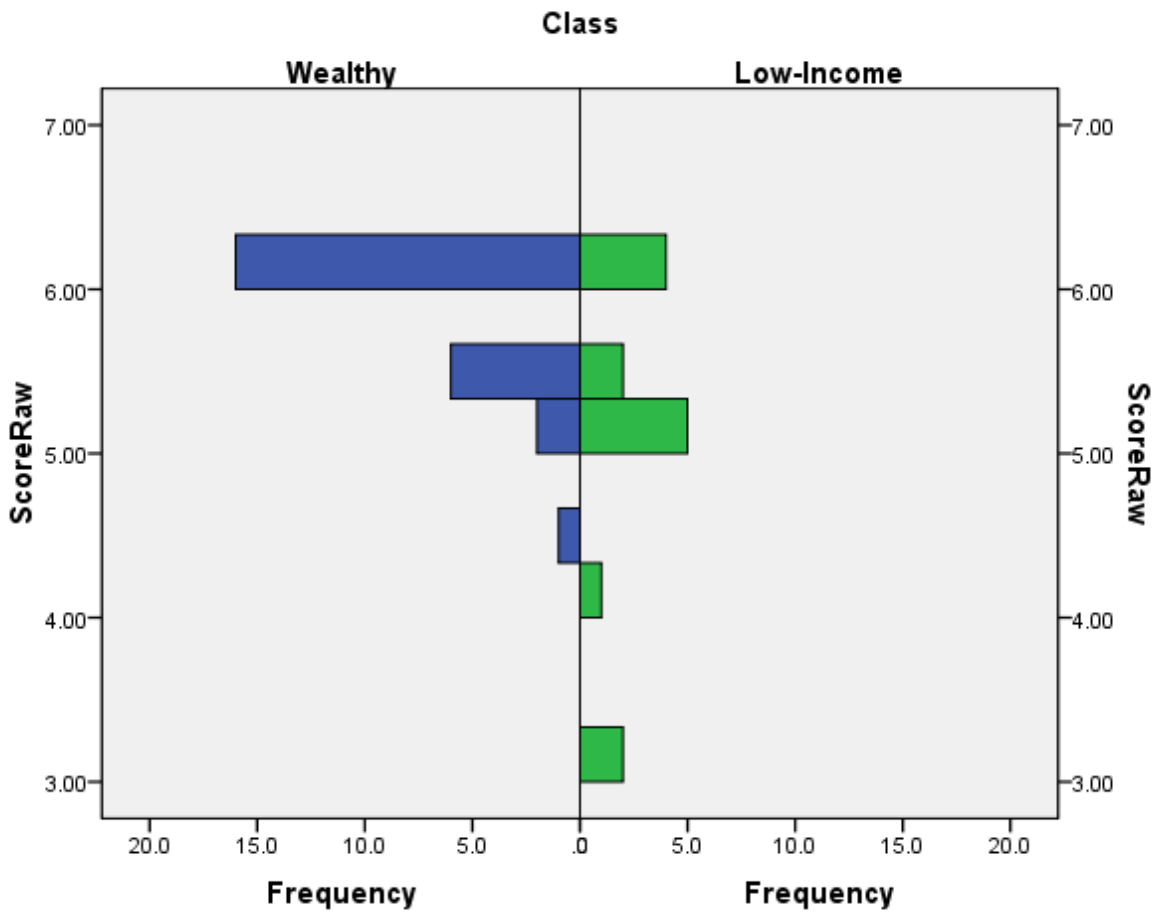
Case Processing Summary

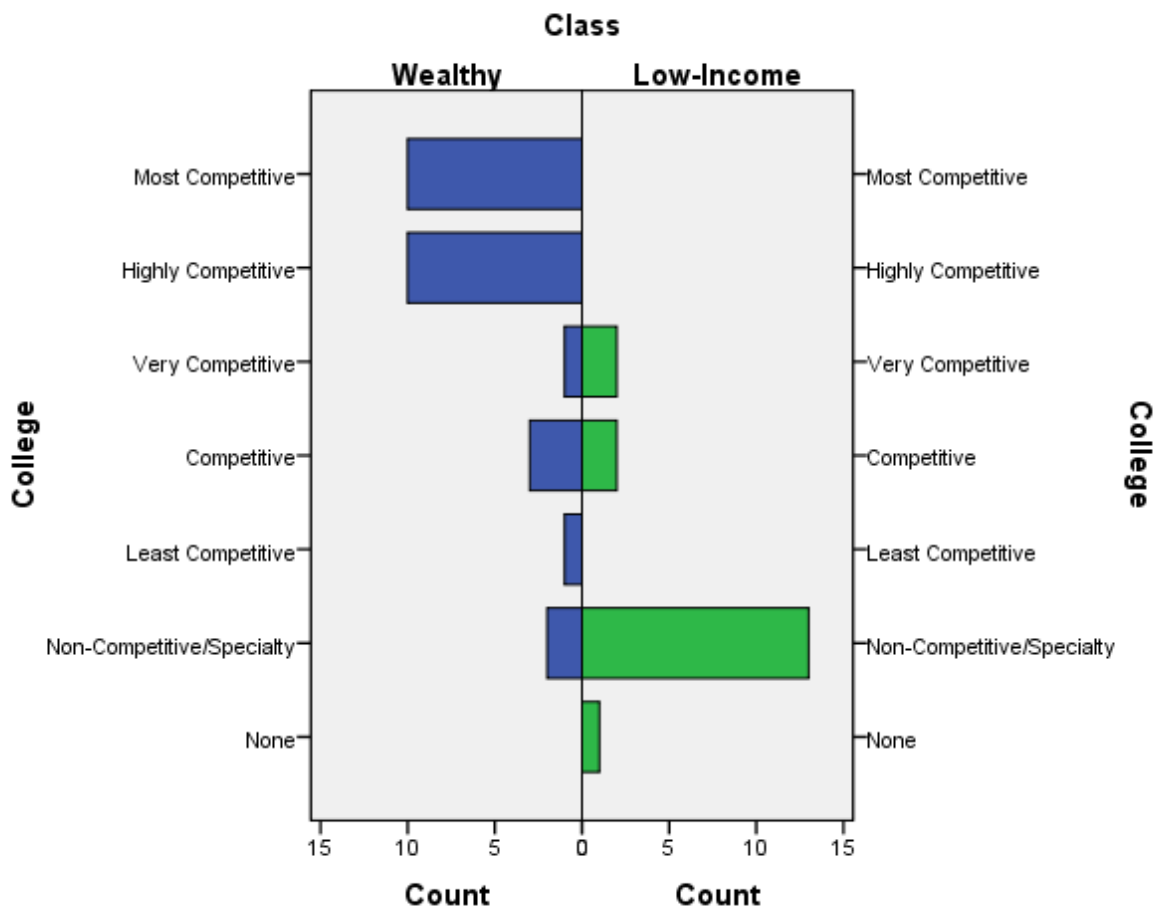
	Cases					
	Included		Excluded		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Prep * Class	39	76.5%	12	23.5%	51	100.0%
PrepRaw * Class	39	76.5%	12	23.5%	51	100.0%
ScoreRaw * Class	39	76.5%	12	23.5%	51	100.0%
College * Class	45	88.2%	6	11.8%	51	100.0%
Future * Class	41	80.4%	10	19.6%	51	100.0%

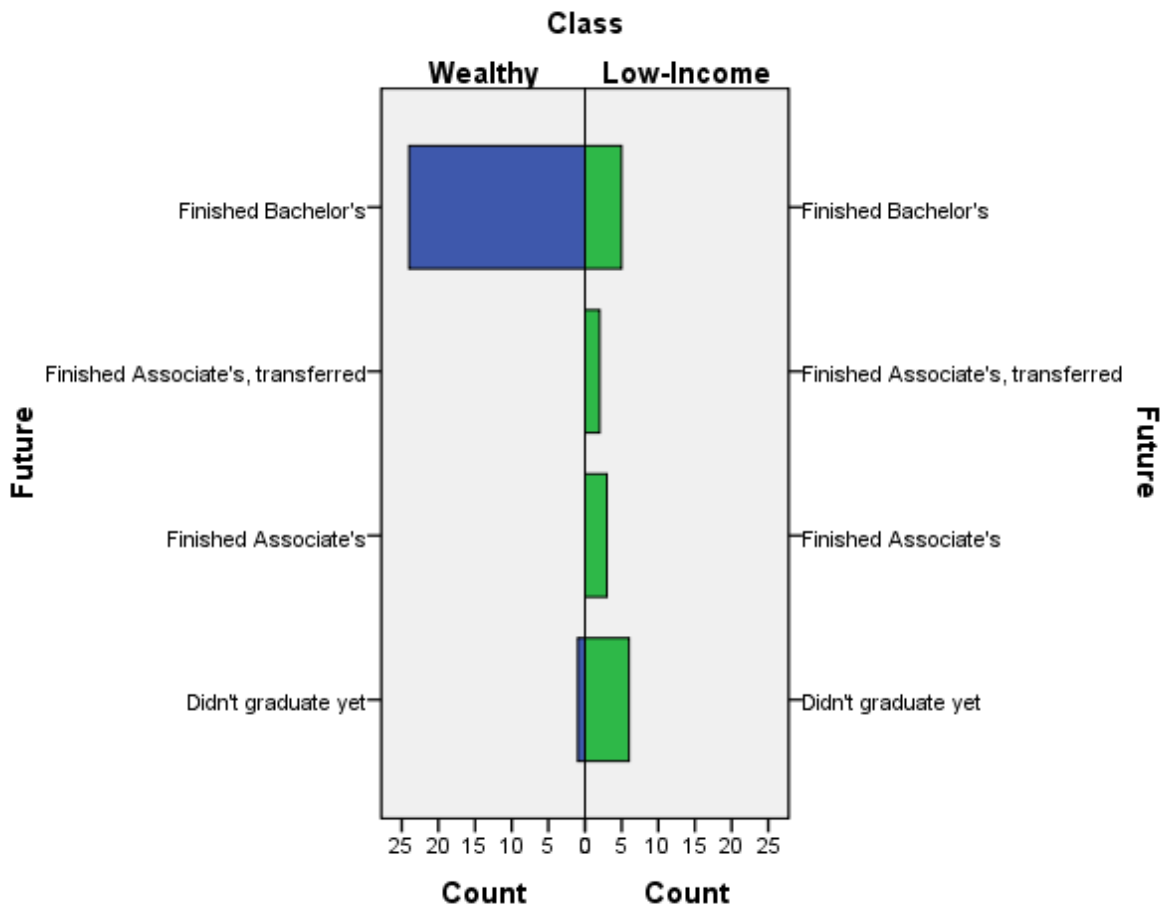
Report

Class		Prep	PrepRaw	ScoreRaw	College	Future
Wealthy	Mean	2.3077	3.9965	5.7656	5.7037	4.8800
	N	26	26	25	27	25
	Std. Deviation	.97033	4.83211	.39994	1.53960	.60000
	Median	2.0000	2.2500	6.0000	6.0000	5.0000
Low-Income	Mean	4.0769	20.6923	5.0350	2.5000	3.3750
	N	13	13	14	18	16
	Std. Deviation	1.44115	21.57790	1.02946	1.15045	1.31022
	Median	4.0000	15.0000	5.1650	2.0000	3.0000
Total	Mean	2.8974	9.5618	5.5033	4.4222	4.2927
	N	39	39	39	45	41
	Std. Deviation	1.41039	15.03227	.76788	2.10507	1.18836
	Median	3.0000	4.0000	6.0000	5.0000	5.0000









Comparing Low-Income Students in Heterophilous Networks to Wealthy Students

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
PrepRaw	39	3.2049	4.14731	.00	20.00
Prep	39	2.1282	.89382	1.00	4.00
ScoreRaw	36	5.5708	.68681	3.00	6.00
College	42	5.3095	1.63032	2.00	7.00
Future	40	4.7500	.80861	2.00	5.00
Class	42	1.3571	.48497	1.00	2.00

Descriptive Statistics

	Percentiles		
	25th	50th (Median)	75th
PrepRaw	.7500	2.0000	4.0000
Prep	1.0000	2.0000	3.0000
ScoreRaw	5.3125	6.0000	6.0000
College	4.0000	6.0000	7.0000
Future	5.0000	5.0000	5.0000
Class	1.0000	1.0000	2.0000

Ranks

Class		N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
PrepRaw	Wealthy	26	22.10	574.50
	Low-Income	13	15.81	205.50
	Total	39		
Prep	Wealthy	26	22.08	574.00
	Low-Income	13	15.85	206.00
	Total	39		
ScoreRaw	Wealthy	25	20.70	517.50
	Low-Income	11	13.50	148.50
	Total	36		
College	Wealthy	27	24.80	669.50
	Low-Income	15	15.57	233.50
	Total	42		
Future	Wealthy	25	21.68	542.00
	Low-Income	15	18.53	278.00
	Total	40		

Test Statistics^b

	PrepRaw	Prep	ScoreRaw	College	Future
Mann-Whitney U	114.500	115.000	82.500	113.500	158.000
Wilcoxon W	205.500	206.000	148.500	233.500	278.000
Z	-1.630	-1.707	-2.080	-2.398	-1.584
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.103	.088	.038	.016	.113
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.105 ^a	.112 ^a	.058 ^a		.422 ^a

a. Not corrected for ties.

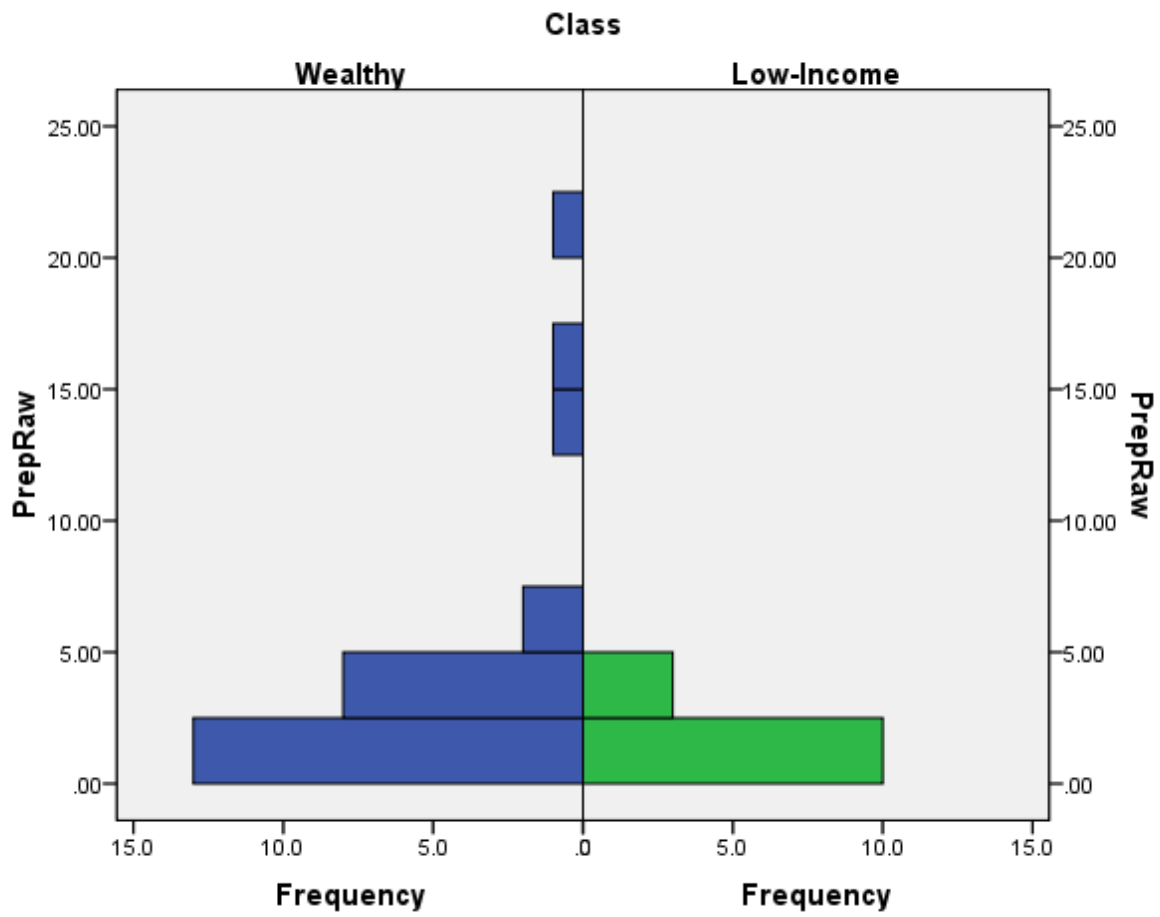
b. Grouping Variable: Class

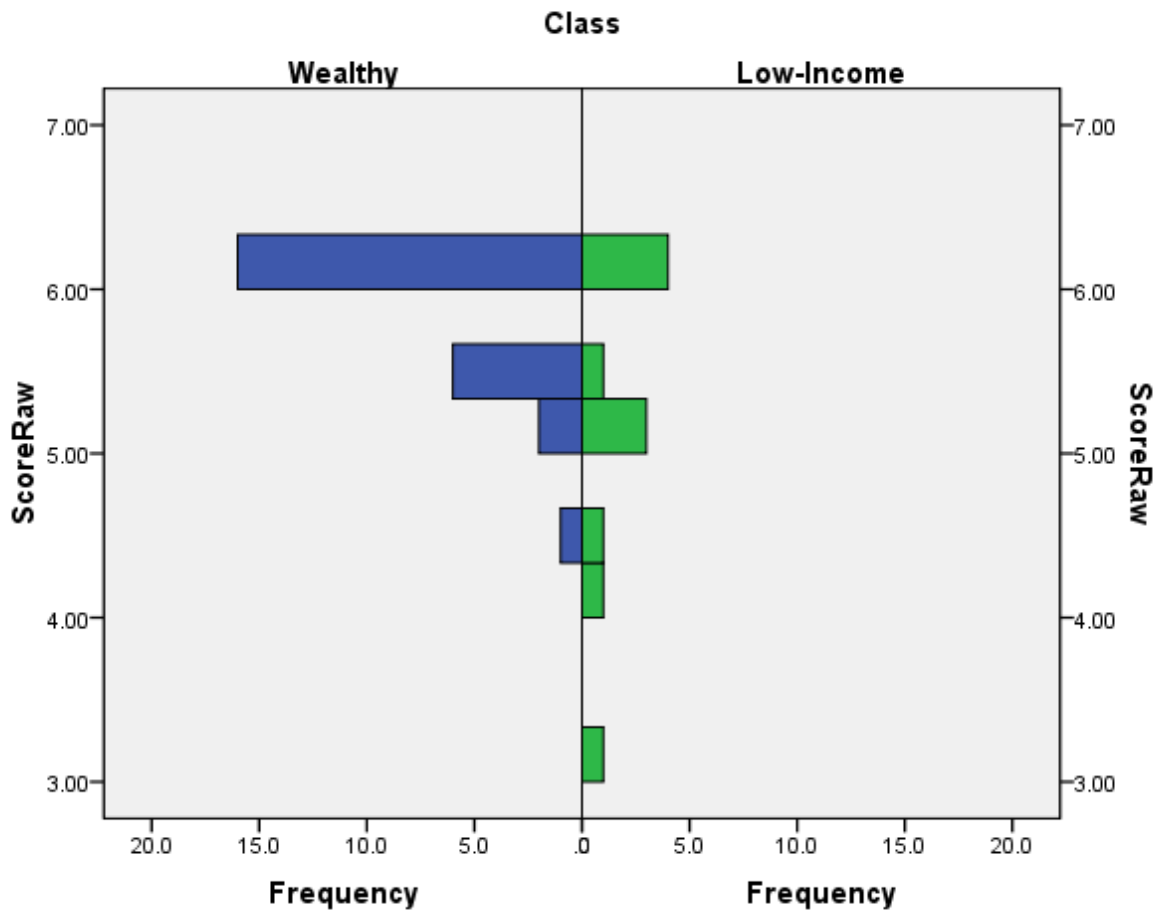
Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Included		Excluded		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Prep * Class	39	92.9%	3	7.1%	42	100.0%
PrepRaw * Class	39	92.9%	3	7.1%	42	100.0%
ScoreRaw * Class	36	85.7%	6	14.3%	42	100.0%
College * Class	42	100.0%	0	.0%	42	100.0%
Future * Class	40	95.2%	2	4.8%	42	100.0%

Report

Class		Prep	PrepRaw	ScoreRaw	College	Future
Wealthy	Mean	2.3077	3.9965	5.7656	5.7037	4.8800
	N	26	26	25	27	25
	Std. Deviation	.97033	4.83211	.39994	1.53960	.60000
	Median	2.0000	2.2500	6.0000	6.0000	5.0000
Low-Income	Mean	1.7692	1.6215	5.1282	4.6000	4.5333
	N	13	13	11	15	15
	Std. Deviation	.59914	1.32254	.97813	1.59463	1.06010
	Median	2.0000	1.5000	5.2500	5.0000	5.0000
Total	Mean	2.1282	3.2049	5.5708	5.3095	4.7500
	N	39	39	36	42	40
	Std. Deviation	.89382	4.14731	.68681	1.63032	.80861
	Median	2.0000	2.0000	6.0000	6.0000	5.0000









CONCLUSION

Pearson Bivariate Correlations for Low-Income Students

		Correlations			
		Close	Exposure	Classrm	Contact
Close	Pearson Correlation	1	.284	.403*	.517**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.080	.011	.001
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	9.231	2.692	5.000	4.769
	Covariance	.243	.071	.132	.126
	N	39	39	39	39
Exposure	Pearson Correlation	.284	1	.183	.243
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.080		.265	.136
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	2.692	9.744	2.333	2.308
	Covariance	.071	.256	.061	.061
	N	39	39	39	39
Classrm	Pearson Correlation	.403*	.183	1	.484**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.011	.265		.002
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	5.000	2.333	16.667	6.000
	Covariance	.132	.061	.439	.158
	N	39	39	39	39
Contact	Pearson Correlation	.517**	.243	.484**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.136	.002	
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	4.769	2.308	6.000	9.231
	Covariance	.126	.061	.158	.243
	N	39	39	39	39

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Tests of Normality

	Kolmogorov-Smirnov ^a			Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistic	df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.
Close	.398	39	.000	.618	39	.000
Exposure	.345	39	.000	.637	39	.000
Classrm	.279	39	.000	.769	39	.000
Contact	.398	39	.000	.618	39	.000

a. Lilliefors Significance Correction

Spearman's Rho and Correlations

Correlations

			Close	Exposure	Classrm	Contact
Kendall's tau_b	Close	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.284	.454**	.517**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.080	.004	.001
		N	39	39	39	39
	Exposure	Correlation Coefficient	.284	1.000	.228	.243
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.080	.	.144	.134
		N	39	39	39	39
	Classrm	Correlation Coefficient	.454**	.228	1.000	.539**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.004	.144	.	.001
		N	39	39	39	39
	Contact	Correlation Coefficient	.517**	.243	.539**	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.134	.001	.
		N	39	39	39	39
Spearman's rho	Close	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.284	.471**	.517**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.080	.002	.001
		N	39	39	39	39
	Exposure	Correlation Coefficient	.284	1.000	.237	.243
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.080	.	.147	.136
		N	39	39	39	39
	Classrm	Correlation Coefficient	.471**	.237	1.000	.559**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.147	.	.000
		N	39	39	39	39
	Contact	Correlation Coefficient	.517**	.243	.559**	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.136	.000	.
		N	39	39	39	39

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

CHI SQUARE TESTS

Chi Square Test: Close Networks and Early Exposure

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3.143 ^a	1	.076		
Continuity Correction ^b	2.084	1	.149		
Likelihood Ratio	3.189	1	.074		
Fisher's Exact Test				.105	.074
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.063	1	.080		
N of Valid Cases	39				

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 7.31.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.284	.076
	Cramer's V	.284	.076
N of Valid Cases		39	

Directional Measures

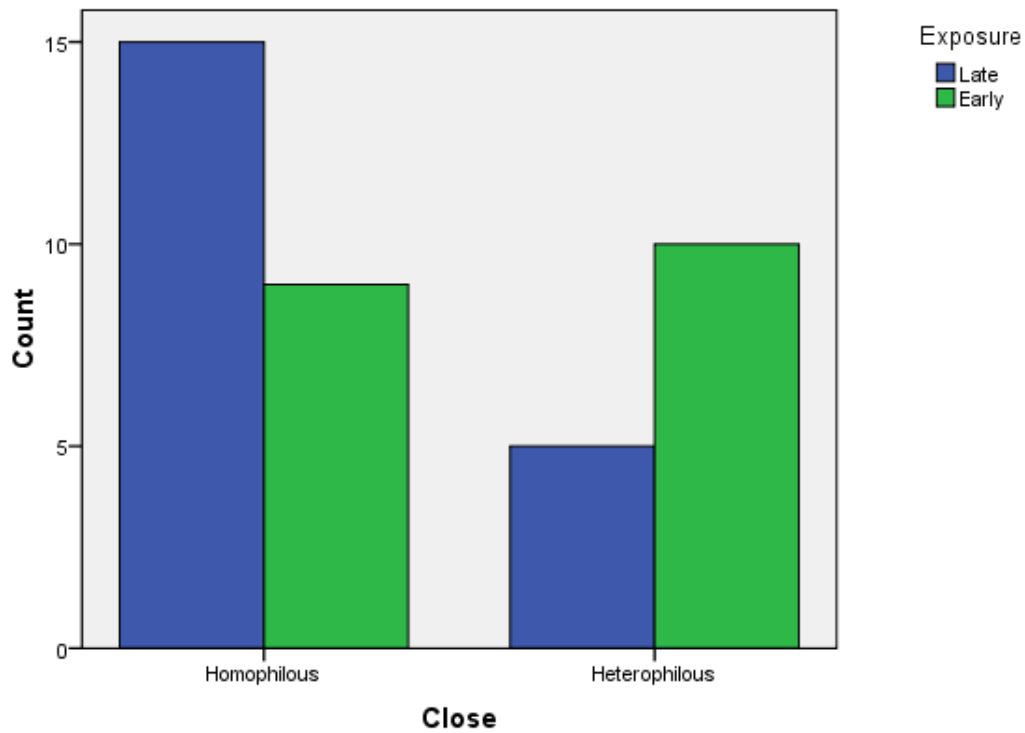
			Value	Asymp. Std. Error ^a	Approx. T ^b	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Lambda	Symmetric	.176	.201	.824	.410
		Close Dependent	.067	.281	.230	.818
		Exposure Dependent	.263	.175	1.319	.187
Goodman and Kruskal tau		Close Dependent	.081	.087		.080 ^c
		Exposure Dependent	.081	.087		.080 ^c

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c. Based on chi-square approximation

Bar Chart



Chi Square Test: Classroom Networks vs Regular Contact

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	21.851 ^a	2	.000
Likelihood Ratio	27.874	2	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	8.892	1	.003
N of Valid Cases	39		

a. 2 cells (33.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.54.

Symmetric Measures

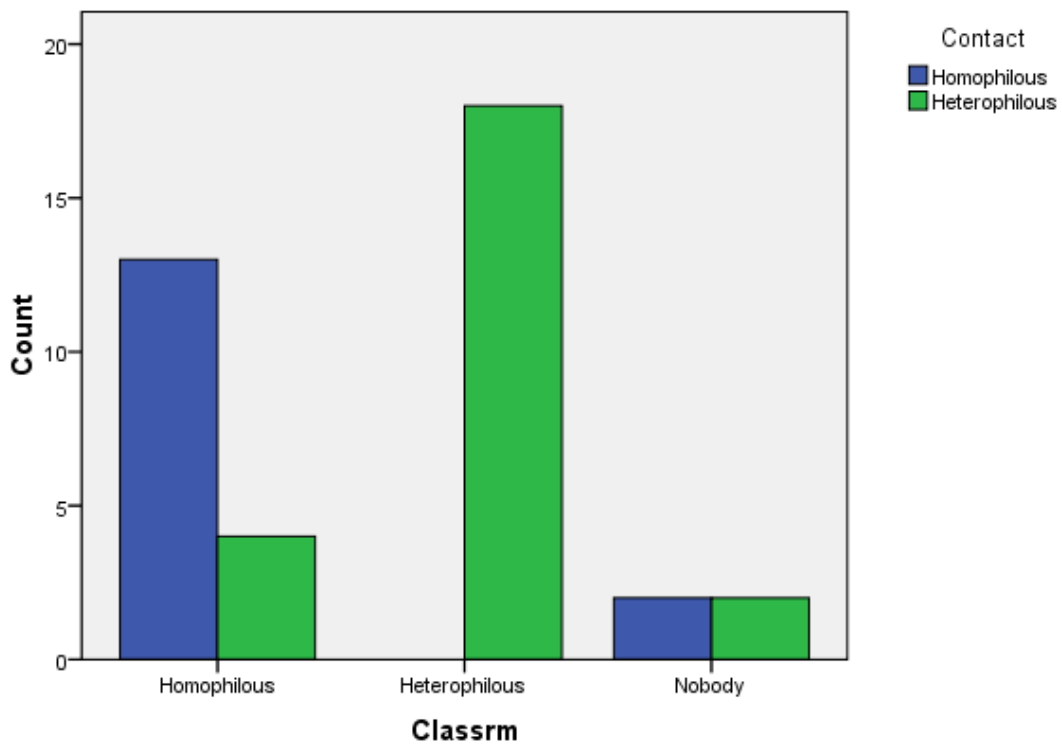
		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.749	.000
	Cramer's V	.749	.000
N of Valid Cases		39	

Directional Measures

			Value	Asymp. Std. Error ^a	Approx. T ^b	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Lambda	Symmetric	.611	.135	3.189	.001
		Classrm Dependent	.619	.106	4.416	.000
		Contact Dependent	.600	.193	2.069	.039
	Goodman and Kruskal tau	Classrm Dependent	.426	.117		.000 ^c
		Contact Dependent	.560	.120		.000 ^c

- a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.
- b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.
- c. Based on chi-square approximation

Bar Chart



Chi Square Test: Close Networks vs Classroom Networks

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	16.598 ^a	2	.000
Likelihood Ratio	18.594	2	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	6.175	1	.013
N of Valid Cases	39		

a. 2 cells (33.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.54.

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal Phi	.652	.000
Cramer's V	.652	.000
N of Valid Cases	39	

Directional Measures

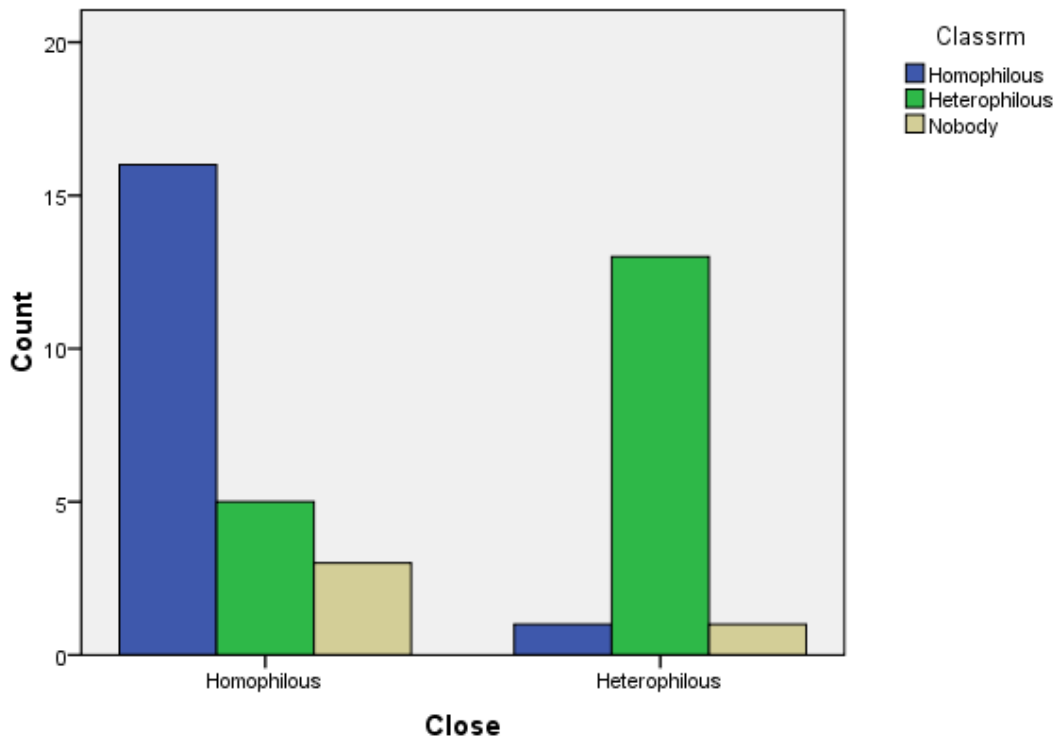
			Value	Asymp. Std. Error ^a	Approx. T ^b	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Lambda	Symmetric	.528	.151	3.014	.003
		Close Dependent	.533	.193	1.978	.048
		Classrm Dependent	.524	.151	2.600	.009
	Goodman and Kruskal tau	Close Dependent	.426	.147		.000 ^c
		Classrm Dependent	.322	.116		.000 ^c

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c. Based on chi-square approximation

Bar Chart



Chi Square Test: Close Networks vs Contact Networks

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	10.411 ^a	1	.001		
Continuity Correction ^b	8.342	1	.004		
Likelihood Ratio	12.021	1	.001		
Fisher's Exact Test				.002	.001
Linear-by-Linear Association	10.144	1	.001		
N of Valid Cases	39				

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.77.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal Phi	.517	.001
Cramer's V	.517	.001
N of Valid Cases	39	

Directional Measures

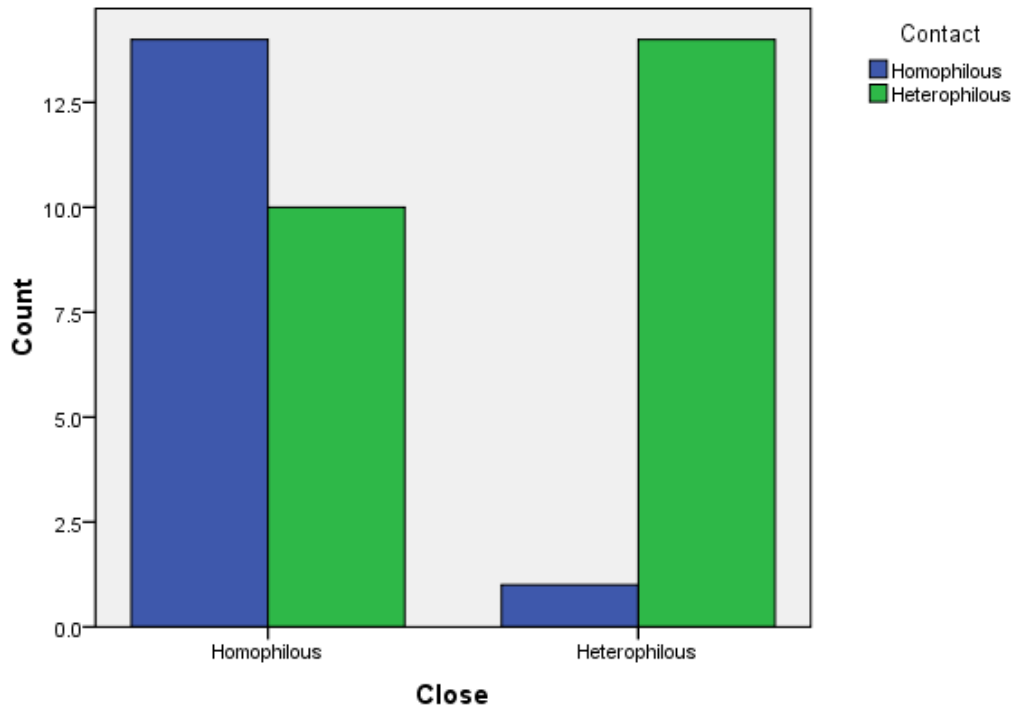
			Value	Asymp. Std. Error ^a	Approx. T ^b	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Lambda	Symmetric	.267	.248	.982	.326
		Close Dependent	.267	.280	.824	.410
		Contact Dependent	.267	.280	.824	.410
	Goodman and Kruskal tau	Close Dependent	.267	.114		.001 ^c
		Contact Dependent	.267	.114		.001 ^c

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c. Based on chi-square approximation

Bar Chart



MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION

T-test Between Surveyed Senior Class and Interviewed Sample

Group Statistics

SrClass	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	
APSem	Interviewed	60	4.8000	4.34839	.56137
	Senior Class	163	3.8957	4.15088	.32512
NAvid	Interviewed	59	1.7288	2.03275	.26464
	Senior Class	163	1.5828	1.65110	.12932
Sports	Interviewed	59	.6949	.87601	.11405
	Senior Class	163	.7485	.93190	.07299

Independent Samples Test

	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means							
	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference		
								Lower	Upper	
AP3erm	.244	.622	1.424	221	.156	.90429	.63489	-.34692	2.15551	
			1.394	101.076	.166	.90429	.64873	-.38259	2.19118	
N4vid	.151	.698	.546	220	.586	.14599	.26737	-.38094	.67293	
			.496	87.228	.621	.14599	.29455	-.43944	.73142	
Sports	.012	.913	-.384	220	.701	-.05355	.13940	-.32828	.22118	
			-.395	108.718	.693	-.05355	.13540	-.32193	.21482	

Appendix C: Interview Materials

UCSD HUMAN RESEARCH PROTECTIONS PROGRAM

Project #111661 Recruitment Script

As your teacher has already mentioned, I'm a graduate student at UCSD. I'm working on my PhD, which means that I'm currently studying to get my doctorate in Sociology. I'm going to be writing my dissertation – which is basically like a really, really, really long term paper – on the students here at _____ High School.

My study is about the students: you all. I want to learn more about you – your backgrounds, your experience here at LJHS, your everyday interactions with other students, your decisions and choices, your friendships, and the way you feel about yourself and the other students. I want to interview you to hear what you have to say, and then I'll look at all your responses and then write a book-length dissertation about it.

Okay, here's how the steps will look: I have a sign-up sheet, which I'll leave with your teacher. He/She is going to put it in Place X, where everyone will have access to it. If anyone is interested, then you can wander over and sign up. Once I have a list of students, I'll give students who've signed up a parent permission form for your parents to sign. Once you return that, we'll figure out a time when we can both meet up, which will probably be one of your free periods. We'll meet at either the cafeteria, the school courtyard, or even the library, and I'll give *you* a permission form to sign, and then we'll interview!

Like I said, I'm interested in hearing about lots of experiences by all types of students, so don't be shy about signing up! Depending on the number of students who sign up, I might have to randomly select students to interview if there are too many, but I'm looking forward to talking to as many students who are willing and able to talk! If you have any questions, feel free to ask me or your teacher!

University of California, San Diego
Study Information Letter

To the parents and guardians of _____ High School:

This letter is to inform you that a doctoral candidate from the University of California, San Diego, Priscilla Lee, will be performing observations among the seniors at _____ High School. She will be sitting in on classes and tutoring students; observing everyday interactions among the students; and will be interviewing students who indicate they want to be interviewed (but only after receiving parental permission).

She is interested in observing the interactions of high school students, their friendship groupings, their social backgrounds, and their overall experiences at the high school. Therefore, she will be helping out by serving as a volunteer and tutor, and will be available to answer any questions students might have about college applications, and life in college. She has had almost thirteen years of experience tutoring, volunteering, substitute teaching, and teaching high school students. Her observations will take place in classrooms and the lunchroom. Your child will never be left alone with this graduate student, as there will always be another teacher present during these observations.

At later stages of her dissertation project, Ms. Lee will recruit seniors to interview. She will then send home permission forms notifying you of this process, and will proceed to interview only after receiving permission from both you and your student. Questions she will ask include, "What did you expect high school to be like?", and, "How have your experiences changed between freshmen year and senior year?" We expect this to be a valuable time of reflection for seniors as they think about their past four years and prepare to move on towards their future.

Thank you for your cooperation in this matter. If you have any further questions, please contact Priscilla Lee at _____.

INTERVIEWING WITH MS. LEE

Thanks for your help with my project!

While I've been enjoying getting to know you all, and hope you all sign up, I probably won't realistically have time to interview everyone. However, I look forward to talking to as many of you as I can!

Name: _____

Gender: _____

Race/Ethnicity: _____

Zip code: _____

Clubs: _____

Sports: _____

Extra activities: _____

AP courses: _____

Would you be willing to participate in an interview with me? Y / N

If so, please list the free periods you would be willing to interview (you can include lunch, or time after school, as well): _____

And please provide the best way for me to contact you (probably email?): _____

Are you under 18? Y / N

Please note that if you are under 18, you must bring your parent consent form back before I can interview you. If you are over 18, you can sign the adult assent form yourself.

University of California, San Diego Parental Letter of Permission

To the parent or guardian of _____:

My name is Priscilla Lee, and I am a Sociology graduate student at UCSD. I am currently working on my dissertation, and have been spending time at your child's school to better understand the high school experiences of students, their social backgrounds, their friendship groups, and whether their interactions and experiences have changed during their time at _____ High School. I am interested in a variety of high school experiences, and am particularly interested in the ways high school students interact with one other, how they view themselves and other students, how they make sense of their friendships, and how all of this might differ by background. Around 60 students will be interviewed for this project. I expect this study to take about one year to complete. The interview itself should only take about an hour.

I am writing because I hope to interview your child. This research is not part of the child's regular school program. It is not conducted under the auspices of the school, and your child's grade or continued enrollment will not be affected by her/his decision to participate. I assure you that your child will remain completely anonymous in any written reports that come out of this study, and their responses will be treated in the strictest confidence. The information that I receive from the students will be maintained on my password-protected computer, so no one else will have access to this information. Participation in this study may involve some added risks or discomforts. These include:

1. A potential for the loss of confidentiality. All appropriate precautions will be taken to ensure the protection of these records, including the anonymisation of the interview, the linkage of personal identifying factors with pseudonyms, and the erasure of the original digital recording once the interview has been transcribed. Research records will be kept confidential to the extent allowed by law. After the project is complete, all audio memory cards on the recorder will be erased. Transcripts will be stored on the same password-protected computer. Research records may be reviewed by the UCSD Institutional Review Board and my dissertation advisor.
2. There is also a potential for boredom, fatigue, or discomfort due to the sensitive nature of the high school experience. If your child feels at all uncomfortable, he/she can refrain from answering, skip questions, terminate the interview, or even erase the audio recording.
3. There is also a potential for your child to experience embarrassment or self-consciousness related to the social or economic context in which they live if anyone overhears. However, all recordings will be conducted in a private space, and will be kept strictly confidential, and no one except my research advisor, myself, and my transcriptionist will have access to these interviews. If your child feels at all uncomfortable about anyone overhearing, we can shift locations, skip questions, terminate the interview, or even erase the audio recording.

With your, and your child's permission, I hope to tape record our interview, but the tape recording is optional. Your child will be perfectly free to interrupt or to ask for clarification on any question at any time; they may also refuse to answer a question they do not wish to answer. They can cease participation in this study at any time, and may even choose not to participate,

even if their parents say they can. There will be no negative repercussions if your child chooses not to participate. This interview will last between 30 to 90 minutes.

If you have additional questions or need to report research-related problems, you can contact me at _____. You may also call the Human Research Protections Program at (858) 657-5100 to inquire about your child's rights as a research subject or to report research-related problems.

Sincerely,
Priscilla J. Lee
Sociology Graduate Student
UC San Diego

By signing this form, you give permission for me to interview your child.

Name, printed	Signature	Date
---------------	-----------	------

University of California, San Diego

Adolescent Interview Assent Form

My name is Priscilla Lee, and I am a Sociology graduate student at UCSD. I am currently working on my dissertation, and have been spending time at _____ High School to conduct research. The purpose of this research is to understand the high school experiences of students, their social backgrounds, their friendship groups, and whether their interactions and experiences have changed during their tenure at _____ High School. I am interested in a variety of high school experiences, particularly in the ways high school students interact with one another, how they view themselves and other students, and how they make sense of their friendships, and how all of this might differ by background. If you agree, you will be one of 60 students who will be interviewed for this project. I will ask questions about your high school experiences, your activities, and your friendship groups. I expect this study to take about one year to complete. The interview itself, however, should only take about an hour.

This research is not part of your regular school program. It is not conducted by the school, and your grade or continued enrollment will not be affected by your decision to participate. I assure you that you will remain completely anonymous in any written reports that come out of this study, and your responses will be treated in the strictest confidence.

As with all research, there are some potential risks involved. Mainly, there is the possibility of loss of confidentiality. To prevent this, your information will be anonymised and will be maintained on my password-protected computer. Participation in this study may involve some added risks or discomforts. These include:

1. A potential for the loss of confidentiality. All appropriate precautions will be taken to ensure the protection of these records, including the anonymisation of the interview, the linkage of personal identifying factors to pseudonyms, and the erasure of the original digital file once the interview has been transcribed. Research records will be kept confidential. After the project is complete, all audio memory cards on the recorder will be erased. Transcripts will be stored on the same password-protected computer. Research records may be reviewed by the UCSD Institutional Review Board and my dissertation advisor.
2. There is also a potential for boredom, fatigue, or discomfort due to the sensitive nature of the high school experience. If you feel at all uncomfortable, you can refrain from answering, skip questions, terminate the interview, or even erase the audio recording.
3. There is also a potential for you to experience embarrassment or self-consciousness related to the social or economic context in which you live if anyone overhears. However, all recordings will be conducted in a private space, and will be kept strictly confidential, and no one except my research advisor, myself, and my transcriptionist will have access to these interviews. If you feel at all uncomfortable about anyone overhearing, please let me know. We can shift locations, skip questions, terminate the interview, or even erase the audio recording.

There might or might not be any direct benefit to participants but the researcher hopes to learn more about the dynamics of the high school experience.

Participation in research is entirely voluntary. You may find some of the questions I ask silly or difficult to answer; but since there are no right or wrong answers, just answer them as best as you can. You are perfectly free to interrupt or to ask for clarification on any question at any time. You also may refuse to answer a question you do not wish to answer. You can also stop participation in this study at any time, and can choose not to participate even if your parents have signed the form to say that you can. There will be no negative consequences if you choose not to participate.

This interview will last between 30 to 90 minutes and you will not receive any compensation for your participation.

If you have additional questions or need to report research-related problems, you can contact me at _____. You may also call the Human Research Protections Program at (858) 657-5100 to inquire about your rights as a research subject or to report research-related problems.

By signing this form, you give permission for me to interview you.

Name, printed	Signature	Date
---------------	-----------	------

NETWORKS

Close Friends

Hangout

Classroom

School help

**UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO
AUDIO RECORDING RELEASE CONSENT FORM**

As part of this project, an audio recording will be made of you during your participation in this research project. Please indicate below the uses of these audio recordings to which you are willing to consent. This is completely voluntary and up to you. In any use of the audio recording, your name will not be identified. You may request to stop the recording at any time or to erase any portion of your recording.

1. The audio recording can be studied by the research team for use in the research project. _____
Initials
2. The audio recording can be used for scientific publications. _____
Initials
3. The audio recording can be reviewed at meetings of scientists interested in the study of
Education. _____
Initials
4. The audio recording can be reviewed in classrooms to adult students. _____
Initials
5. The audio recording can be reviewed in public presentations to non-scientific groups. _____
Initials
6. The audio recording can be used on television and radio. _____
Initials

You have the right to request that the recording be stopped or erased in full or in part at any time.

You have read the above description and give your consent for the use of audio recording as indicated above.

Signature Date

Witness Date