Dissonance Between Home and School: Does it Exist and How Should it be Measured?

A Dissertation

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Abstract

This study seeks to provide insight into the measurement of home-school dissonance (HSD), or conflict between values, beliefs, and behavioral expectations at home and school that make it difficult for students to negotiate the boundaries between the two contexts (Arunkumar, Midgley, & Urdan, 1999). HSD may be an often-overlooked contributor to the achievement and discipline gaps that exist between White students and many students of color. To date, studies using the only quantitative measure of HSD, the "Dissonance Between Home and School (DBHS)" scale have found no differences in levels of HSD between Black and White students (Arunkumar et al., 1999) nor have they included racial ethnic groups other than Black and White. This study sought to interrogate the scale to determine why the expected differences might not be occurring, and to gain additional insight into HSD from the perspective of early adolescent students, and their parents and teachers.

Mixed-methods, including cognitive interviews, semi-structured interviews, and surveys, were used to learn more about the DBHS scale and the broader landscape of HSD. Middle school students (n=6), their parents (n=6) and teachers from their school (n=5) participated in semi-structured interviews. Data from the literature as well as the interview data were used to propose a pilot 10-item HSD scale, which was administered to 238 students in three middle schools. The pilot items were all examined individually (i.e., descriptive statistics and mean differences across groups) and then an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was run to determine if the items measured the latent construct, HSD.

Qualitative findings suggest that students, parents, and teachers discuss HSD differently. Students say that differences between home and school do not bother them, while teachers make assumptions and generalizations as they classify students into groups with low, medium, and high levels of HSD. Parents talked less in terms of HSD, but more about their experiences and satisfaction with school officials. The parents of two Black boys were particularly dissatisfied with their sons' schooling and felt that race and stereotypes towards their group impacted their sons at school.

The quantitative findings showed few significant differences across racial groups; however, students who received free or reduced-price lunch had higher mean scores on all pilot HSD items. This is particularly important since there was an overrepresentation of students of color in the free or reduced-price lunch group. A five-factor scale, which was identified in the EFA, was invariant for students across broad racial categories (e.g., White/non-White) and for students who did and did not report receiving free or reduced-price lunch, suggesting the items were assessing the same construct in both groups. Findings from this study demonstrate the need to better define and measure HSD and to examine intersectionality across race and social class. Additionally, there continues to be a need to explore discrepancies in the quantitative and qualitative findings from studies examining HSD.

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APPROVAL OF THE DISSERTATION

The dissertation, Dissonance between home and school: Does it exist and how should it be measured?, has been approved by the Graduate Faculty of the Curry School of Education in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Dedication page

This dissertation is dedicated to the K-12 students who struggle with differing experiences and expectations between home and school. It is my hope that this dissertation and future research will help to make schools more inclusive environments that appreciate and capitalize on the strengths that students from non-dominant cultural groups bring with them into the classroom.

Acknowledgements

Thank you also to my clinical and school psychology cohort, Pooja Datta, Malachi Richardson, Krishtine Rosenthal, Andrea Xisto, and Paula Aduen for being on this crazy graduate school ride with me.

Lastly, thank you to my family. Mama and Daddy (John and Sybil Henderson), you all instilled in me the importance of an education and have supported me wholeheartedly. I cannot thank you enough! My sisters– Marlee, Kali, and Nikki, you all shower me with love and believe in me way more than I believe in myself! My aunts, uncles, nieces, nephews, cousins, and church family all have provided me with words of encouragement and so much love during this journey. Finally, thank you to my partner, Jerrod, for being patient, kind, and encouraging, during my most stressful times.

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CHAPTER 1: STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Sixty years after the 1954 Brown v. Board of Education Supreme Court decision legally mandated school desegregation in the United States. (U.S.), many racial/ethnic minority students are still struggling to find success in the educational system as a result of institutional resistance to desegregation in many localities as well as limited federal oversight (Blanchett, Mumford, & Beachum, 2005). In many states schools are becoming resegregated due to concentrated poverty, which ultimately impacts school experiences and educational opportunities for racial/ethnic minority students (Orfield & Frankenberg, 2014). While there are several factors that contribute to disparate educational experiences (Carter & Welner, 2013), "home-school dissonance" (HSD), or differing beliefs, values, or behavioral expectations between home and school (Arunkumar, Midgley, & Urdan, 1999), has been posited as a phenomenon that impacts the academic success and psychological wellbeing of racial/ethnic minority students (Brown-Wright & Tyler, 2010; Tyler et al., 2008). For example, traditional public schools often operate using the values of mainstream, White, middle-class America, which focus on individualism and competition (Markus, 2008; Tyler et al., 2008), while communalism and collectivism are important to many ethnic minority communities (Markus, 2008; Tyler et al., 2008; Vasquez-Salgado, Greenfield, & Burgos-Cienfuegos, 2015). Furthermore, ethnic minority students currently make up about 50% of public school students (Hussar & Bailey, 2014), but non-Hispanic white teachers comprise 82% of public school teachers in the U.S. (Goldring, Gray, Bitterman, & Broughman, 2013); this disparity may

exacerbate perceived differences in personal and cultural values between home and school.

Why Explore Home-School Dissonance?

  Achievement Gaps. National statistics provide insight into how the educational system is failing some students. Black students in grades four and eight score on average 26 points lower than White students on reading assessments and 24 points lower on Mathematics (Kena et al., 2016). Similarly, the disparity in mathematics was 18 points lower in fourth grade and 22 points lower in eighth grade for Hispanic and White students, respectively. On average, the gap for reading is about 21 points in both 4th and 8th grade when comparing Hispanic and White students (Kena et al., 2016). These persistent gaps in achievement are concerning signals of the different educational experiences that may occur across racial/ethnic groups.

  Also of concern, the achievement gap between low- and high-income families has widened as the income gap continues to increase (Reardon, 2011). Children from lower socio-economic backgrounds may experience HSD, but it is notable that African American and Latino families are more likely to live in poverty than White families. In 2013, the median income for White families was $58,270, while African American and Latino families had median incomes of $34,598 and $40,963, respectively (DeNavas-Walt, Proctor, & Smith, 2014). Further, African American children are the most likely group to be living in poverty (Patten & Krogstad, 2015). While achievement gaps are well-documented, this is not the only kind of disparity that African American and Latino children face in school.

Discipline Disparities. Gregory, Skiba, and Noguera (2010) posited that the achievement gap is influenced by the "discipline gap", as African American and Latino students are often removed from the classroom as a primary discipline strategy at a higher rate than for White students. More recent research (Morris & Perry, 2016) confirmed that suspensions account for approximately one-fifth of the Black-White achievement gap. According to national data, 16% of Black students are suspended or expelled compared to only 5% of White students (Orfield, Frankenburg, Ee, & Kuscera, 2014). Of all the suspensions occurring during the 2011-2012 school year, approximately 32-42% of the reported incidents occurred with Black students even though they only comprise 16% of the student population (Orfield et al., 2014). Researchers using this same data set also found striking regional differences in these disparities (Smith & Harper, 2015); of the 1.2 million black students suspended, 55% of the suspensions took place within 13 southern states. Interestingly, English Language Learners (ELLs) overall do not experience disproportionate disciplinary actions (Orfield et al., 2014); however, the data on Latino students are mixed. Some studies (Losen & Gillespie 2012; Peguero & Shekarkhar, 2011; Skiba, Horner, Chung, Rausch, & Tobin, 2011) have found a disparity for Latino students while others (Morris & Perry, 2016) have not.

A number of explanations for the discipline gap have been offered, such as differential selection and processing in the justice system, poverty and neighborhood characteristics, low achievement, and behavior (Gregory, Skiba, Noguera, 2010). The differential behavior hypothesis, though heavily challenged and against the beliefs of the author of this study (Huang, F., 2016; Huang & Cornell, 2017; Skiba et al., 2002), asserts that ethnic minority students may inherently misbehave more; however, there are other

dynamics that should be explored when determining the contributors to the academic and discipline gaps for these students. In particular, attending to the ways in which school contexts do or do not meet students' needs brings attention to the issue of stage-environment fit (i.e., match between students' needs and the school context; Eccles, Lord, & Roeser, 1996), which shifts away from the assumption that the individual students are the source of the problem. The school's sociocultural context (Carter, 2005) may also need to be examined, as mismatches in values, beliefs, and expectations can undermine a student's sense of belonging and can turn schools into inhibiting, rather than promoting environments (Garcia Coll, et al., 1996).

This mismatch is sometimes explained as cultural discontinuity, "a school-based behavioral process where the cultural value–based learning preferences and practices of many ethnic minority students—those typically originating from home or parental socialization activities—are discontinued at school" (Tyler et al., 2008, p. 281). The cultural discontinuity hypothesis suggests that the challenges faced by ethnic minority students in traditional public schools are a result of differences between home and school rather than being solely attributable to the students. When students are forced to discontinue behaviors, or behave differently at home than they do at school, they likely experience feelings of HSD (Arunkumar et al., 1999). For example, a student may be frequently disciplined for behavior or communication that is acceptable at home, but not at school. Importantly, these cultural differences between home and school are often overlooked as a contributor to academic and discipline gaps. This may be particularly true when individual characteristics (e.g., the student's personal behavior) are targeted as the source of the problem when their behaviors or communication styles are

misinterpreted and devalued. HSD is a broader construct than cultural discontinuity in that it can be explored in all students and not just those from ethnic minority backgrounds.

Several researchers created theoretical models to explain how students manage HSD. These models will be described in greater detail in the literature review. The Multiple Worlds Model states that students traverse between their home, school, and peer worlds and that some students make the transition between worlds more fluidly than others (Phelan, Davidson, & Cao, 1991). Two of the other models (Allen & Boykin, 1992; Carter, 2006) identify three groups of students: those who fit into the mainstream, students who straddle between cultures, and those who cling to their own culture. Those who cling to their own culture often experience challenges in the educational setting. This study seeks to learn more about students with differences between home and school, or HSD.

The Current Study

Schools have the potential to promote positive outcomes for all students (Garcia Coll et al., 1996); however, many ethnic minority students are still struggling to find success in the educational system, as evidenced by the achievements gaps and discipline disparities that exist between white and non-white students (Hemphill, Vanneman, Rahman, 2011; Kena et al., 2016; Vanneman, Hamilton, Anderson, Rahman, 2009). Qualitative and ethnographic studies have provided evidence of HSD and resulted in the development of numerous frameworks for explaining the connection between home and school for students (Allen & Boykin, 1992; Carter, 2006; Phelan et al., 1991). These models have identified different typologies of students such as those who easily transition

between home and school and those who experience significant difficulties (Allen &

Boykin, 1992; Carter, 2010; Phelan, Davidson, & Cao, 1991). HSD models have also

been used to understand how students from underrepresented groups maintain their own

culture while matriculating through the educational system and eventually enter the

workforce (Cooper, Jackson, Azmitia, & Lopez, 1998). Despite the multiple theoretical

conceptualizations for examining mismatches between home and school, few studies

have interrogated the way that it has been operationalized in quantitative research.

Notably, researchers to-date who have studied HSD using quantitative methods

have largely relied on a single scale (Arunkumar et al., 1999; Brown-Wright & Tyler,

2010; Brown-Wright, Tyler, Graves, Thomas, Stevens-Watkins, & Mulder et al., 2013;

Kumar [née Arunkumar] [née Arunkumar], 2006). The "Dissonance Between Home and

School" (DBHS) scale (Midgley et al., 2000) is a five-question measure that was created

based on the Multiple Worlds Hypothesis (Phelan, Davidson, & Cao, 1991). The Multiple

Worlds Model is a theoretical framework that emerged from a mixed-methods

exploration of the relationships between students' home, school, and peer "worlds"

(Phelan et al., 1991). Studies using the DBHS scale, which provides a measurement of

the level of dissonance a student experiences, have found that students with high levels of

dissonance have negative outcomes such as lower grade point averages and disruptive

classroom behavior (Arunkumar et al., 1999; Brown-Wright & Tyler, 2010; Brown-

Wright et al., 2013; Kumar [née Arunkumar], 2006); however, contrary to hypotheses,

Black students have not reported higher levels of HSD than white students (Arunkumar et

al., 1999). While this lack of observed differences in HSD could be a result of sampling

(e.g., in some schools, HSD may be low), there are some concerns with the existing

measure. In addition to being validated with only Black and White students, it was not reviewed by an expert panel nor were focus groups or interviews with the population of interest used while developing and testing the measure. Other researchers (Tyler, Stevens-Morgan, & Brown-Wright, 2016) who have used the DBHS scale have also shared concerns:

> The complexities of the construct are not fully captured by the measure in its current form. For example, it is unclear whether the perception of dissonance between home and school are linked to issues regarding culture, learning preference, social interaction, or perhaps a combination of these factors (p. 18)

Thus, it is unclear if the existing measure fully encompasses the construct of home-school dissonance as experienced in students' daily lives; furthermore, there is no evidence to-date to determine the validity of the measure for students who do not identify as Black or White. This is concerning considering the increasing racial/ethnic diversity in the U.S. and specifically in public schools. Historically, African Americans have been the largest minority group, but that shifted with the 2010 census when Latinos accounted for 16% of the U.S. population and African Americans accounted for 13% (U.S. Census, 2011). The change in the racial/ethnic composition of the U.S. demonstrates the need to examine dissonance between home and school for more than just Black and White students.

The current study employed a sequential mixed-methods design (Teddlie & Tashakorri, 2009) to learn more about students' experiences of HSD and to examine the utility and validity of the DBHS scale in early adolescents from multiple racial/ethnic groups. Cognitive interviews were conducted with students to provide insight into how they comprehended and formulated responses to the survey items on the DBHS scale.

Additionally, interviews were conducted with students, parents, and teachers to better understand their experiences of HSD. The DBHS scale was administered to a sample of students to determine validity of the existing measure and the qualitative data were used to create and pilot new questions to measure HSD. Findings from this study contribute to a broader knowledge base on HSD and inform quantitative approaches to measurement of HSD. Understanding how to measure HSD accurately and efficiently may provide further insight into how cultural values surface in the academic setting and can be a starting point for schools to consider how they can be more accommodating of group differences. This dissertation specifically addresses the following goals:

Goal 1: To assess the utility of the most commonly used quantitative measure of HSD, the DBHS scale.

> Objectives:

- Use ANOVA to determine if between-group differences exist as predicted by existing theory and research
- Use cognitive interviews to determine if students from different racial/ethnic backgrounds and varying levels of socioeconomic status interpret the scale items in the same manner

Goal 2: To learn more about experiences of HSD from a racially/ethnically and socioeconomically diverse set of informants (students, parents, and teachers) to provide further insight into the utility of existing measures

> Objectives:

- Conduct interviews with students, parents, and teachers

- Analyze qualitative data to identify common themes and variation in perceptions of differences in values, beliefs, and behavioral expectations between home and school

Goal 3: To propose a new set of items for a quantitative HSD scale.

Objectives:

- Use the qualitative data to generate a set of survey items for a new HSD measure

- Collect pilot data on the new HSD measure

- Make specific recommendations for schools on ways to reduce HSD

Key Terms

Acculturation: "Dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members" (Berry, 2005, p. 698)

Biculturalism: Living and operating within two distinct cultures (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993)

Cultural acquisition: The process or change that occurs as individuals transition between, among, and across cultures (LaFromboise et al., 1993)

Cultural capital: Cultural goods and practices passed from parents to children often associated with social mobility and class structures (Bourdieu, 1986)

Cultural discontinuity: School-based process in which cultural practices representing home and family values are discontinued at school (Tyler et al., 2008)

Cultural flexibility: "The ability to interact with members of other social groups and to embrace activities generally considered outside one's own ascribed social and cultural identity, family, community, or social groups" (Carter, 2010, p. 1,531)

Culture of power: Societal norms that are dictated by the dominant culture (Delpit, 1988)

Home-school dissonance: Conflict between values, beliefs, and behavioral expectations at home and school that make it difficult for students to negotiate the boundaries between the two contexts (Arunkumar et al., 1999)

Non-dominant cultural capital: resources used by lower-class individuals to gain respect or status within their own community or cultural group (Carter, 2003)

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Culture influences the academic success of racial/ethnic minority students as they navigate alternately between the cultural expectations of home and school (Allen & Boykin, 1992). For some racial/ethnic minority youth, there may be an incongruence between the social norms and behavioral expectations that are acceptable at home and in the neighborhood versus those which are necessary to be successful in school (Allen & Boykin, 1992; Kumar [née Arunkumar], 2006). This incongruence can result in home-school dissonance (HSD; Arunkumar et al, 1999). There have been a number of hypotheses presented to explain this phenomenon, most of which focus on African American students. For instance, Cultural Disadvantage Theory (also known as Deficit Theory), states that African American students do not receive the socialization and cultural experiences at home that will promote success in school (Jencks & Smith, 1972). This theory also assumes that parents of students of color do not value their children's education and stigmatizes the child instead of addressing the systemic issues that occur when cultural experiences of African Americans are devalued in schools (Yosso, 2005). It also discounts the many positive aspects of African American culture and minimizes the significant heterogeneity that exists within the African American population in the U.S. (Griffith, Johnson, Zhang, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2011). Blaming African Americans' ongoing struggles in school on their own cultural practices ignores the societal influences (i.e., slavery, institutional racism, prejudice) that have shaped their existence and experiences in the U.S. (Garcia Coll, et al., 1996, p. 1,896).

An alternative explanation that attempts to explain the systemic issues experienced by African Americans suggests that slaves created an oppositional culture in order to have their own way of talking and acting that would not align with the behaviors of their oppressors (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). One of Fordham's and Ogbu's (1986) primary hypotheses was that African American students do not value academic success because it does not result in job opportunities for them and they associated academic success with acting White. Numerous studies have disproved this and demonstrated that African American students and parents have high academic expectations and aspirations and that they do not perceive fewer returns on education or less job opportunities than white students (Ainsworth-Darnell & Downey, 1998; Horvat & O'Connor, 2006). Another concern is that the Oppositional Culture Theory suggests that "voluntary minorities" who immigrated to the United States (U.S.) of their own freewill do not develop an oppositional culture because their experiences in the U.S. are likely better than those of their family members in their home country (Foley, 2004). This assertion negates the actual experiences of prejudice, discrimination, and institutional racism that plague many racial/ethnic minority individuals in the U.S including "voluntary" immigrants. While the Oppositional Culture Theory begins to explore some of the challenges associated with being a member of a minority group in a country that operates with the cultural norms of the dominant White society, it has been discredited as a contributor for opportunity and achievement gaps (Carter, 2005; Horvat & O'Connor, 2006; Spencer, Fegley, & Harpalani, 2004).

While conceptual frameworks such as the Oppositional Culture and Cultural Disadvantage theories have been used to explain achievement gaps between African

American and White students, these models have rarely considered other racial or ethnic

groups and they discredit the value of non-dominant cultural capital. Therefore, to expand

upon the existing literature base on African American students' experiences in schools in

a manner that does not assume inherent cultural deficiencies, and to better understand the

experiences of Latino students, the current study focused on the incongruence between

home and school culture as a contributor to the challenges faced by racial/ethnic minority

students in schools. Considering the limited literature on HSD, I will first identify how

schools can promote or inhibit success given that many African American and Latinos

have had to develop adaptive cultural modes as a consequence of racism, segregation,

and other forms of social stratification (Garcia Coll, et al., 1996). I will also examine

models of cultural acquisition as they relate to racial/ethnic minorities in the U.S. and

discuss the construct and measurement of HSD.

Theoretical Frameworks

   Integrative Model of Child Development. A central theory informing the

present study is the Integrative Model of Child Development (Figure 1), which identifies

schools as environments that can either promote or inhibit the development of cognitive,

socioemotional, and cultural competencies of racial/ethnic minority children (Garcia Coll

et al., 1996). More specifically, "Schools…and other institutions directly influence the

nature of specific individual family processes, and interact with the children's biological,

constitutional and psychological characteristics to either promote or inhibit their

development" (Garcia Coll & Szalacha, 2004, p. 84). Schools are more likely to be

promotive of positive development when they have adequate resources (e.g., high-quality

teachers and materials); however, even a highly-resourced school can be an inhibiting

context if there is a conflict between school values and family or cultural values (Garcia

Coll, et al., 1996; Garcia Coll & Szalacha, 2004). Importantly, the model recognizes that

schools exist in the context of social stratification, which includes social positions and

their affiliated privileges (e.g., race, gender, socioeconomic status), segregation (e.g.,

residential, psychological, economic), and racism (e.g., structural, cultural, and

interpersonal).

  Figure 1. The Integrative Model for the Study of Developmental Competencies in

  Minority Children (Garcia Coll, et al., 1996)
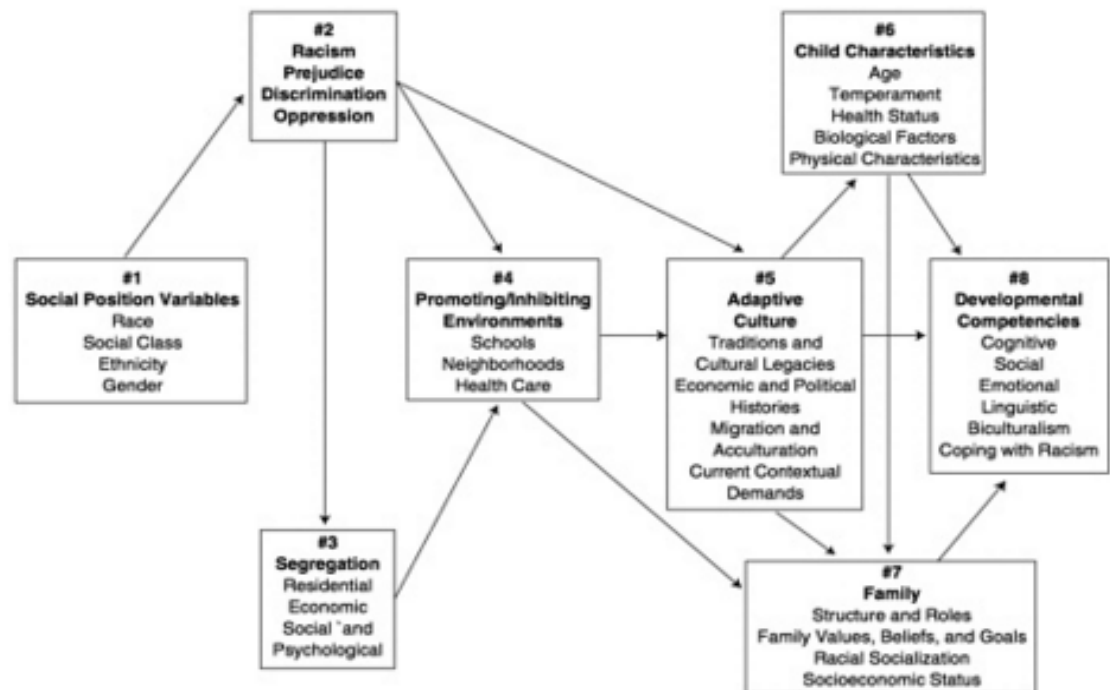
These indicators of social stratification are posited to be critical, macro-level forces that

indirectly shape the development of ethnic minority children through their direct impact

on promoting and inhibiting environments like schools (Garcia Coll, et al., 1996).

  The model also acknowledges the adaptive culture of many racial/ethnic minority

groups in the U.S. Individuals develop an adaptive culture, which includes a social

system that may differ from that of the dominant society, in response to the demands of

their environment as well as historical events (Garcia Coll et al., 1996). Schools that can

acknowledge the existence of and need for adaptive culture and the impact that social

position, racism, and segregation have on ethnic minority children will likely promote the

most positive outcomes (Garcia Coll, et al., 1996; Garcia Coll & Szalacha, 2004).

Multiple Worlds Theory. The second theoretical framework influencing this

study is the Multiple Worlds Model (Phelan et al., 1991). This study examined how a

diverse group of high school students transition between their home, school, and peer

worlds. Figure 2 below depicts the relationships between students' multiple worlds.

Figure 2. A model of the Interrelationships Between Students' Family, Peer, and

School Worlds (Phelan, et al., 1991)
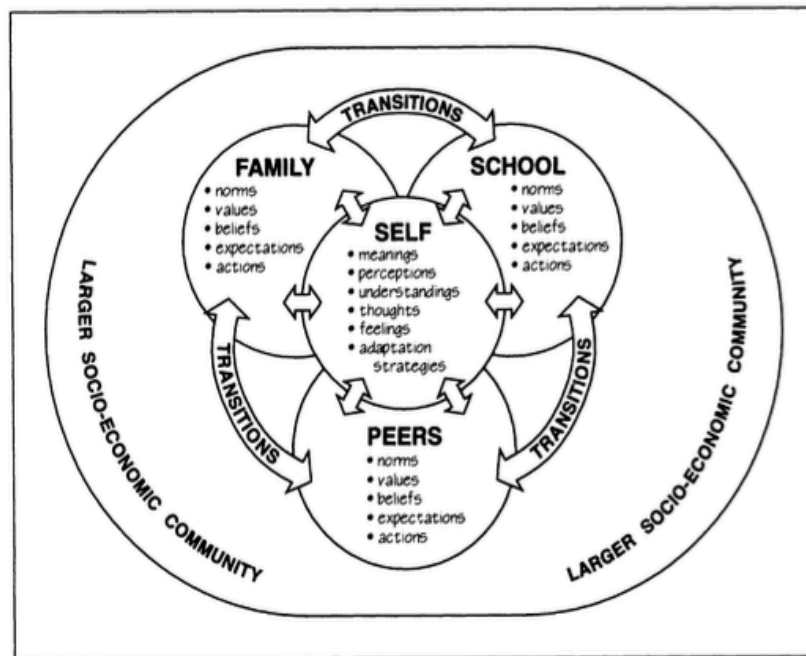
The authors explain that this model can be used to describe the experiences of any

student; however, certain groups (i.e., racial/ethnic minority groups, students from low

socio-economic status, etc.) may cross borders differently and experience different

challenges. These differences in crossing boundaries originally resulted in four different typologies for students (Phelan et al., 1991). Students with "Congruent Worlds/Smooth Transitions" have similar values, beliefs, and expectations across worlds; these students would likely experience the lowest levels of HSD. For students in the "Different Worlds/Boundary Crossings Managed" group, their worlds are different, but they are able to manage the transitions between them. The third set of students also have different worlds, but they experience more difficulty as they move back and forth between their different worlds and are thus labeled "Different Worlds/Boundary Crossings Hazardous." The final group of students, "Borders Impenetrable/Boundary Crossings Insurmountable," have worlds that are so different, that they are unable to and often reject crossing the different borders; these students would likely have the highest levels of HSD. It should be noted that there is within-group variability between the four groups identified by Phelan and colleagues (1991). For example, some students who manage boundary crossings have friends from ethnic groups that are different than their own while others struggle with this (Phelan et al., 1991).

School Culture and Values

While Garcia Coll's (1996) Integrative Model of Child Development states that schools can be promotive or inhibitive environments, students from underrepresented backgrounds have a wide range of experiences in schools. Delpit (1988) posits that schools operate within the "culture of power", which usually reflects White, middle-class America (Markus, 2008). The power can be observed in classrooms from the information that publishers choose to put it textbooks to the way in which White researchers have determined how to define and measure intelligence (Delpit, 1988). There are also rules

for participating in the culture of power (i.e., communication strategies and ways of presenting oneself), but those rules are representative of those who already hold power (Delpit, 1988). For example, students from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds may differ in the way that they interact with teachers and parents; students may not be used to the question and answer format often employed in schools (Lovelace & Wheeler, 2006). Other students may pronounce words differently or have developed vocabulary words and skills that are not consistent with school expectations (Lovelace & Wheeler, 2006).

For students who do not have the power that Delpit describes, it is helpful to be explicitly taught the rules, but the conundrum lies in the fact that many who operate within the culture of power do not acknowledge its existence (1988). Delpit further contends that parents of minority students often desire for the school to be a place where their children can learn the rules for success in the dominant culture; however, this can be a challenge if teachers who do not acknowledge the "culture of power" are expected to instill these values in children. While Delpit (1988) asserts that it is helpful to teach students how to operate within the culture of power, researchers and practitioners must also consider how the systemic change at the institutional level can begin to address some of the dissonance that students from racial/ethnic and low socio-economic status groups experience in school. In other words, dissonance will be perpetuated in schools that continue to value dominant cultural values even as schools are becoming increasingly more diverse. In her later work, Delpit makes recommendations to teachers such as "provide the emotional ego strength to challenge racist societal views of the competence and worthiness of children and their families, teach using familiar metaphors and

examples, honor students' home cultures, and help make explicit connections to their

communities" (Delpit, 2006, p. 220).

Even prior to the culture of power theory, schools in the U.S. have operated with

the values of Western culture by placing an emphasis on independence, which is in direct

contrast with the interdependent culture of many minority groups, including African

Americans and Latinos (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). The independent self-concept

promotes uniqueness while interdependence is accompanied with the need to fit-in or

belong (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). The need to fit in could provide additional school

stress for students who are trying to "belong" to their own cultural group while also

adapting to the culture of the school (Carter, 2005). Conversely, the independent cultural

frame of reference perpetuates the idea that individual students are accountable for their

own success or failure, without recognizing the role of important contextual and

structural factors that serve to maintain a hierarchy of power and privilege (Markus,

2008).

Factors Contributing to Students' Cultural Norms

Models of Cultural Acquisition. Cultural acquisition is often used to describe

immigrants' socialization to a new country; however, racial/ethnic minority individuals in

the U.S., regardless of immigration status, often have to learn how to operate within their

own culture and that of mainstream America, which focuses on Eurocentric and Euro-

American beliefs (Sue & Sue, 2013). This is not a new concept; over a century ago,

African American scholar, W.E.B. DuBois (1903) posited that if African Americans

wanted to be successful in society, they would need to operate with a "double

consciousness." This "double consciousness" referred to embracing and practicing the

cultural values of the African American community and also those of Americans in

general. Though DuBois presented the double consciousness concept over a century ago,

it is still relevant and also applicable to the growing number of minorities in the U.S. as

they operate with their own culture and that of the dominant culture (Schwartz & Unger,

2010). One might contend that a double consciousness exists for both African American

and Latino children, the two largest ethnic minority groups in the U.S., as they go back

and forth between the expectations of home and school each day.

Individuals who operate within their own culture and that of the dominant culture

are often referred to as "bicultural" (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). As such,

theories for "second-culture acquisition" or "the process of change that occurs in

transitions within, between, and among cultures" (LaFromboise et al., 1993, p. 396) have

been presented. Acculturation is the process through which, "groups of people and their

individual members engage in intercultural contact, producing a potential for conflict,

and the need for negotiation in order to achieve outcomes that are adaptive for both

parties" (Berry, 2005, p. 697). Berry (2005) also identifies the different strategies

associated with acculturation for both the dominant and non-dominant groups as they

seek to build relationships across groups while maintaining their own distinct group

status (Figure 3). Minority groups either assimilate (i.e., taking on the culture of the

dominant group), integrate (i.e., maintain their culture while also interacting with the

dominant culture), separate (i.e., maintain their culture and avoid interactions with the

dominant culture), or experience discrimination or racism, which results in withdrawal

from the dominant culture and marginalization (Berry, 2005). As a result of the

challenges associated with acculturation, some members of racial/ethnic minority groups

experience acculturative stress when faced with rejection or discrimination (Arbona et al.,

2010; Berry, 2005; Crockett et al., 2007).

Figure 3. Berry's (2005) Four Acculturation Strategies for Two Groups
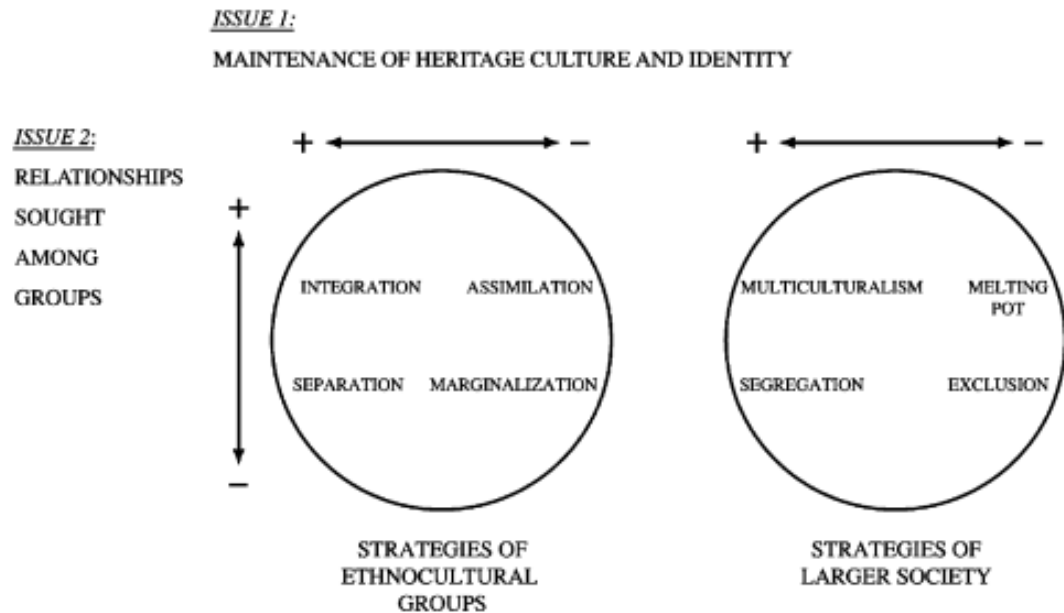
This model also posits that members of the dominant culture also experience

acculturation, though they use different strategies (Berry, 2005). For members of the

dominant culture, multiculturalism occurs when diversity is appreciated and accepted,

while the "melting pot" is akin to assimilation. In addition to operating within the

dominant culture, racial/ethnic minority students undergo enculturation; that is, "the

process by which individuals learn and adopt the ways and manners of their [indigenous

or ethnic minority] culture" (Matsumoto, 2004, p. 156). Enculturation is simultaneously

taking place while individuals are also assimilating or acculturating (LaFromboise et al.,

1993). African American and Latino students who struggle with enculturation may have

the additional burden of feelings of "not belonging" to their own cultural group or that of

the dominant culture. For example, an African American student in a predominantly

white school who does not listen to hip-hop music, may feel a disconnection with both African American and European American peers (Carter, 2005). The negative outcomes associated with certain types of cultural acquisition make it important for researchers and educators to understand the interactions between acculturation and school values in an effort to make schools promotive environments for all students. The ability to acculturate and enculturate concurrently demonstrates characteristics of cultural flexibility or code-switching (Carter, 2010; Cross & Strauss, 1998). Thus, cultural flexibility may help some students manage high levels of dissonance between home and school.

African American Values. While it is important to acknowledge that racial and ethnic groups are not monolithic, there are some indicators of "collective" culture that may be widely embraced by the Black community. African American families often value and find support in kinship bonds with family and friends as well as through spirituality and religion (Sue & Sue, 2013). Extended family and friends may play a role in providing childcare, helping children complete homework, and more. Additional support is frequently garnered through churches, which may "function as a religious, social, and political hub for African Americans" (Sue & Sue, 2013, p. 370). Moreover, some researchers have examined the African American family context and gleaned that for some families, there exists an Africentric Worldview, "a set of beliefs values and assumptions that reflect basic African values found among persons of African descent including African Americans" (Belgrave, Townsend, Cherry, & Cunningham, 1997, p. 423). The Africentric values include: spirituality, harmony, movement expressiveness, verve, affect, communalism, expressive individualism, morality, and a social time perspective (Belgrave et al., 1997; Boykin, Tyler, Watkins-Lewis, & Kizzie, 2006;

Thomas, Townsend, & Belgrave, 2003). These ideals are not often embraced in the school context, which could influence the difficulty that some minority students have navigating between home and school. Indeed, many of these values contradict the typical school processes, which often require students to sit quietly and complete written assignments for most of the academic day (Allen & Boykin, 1992). African American and other racial/ethnic minority students may feel dissonance when the values of European, middle class America are promoted in the school setting, which differ from their experiences at home (Arunkumar et al., 1999).

For some African Americans, there may also be differences in communication styles between home and school. Caucasian teachers often ask questions about specific events and details while many African American parents ask questions about events and the causes and effects (Barbarin, Downer, Odom, & Head, 2010). Punishment is another area of dissonance in which schools' behavior management strategies often involve "supporting the desired behavior" as opposed to punishing the negative behaviors, which is more common in African American households (Barbarin et al., 2010). For example, students who are more familiar with the immediate punishment system often employed in many African American household (Barbarin et al., 2010) may not respond as well to preemptive behavior plans that are in place to reduce negative behaviors in schools. Overall, the different language and behavioral expectations at home and at school may be a source of anxiety for some students who are expected to adapt to their different settings; however, it should be noted that differing experiences between home and school may be impacted by social position, socio-economic status, or other identifiers (Garcia Coll et al., 1996). The students who are able to manage the dissonance and successfully engage with

the school culture likely have the best academic and psychosocial outcomes in school (Carter, 2005). Thus, schools should have a vested interest in creating environments in which this dissonance is minimized.

Latino Family Values. Many Latinos have similar values, although they are a heterogeneous group from a number of different countries and principalities. The largest groups of Latinos in the U.S. are from Mexico, Puerto Rico, and El Salvador (Stepler & Brown, 2016). The majority of Latinos in the U.S. were born there; however, Spanish-speakers still account for 71% of English Language Learners (ELLs) in U.S. schools (Soto, Hooker, Batalova, 2015), which can make schooling a challenge for these students. Sometimes children also have the increased responsibility of serving as translators for parents who do not speak English fluently (Cauce & Domenech-Rodriguez, 2002). While some view these increased responsibilities as unfair to the child, familism, a Latino value that promotes loyalty, cohesiveness, and obedience within the family, has been found to be a protective factor for Latino youth (Cabrera, 2013; Stein, Gonzalez, Cupito, Kiang, & Supple, 2015). To further demonstrate the importance of family for Latino youth, one study found that Latino youth from low-income backgrounds only valued academic success when they felt highly obligated to their families (Kiang, Andrews, Stein, Supple, & Gonzalez, 2012).

The importance of family in Latino households results in strong collectivistic values, which contradict the focus on individual academic achievement that students frequently experience in schools (Vasquez-Salgado, Greenfield, & Burgos-Cienfuegos, 2014). In a recent study, this home-school value conflict was found to negatively impact academic achievement and overall wellbeing in a sample of college students (Vasquez-

Salgado et al., 2014). As such, familism and collectivism are important cultural

considerations for Latino students in the educational system.

   Racial Socialization. Socialization for both African American and Latino

children may differ from that of White children due to, "cultural norms and values that

are different than those of majority White Americans who share a common Western

European heritage and the different ecological niches they grow up in, which includes

their different socioeconomic status, family structures, and risk environments" (Cauce &

Domenech-Rodriguez, 2002, p. 12). The parents of children of color play an important

role in teaching them about their unique culture and values. This is often referred to as

racial socialization, or parents' messages about race, which can help children to develop

their own sense of racial identity and may ultimately lead to higher levels of academic

success. Hughes and colleagues (2006) have identified cultural socialization (i.e.,

teaching racial or ethnic heritage or history), preparation for bias (i.e., teaching about

discrimination and coping), promotion of mistrust (i.e., teaching not to trust members of

other racial/ethnic groups), and egalitarianism (silence about race) as the four main types

of messages that parents pass along to their children. While racial socialization messages

likely shape students' familial and cultural values, at this time, it is unknown which of the

mechanisms may be most closely related to HSD; however, racial socialization likely

impacts students' school experiences.

   As a result of the history of African Americans in the U.S. as well as perceived

and actual parental experiences of racial stress and discrimination, many parents provide

their children with racial socialization messages. Thomas, Townsend and Belgrave

(2003) identify numerous studies with findings indicating that students who experience

racial socialization at home have a strong sense of self-identity and identification with their own ethnic group, and experience better psychosocial outcomes as well (Neblett et al., 2009). Racial socialization messages have also been found to lead to better attitudes toward school (Thomas et al., 2003).

For some Latino families, socialization involves teaching students the values of familism or "familismo," and personalismo (i.e., "personal goodness and getting along with others"; Cauce & Domenech-Rodriguez, 2002; Flores, Hinton, Barker, Franz, & Velasquez, 2009) as well as cultural gender norms such as marianismo and machismo, which promote the man as the leader of the household and the woman as a caretaker (Arciniega, Anderson, Tovar-Blank, & Tracey, 2008; Cauce & Domenech-Rodriguez, 2002). In addition to these enculturation practices, Latino parents also socialize their children in ways that help them to be more successful. One study found that even in early childhood, Latino and African American children's identification with their culture was associated with positive outcomes including better academic skills, behavior, and receptive language (Caughy & Owen, 2015). Another study with high school students found that Latinos who received socialization messages from family were more likely to have started high school with a clear sense of their own racial-ethnic identity, which continued to develop in a positive direction as they became more engaged throughout high school (Douglass & Umaña-Taylor, 2015). Thus, racial socialization appears to be important to not only developing racial-ethnic identity, but it has also been associated with academic success.

Cultural Capital. Parents are also helpful in providing their children with cultural capital (e.g., attitudes, knowledge, behaviors, communication styles) that parents

teach their children; the types of cultural capital that have the most "value" (i.e., with respect to power and upward mobility) are determined by members of the dominant culture and are often associated with class differences (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). Racial/ethnic minority students and especially those of lower socio-economic statuses experience HSD when they do not exhibit the types of cultural capital valued by society (Carter, 2005). Although the ascertainment of dominant cultural capital may start at home, it can also take place at school. Claussen and Osborne (2013) state that, "Formal education is important because it can be viewed as an academic market for the distribution of cultural capital: Those who enter the classroom with sufficient cultural capital of the appropriate, dominant type—capital that fits well with the discourse and values of schools—are well positioned to increase their cultural capital further" (p. 59). Examining school culture and norms is integral in making it a promotive environment for every student in which all cultures and types of capital are valued (Carter, 2005).

In addition to the dominant cultural capital that Bourdieu introduced (1977), other researchers (Carter, 2003; Dixon-Román, 2014) have discussed non-dominant cultural capital. Non-dominant capital refers to a "set of tastes, or schemes of appreciation and understandings, accorded to a lower status group, that include preferences for particular linguistic, musical, or interactional styles. Non-dominant cultural capital describes those resources used by lower status individuals to gain "authentic" cultural status positions within their respective communities" (Carter, 2003, p. 138). Carter's work shows that many minority students exhibit both dominant and non-dominant cultural capital depending on the setting and goals. For example, participants shared how they would use slang with family members, but Standard English while at work or school (Carter, 2003).

Both African American and Latino students in Carter's study who used Standard English shared that they had been accused of "talking white" by peers (Carter, 2003). In addition to language, some students felt judged by peers and teachers based on how they dressed; students who dressed as if they were a part of the "hip-hop" culture sometimes perceived being looked down upon (Carter, 2003). The need to use different types of capital (e.g., talking or dressing differently) or code-switch at home and school or with teachers and peers may contribute to feelings of HSD.

Other research has demonstrated that socio-economic status, regardless of race, impacts the acquisition of cultural capital (Lareau, 1987; Roscigno & Ainsworth-Darnell, 1999). In one study, working-class parents reportedly relied on the teachers to educate their children, while middle-class parents were more involved. Educators perceived the lack of involvement from working-class parents as not caring about their child's education. However, all of the parents desired for their children to do well (Lareau, 1987). Taken together, race and socio-economic access have great implications for the acquisition of cultural capital, which is needed to be successful in multiple settings.

Intersectionality. Though race and socio-economic status have been discussed separately, the unique interplay between them creates an interesting dynamic when considering the experiences of HSD. This type of relationship, or "intersectionality", refers to being a member of multiple social groups (Cole, 2009, p. 170). Because different social position categories like race and social class are differentially affiliated with power and privilege, the intersections of these identities create unique (rather than additive) experiences (Cole, 2009; Garcia Coll et al., 1996). While this dissertation will primarily explore HSD by ethnic group membership, it is important to note the other

constructs such as socio-economic status and gender interact to shape each individual's unique experiences at school.

Gender has a striking impact on the success of African Americans; women received more undergraduate and Master's degrees than their male counterparts (Aud et al., 2010), resulting in women having more career opportunities. However, gender differences start long before students reach the age at which they might attend college. In a sample of children ages 6-16, parents and teachers of African American boys had lower expectations for their educational attainment than for African American girls; the boys also had lower expectations for themselves than did the girls in the study (Wood, Kaplan, & McLoyd, 2007). In a study of Hispanic students born in the U.S., girls took more Advanced Placement courses and valued school support more than boys (Hinojosa, Robles-Piña, & Edmonson, 2009).

In addition to gender differences, another important consideration is the heterogeneity within broader pan-racial or pan-ethnic groups. There is great variability within the Latino population regarding country of origin and immigration status (i.e., first- or second generation, etc.; documented or undocumented; Arbona et al, 2010). These differences and others create distinct subcultures that may also impact a student's ability to successfully navigate the dominant culture. This also holds true for African Americans who may immigrate from countries in Africa and the Caribbean to the U.S. (Hudley, 2016). Additionally, undocumented immigrants may experience increased levels of psychological distress for a number of reasons including fear of deportation, guilt, shame, marginalization, and limited mobility (Sullivan & Rehm, 2005). However, an "Immigrant Paradox" has been found to exist for some students in which recent

immigrants fare just as well or better in school than students who have been in the U.S. for longer periods of time (Hernandez, Denton, Macartney, & Blanchard, 2012). Waters (1994) found that some second-generation immigrants from the West Indies and Haiti who did not assimilate perceived more opportunities from growth and advancement in the U.S.; those who developed an African American identity perceived more discrimination and negative experiences associated with being a person of color. These findings suggest that the impact of immigration and documentation status is complicated and may impact experiences of HSD differently depending on the individual characteristics and experiences of the student.

Conceptual Models of HSD

A number of studies have identified groups of students based on the way in which they traverse the boundaries of home and school (Allen & Boykin, 1992; Arunkumar et al., 1999; Carter, 2003; Phelan et al., 1991). Much of Boykin's research has focused on how cultural experiences in the classroom impact academic success of low-income African American students (Allen & Boykin, 1992; Boykin, 1982; Boykin et al., 2005; Tyler, Boykin, Miller, & Hurley, 2006). In his early work (e.g., Allen & Boykin, 1992) with African American and White elementary school students, Boykin characterized different types of African American students based on the ways in which they navigated between home and school. Carter (2006) took an ethnographic approach to understanding the experiences of 68 low-income African American and Latino youth between the ages of 13 and 20. Allen and Boykin (1992) as well as Carter (2003), identify three similar groups of students based in-part on the student's level of

assimilation to dominant or "mainstream" school norms. Table 1 shows the similarities

between the two.

Table 1

Students grouped by how they transition between home and school

	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Allen & Boykin (1992)	Mainstream- students whose beliefs, values, and behaviors are consistent with the dominant culture	Minority- students who utilize culturally-developed coping and defense mechanisms to interact with the possibly oppressive dominant culture	Afro-Cultural-those who embrace their Afro-Cultural experiences and value their own culture over mainstream experiences
Carter (2006)	Cultural Mainstreamers-individuals who conform to the dominant culture	Cultural Straddlers-students who successfully navigate back and forth between various cultural settings, (home, school, neighborhood, etc.).	Noncompliant Believers- those who articulate the importance of an education, but embrace their own class and cultural style while refusing the mainstream culture
Associated Outcomes	These students operate within the norms and expectations of the dominant culture with ease.	These students use their coping skills and adaptive strategies to manage differences between home and school	These students have the most difficulty with the cultural expectations of the dominant culture

The works of Allen and Boykin (1992) and Carter (2003) highlight the challenges

that racial/ethnic minority students may face in schools. While Allen and Boykin's work

focused on African American students, Carter's research extended the existing literature

base to begin to conceptualize the experiences of Latino and Afro-Latino students as

well. Phelan et al. (1991) also identified different groups of students based on how they

moved back and forth between home and school. In their ethnographic Multiple Worlds

study, Phelan et al. (1991), interviewed 54 students with varying levels of academic

achievement about factors that contributed to their engagement with school. They also

examined how students negotiated the boundaries between school, peers, and family. In

addition to interview data from students and teachers as well as classroom observations,

information was gathered on academic achievement, demographics, attendance, and

behavior referrals for each student. These students were ethnically diverse (i.e., African

Americans, Caucasians, Filipinos, Hispanics, Latinos and Vietnamese) and came from

four different desegregated high schools in California, two of which had relatively

middle-class student populations. What emerged was a description of students' "multiple

worlds" and the transitions between them, defined as, "cultural knowledge and behavior

found within the boundaries of students' families, peer groups, and schools… each world

contains values and beliefs, expectations, actions, and emotional responses familiar to

insiders" (Phelan et al., 1991, p. 225). Just like the premise of HSD, boundaries can be

real or perceived. Similar to Carter's (2003) findings, this study found that academically

successful minority students were usually able to cross the boundaries of their different

worlds despite the discontinuity between them.

Another study using the Multiple Worlds Model found that students have both

positive and negative experiences in each of their worlds (Cooper et al., 1998). While the

assumption is often that schools do not value the students home world, one student

actually talked about his home world as a stressor:

When I'm in school, there's no worry. I don't know... you just feel more free. So

like your parents are at work and you don't have to worry about them watching

you do something wrong or something like that, but when I'm at home you have

to watch out for that. You have to watch what you say, watch what you do

(Cooper et al.,2011, p. p. 20).

For some students, home may not be a safe or comfortable place. Moreover, some

students may navigate between school and multiple home worlds. These findings indicate

the complexities associated with identifying students' multiple worlds and the ways that

they transition between them. Furthermore, there may be additional considerations when

students have teachers who are also having the same experiences.

Operationalizing HSD in a Survey

Some of the literature on home-school dissonance comes from qualitative and

ethnographic studies, which provide extensive conceptual frameworks through in-depth

work in schools and communities (Carter, 2010; Phelan et al., 1991, Allen & Boykin,

1991; Boykin, 1982; Tyler et al., 2005; Tyler, Boykin, Boelter, & Dillihunt, 2005; Tyler,

Boykin, & Walton, 2006). Though these studies provided theoretical frameworks for

understanding home-school dissonance, there was no way to quantitatively gauge a

students' levels of home-school dissonance until the "Dissonance Between Home and

School (DBHS)" scale was created by Arunkumar (1999) and added to the Patterns of

Adaptive Learning Scales (Midgley et al., 2000).

Based on the Multiple Worlds framework (Phelan, et al., 1991), Arunkumar

(1999) and colleagues introduced HSD as a concept to help understand how children

experience differing cultural values, beliefs, and behavioral expectations between home

and school. The DBHS scale was created by Arunkumar (1999) to measure HSD; it is a

subscale of the Patterns of Adaptive Learning Scales which was created by Midgley et al.

(2000). It was validated with a sample of African American (n=276) and Caucasian

(n=199) fifth graders in the Midwest. Contrary to expectations, preliminary studies

showed African American students did not experience higher levels of HSD than White

students; however, higher levels of HSD were associated with negative outcomes such as

anger, lower grade-point average, and less academic efficacy (Arunkumar, et al., 1999).

Arunkumar et al. (1999) intentionally studied middle school students due to the

additional stress that HSD can cause during the already challenging transition from

elementary to middle school. Their study found that those who had high levels of

dissonance in the fifth grade experienced a decline in grade point averages and less of a

decline in anger than their low dissonance counterparts in the sixth grade (Arunkumar et

al., 1999). In another study, it was hypothesized that dissonance would increase since

middle schools tend to be more performance-focused than elementary schools (Kumar

[née Arunkumar], 2006). In keeping with these hypotheses, levels of dissonance

increased in middle school when children perceived their schools to be performance-

focused instead of mastery-focused.

     Since this original study, the DBHS scale has been used in a number of other

studies with middle and high school students (Brown-Wright & Tyler, 2010; Brown-

Wright et al., 2013; Kumar [née Arunkumar], 2006; Tyler et al., 2010). Studies of

African American high school students have found positive associations between HSD

and amotivation, cheating, disruptive behavior, and performance avoidance, and a

negative association with grades (Brown-Wright et al., 2013; Tyler et al., 2010).

While the existing research using the DBHS scale has associated the HSD construct with a number of negative outcomes, it is still an understudied topic with limited ways of measurement. The initial study validated the measure with fifth and sixth graders, but other researchers have used it with high school students as well. Notably, the measure has only been used with African American and White students even though there are many other ethnic minority groups that likely experience HSD. Further exploration of the DBHS scale is needed to assess its effectiveness in capturing HSD in middle school students, especially as the number of ethnic minority children in public schools continues to increase (Orfield & Frankenburg, 2014). Additional investigations are also needed to understand why African Americans have not been found to have higher levels of HSD than White students who would seemingly have more cultural capital associated with that of the dominant culture. Perhaps there are socio-economic factors that also impact experiences of HSD. Using a sound survey to measure HSD may allow educators and researchers to evaluate HSD more expeditiously and determine the individual- and systems-level interventions that might be necessary for the optimal success of all students. Moreover, measuring and addressing HSD may be one way to improve school outcomes for students from minority backgrounds.

Evidence of HSD. It is hypothesized that HSD contributes to the challenges that ethnic minority students face in schools (Arunkumar et al., 1999; Brown-Wright & Tyler, 2010; Kumar, 2006; Tyler et al., 2008; Tyler et al., 2010), and there is evidence to support this. Stephens, Fryberg, Markus, Johnson, & Covarrubias (2012) measured cultural mismatch between first-generation college students and their universities. They equated first-generation college students with interdependence (i.e., "being part of a

community") and the universities with independence (i.e., "paving one's own path;" Stephens et al., 2012). By measuring students' motives of independence and interdependence, they found that academic tasks promoting independence were more difficult for first-generation college students whose backgrounds likely reflected more interdependent values.

Additional evidence comes from research documenting student success when gaps between home and school are minimized. For instance, Culturally Responsive Teaching (CRT) practices, defined as "using the cultural characteristics, experiences, and perspectives of ethnically diverse students as conduits for teaching them more effectively" (Gay, 2002, p.106), are intended to bridge the gap between home and school life, which would theoretically decrease levels of HSD. In one study in which CRT strategies were used, fifth grade students' word recognition, story-retelling, and comprehension increased when multicultural literature and cooperative learning were added to the curriculum (Bui & Fagan, 2013). The challenge is that despite evidence that HSD is a likely contributor to students' difficulties, there are few tools that can be used to quickly identify students' perceptions of this dissonance.

While evidence suggests HSD can make school difficult, according to one study, for some students, a mismatch between home and school or HSD was actually beneficial, but only in some domains (Barbarin et al., 2010). Specifically, if teachers and parents both were authoritarian and exhibited high control over children, children had lower levels of school readiness. Conversely, when there was a mismatch in which either a parent or teacher had child-centered beliefs instead of authoritarian beliefs, students had better school readiness outcomes. Importantly, outside of the benefit of mismatches in

adult-centered beliefs, high control, and low student support, students did better when there was a cultural match in child-centered beliefs, low control (i.e., allowing children some autonomy), and high student support (e.g., warmth, patience; Barbarin, et al., 2010).

Measuring HSD. As discussed above, the DBHS scale is the only quantitative measure to-date assessing HSD. Students answer questions such as: "I don't like to have my parents come to school because their ideas are very different from my teachers' ideas" and "I feel uncomfortable when my parents come to school, because they are different from the parents of many of my classmates" (Midgley et al., 2000). Since studies using the DBHS scale have not had the expected outcomes, other researchers (e.g., Barbarin et al., 2010; Tyler et al., 2008) have called for a more comprehensive quantitative measure of HSD or closely related constructs since qualitative studies suggest that the phenomenon does exist (Carter, 2006; Phelan et al., 1991; Vasquez-Salgado et al., 2014).

Some quantitative methodologists have identified proxy constructs for the purpose of measuring differences between home and school. For example, Barbarin and colleagues (2010) measured difference in childrearing practices and socialization beliefs between teachers and parents of rising pre-kindergarteners who were enrolled in a publically sponsored program. They measured differences in home and school by comparing teacher and parent responses to surveys assessing socialization beliefs and observations were also conducted at home and at school. Results indicated that overall a match between childrearing practices and socialization between home and school was more common than a mismatch; however, there were more mismatches in the African

American and Latino participants than the White participants. As discussed above, when parents and teachers matched on child-centered beliefs, low control, and high support, children had better academic reading skills, but a home-school mismatch on adult-centered beliefs, control, and low support, was associated with better student outcomes (Barbarin, et al., 2010). Basically, when adults at home and school were both controlling and not child-centered, a match was not actually helpful for the student. These findings suggest that measuring HSD and evaluating the subtle nuances of home and school may provide insightful information about the student experience and that HSD may not always be associated with negative outcomes.

        Cultural discontinuity is a construct related to but still distinct from HSD in that it represents, behaviors that students display at home that they discontinue at school (Tyler et al., 2008). For example, a student who experiences discontinuity may dress one way at home, but feel the need to dress differently at school; therefore, they are discontinuing a behavior (Tyler et al., 2008). HSD measures real or perceived differences between home/self and values within the school context (Kumar [née Arunkumar], 2006). For a student who experiences HSD, he or she may perceive that their style of dress is not welcomed or valued at school, but they would only experience discontinuity if they chose to dress differently in the two settings (Tyler et al., 2008). Tyler and colleagues (2008) provide recommendations for creating a measure of cultural discontinuity, which include operationalizing (i.e., comparing students cultural-value based behaviors at home to those displayed or discontinued at school), quantifying (i.e., measuring observed behaviors and not just attitudes and beliefs), and assessing the impact of cultural discontinuity for African American, Asian American, Latin American, Native American and

U.S./mainstream populations (2008). Tyler and colleagues posit that cultural attitudes, values, and beliefs must be understood before discontinuity can occur or be observed. For this reason, measuring HSD is an important precursor to measuring discontinuity. In measuring the two closely related constructs, the following holds true for both, "few have actually provided empirical data to support the claim that cultural discontinuity (a) exists and (b) precedes the academic difficulties experienced by this student population (Tyler et al., 2008, p. 280)." Hence, this study seeks to better understand the psychometric properties and correlates of the existing measure and to assess whether or not it reflects the lived experiences of HSD reported by students, parents, and teachers.

The Present Study

According to the Multiple Worlds Model, many ethnic minority students experience different family and school "worlds" (Phelan, et al., 1991). Those who are able to manage crossing the border between family and school have developed specific strategies for doing so, though these do not always result in successfully managing HSD. Some children with different worlds have smooth transitions without having to use adaptive strategies, while others actively resist crossing the border between family and school (Phelan, et al., 1991). Given that qualitative studies (Phelan et al., 1991, Carter, 2005) have found evidence of HSD in students from racial/ethnic minority backgrounds, and quantitative studies have not (Arunkumar, 1999, Brown-Wright & Tyler, 2010; Brown-Wright et al., 2013), this study used mixed-methods to explore those discrepancies. With the underlying belief that schools can promote positive development, a sequential mixed-methods design was used to examine HSD. It is unclear if the most widely used measure of HSD is actually assessing the construct since Black and White

students had similar levels of HSD (Arunkumar et al., 1999), which is unexpected and runs counter to theoretical predictions (Phelan, et al, 1991). Therefore, this exploratory study employed a sequential mixed methods design (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009) to achieve the following goals:

Goal 1: To assess the utility of the most commonly used quantitative measure of HSD, the DBHS scale.

> Objectives:
>
> - Use ANOVA to determine if between-group differences exist as predicted by existing theory and research
>
> - Use cognitive interviews to determine if students from different racial/ethnic backgrounds and varying levels of socioeconomic status interpret the scale items in the same manner

Goal 2: To learn more about experiences of HSD from a racially/ethnically and socioeconomically diverse set of informants (students, parents, and teachers) to provide further insight into the utility of existing measures

> Objectives:
>
> - Conduct interviews with students, parents, and teachers
>
> - Analyze qualitative data to identify common themes and variation in perceptions of differences in values, beliefs, and behavioral expectations between home and school

Goal 3: To propose a new set of items for a quantitative HSD scale.

> Objectives:
>
> - Use the qualitative data to generate survey items for a new HSD measure

- Collect pilot data on the new HSD measure

- Make specific recommendations for schools on ways to reduce HSD

CHAPTER 3: METHOD

This exploratory study employed a sequential mixed methods design, meaning that "questions or procedures from one strand emerge from or depend on the previous strand" (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009, p. 151). Using qualitative methods provided a deeper understanding of the existing "Dissonance Between Home and School" (DBHS) scale as well as additional information on lived experiences of home-school dissonance (HSD). The qualitative portion of the study identified issues with the existing measure of HSD and also examined experiences of HSD. The interviews provided necessary data to investigate the DBHS scale and create a new measure that was piloted with a group of students. The quantitative methods provided insight into the existing DBHS scale and to pilot new survey questions about HSD. Quantitative data informed how to best assess HSD in middle school students. The data analytic plan is represented in Figure 4.

Figure 4

Sequential Mixed Methods Data Collection Plan

Pilot Student Interviews (Cognitive, Worlds, & Semi-structured), *n*=4

Student Interviews (Cognitive, Worlds, & Semi-structured), *n*=6

Parent Semi-structured Interviews, *n*=5

Teacher Semi-structured Interviews, *n*=5

Silver Canyon: DBHS and Pilot HSD surveys, *n*=56

Gold Lake and Bronze Forest: Pilot HSD surveys: *n*=182

Key:
Cognitive= Cognitive interview
Worlds= "What are your worlds?" activity

Qualitative Methods

  School Context. Participants were recruited from Silver Canyon Middle School (pseudonym), the only middle school in a town located in Central Virginia. The town is about 80% White, 10% Black, 7% Latino and other races make up the remainder of the population. The median household income is around $40,000 a year. Silver Canyon's student population is about 25% Black, 65% White, and 10% Latino; there are very few students of other races. Out of the approximately 700 students who attend Silver Canyon, about 7% are identified as Gifted, about 7% are English Language Learners, and about 9% have an identified disability (J. Blackwell, personal communication, April 5, 2017).

  Newspaper articles, which will not be cited due to confidentiality concerns, identified some notable racial and SES patterns in the town where Silver Canyon is located. Generally, the overall wealth of the town has declined due to a decline in industrial jobs in the area. Within the justice system, African Americans are twice as likely than Whites to be arrested. Additionally, in 2016 the school district faced criticism for having only three minority administrators. At that time, 15% of the professional staff were minorities and nine percent of the support staff were minorities, while the student body was 30% minority.

  Participants. Four middle school students participated in a pilot study of the student interview questions. They were recruited through email listservs at the host university and in the community. A total of three parents responded to the email; one parent had two children who were in middle school. All four students who participated in the pilot interviews were African American; three were female and one was male.

For the primary study, six students participated in the semi-structured interview (Table

2). The parent sample included mothers of four of the students and the mother and father

of another student (Table 2). Additionally, five teachers from Silver Canyon Middle

School participated in interviews; each of these teachers (three females, two male)

identified as Caucasian and had earned a master's degree (Table 3).

Table 2

Student and Parent Demographic Information

Pseudonym	Student Race	Student Gender	Parent participated	Grade	Free/Reduced Lunch	Parent Level of Education
Jennifer Barber	African American	Female	Yes, Mother	8th	Free	Unknown
Michael Landry	African American	Male	Yes, Mother	6th	No	Graduate School
Jordan Roberson	African American	Male	Yes, Both Parents	6th	Don't know	Undergraduate
Ashley Harris	Caucasian	Female	Yes, Mother	8th	No	Professional School
Thomas McKinney	Caucasian	Male	Yes, Mother	6th	Reduced	Graduate School
George Phelps	Latino	Male	No	7th	Don't know	N/A

Table 3

Teacher Demographic Information

Teacher	Race	Gender	Education Level	Years Teaching
Ms. Franklin	White	Female	Master's Degree	2 years
Mr. Weeks	White	Male	Master's Degree	8 years
Mr. Johnston	White	Male	Master's Degree	5 years
Ms. Bradley	White	Female	Master's Degree	11 years
Ms. Haynes	White	Female	Master's Degree	9 years

Procedure. All procedures were approved by the University of Virginia's Institutional Review Board. Informed consent and student assent were obtained from all participants. Pilot participants completed each of the three student interview components described in more detail in the measures section: 1) a cognitive interview to assess understanding of the DBHS measure; 2) additional questions about HSD; and 3) the "What are your worlds?" written activity. Interviews lasted about 15 minutes on average and audio-recordings were transcribed for review.

The qualitative sample at Silver Canyon was purposefully identified (Teddlie & Tashakorri, 2009) based on recommendations from the principal and school counselor. The principal and the school counselor provided a racially diverse list of 15 students across all three grade levels, with various perceived levels of differences and similarities between home and school. All 15 students received a letter and consent form to take home to their parents. All parents were called and those for which the school provided an email address were also emailed. Reminder letters and consent forms were also sent

home with each student who did not return the original one within one week. After only

three forms were returned, the principal and counselor recommended an additional seven

students. The same process was followed in which students received a consent packet and

parents were called and emailed, if possible. Two more students returned the consent

form as a result of this effort. In addition, one teacher who participated in the interview

suggested five more students; the same process was followed for recruitment, but none

returned the consent form. Lastly, all students in the school were given a consent form to

participate in the survey and a flyer with an invitation to participate in an interview was

also distributed. One more student enrolled in the qualitative portion of the study as a

result of this recruitment approach.

The six students who returned the consent form were interviewed at school during

their homeroom period; interviews typically took 15-20 minutes and were voice recorded.

After completing the interview, students were provided with a $15 gift card. After the

student interviews were scheduled, all parents were contacted via phone or email and

invited to participate in an interview as well. The mothers of four students participated in

an interview and both the mother and father of a fifth student participated together. Parent

interviews, which ranged from 15 to 45 minutes, took place over the phone and the calls

were recorded. Parents also received an additional $15 gift card.

The principal and school counselor presented the study to teachers at a faculty

meeting. Teachers were given contact information of the researcher and were encouraged

to initiate communication if they in participating. Five teachers emailed to schedule an

interview. Teachers were interviewed at school during their planning period, and

interviews lasted between 15 and 45 minutes. At the end of the interview, all teachers

were also provided with a $15 gift card.

As interviews were completed, they were submitted to an online company for

transcription. After receiving the transcripts, all audio files were listened to for accuracy

and necessary corrections were made to the transcript.

Measures. Students, parents, and teachers all participated in interviews about

experiences of HSD. In addition to traditional interview questions, students also

answered cognitive interview questions and completed a written activity about

expectations that people at home and school have for them. The interview protocols are

described below.

Student Interviews. The student interviews consisted of three parts: first,

cognitive interview questions were used to gain information about responses to the

DBHS scale, second more traditional interview questions were used to gain a broader

understanding of experiences of HSD, and finally participants completed a written

activity.

Cognitive Interview. Cognitive interviews are designed to assess survey questions

and to detect potential issues with survey measures (Beatty & Willis, 2007). Cognitive

interviews were systematically conducted using a semi-structured script to assess face

validity of the DBHS scale. The cognitive interview process involves, "administering

draft survey questions while collecting additional verbal information about the survey

responses, which is used to evaluate the quality of the response or to help determine

whether the question is generating the information that its author intends" (Beatty &

Willis, 2007, p. 288). In other words, cognitive interviews are used to gain additional

information about how individuals make sense of survey items. The question-and-answer

model identifies four actions that must take place for an individual to answer a question

(comprehension, retrieval, judgment, and, response); these components form the

theoretical basis of cognitive interview methods (Collins, 2003).

Most of the cognitive interview literature focuses on adults, but it is also

important to consider how these methods may differ for children and adolescents

(Lippman et al., 2014). The brains of early adolescents are still developing; however,

their ability to think both logically and hypothetically starts as early as late childhood

(Steinberg, 2005). As such, it is suggested that questions are written as clearly and

concisely as possible and pre-tested extensively before using measures on a large scale.

Therefore, I piloted the cognitive interview questions with a small sample before full data

collection commenced. See Table 4 for the cognitive interview questions.

Table 4

Cognitive Interview Probes

Question	Probes
1. "I don't like to have my parents come to school because their ideas are very different from my teachers' ideas"	• Can you repeat the statement in your own words? • What types of ideas came to mind when you read/heard this question?
2. "I feel uncomfortable when my parents come to school, because they are different from the parents of many of my classmates"	• Can you repeat the statement in your own words? • In what ways might parents be different from each other? • What might make someone feel uncomfortable about differences between parents?
3. "I feel troubled because my home life and my school life are like two different worlds"	• How would you word this statement? • What might it mean to feel troubled?

	• What do you think is meant by different worlds?
	• How might your home and school worlds be different?
4. "I am not comfortable talking to many of my classmates because my family is very different from theirs"	• How would you say this in your own words?
	• How might your family be different than your classmates' families?
	• Tell me how comfortable you are talking to your classmates?
5. "I feel upset because my teacher and my parents have different ideas about what I should learn in school"	• Repeat this in your own words?
	• What ideas came to mind when I read the question?
	• What do your teachers think you should learn?
	• What do your parents think you should learn in school?

Semi-structured interview. After answering the cognitive interview questions, students were asked additional semi-structured interview questions about their experiences of HSD. Students answered questions such as: How do you describe the relationship between your home and school life? What are your teachers' behavioral expectations for you at school?, and What are your parent's behavioral expectations for you at home? Refer to Appendix A for the full list of questions.

"What are your worlds?" Written Activity. The "What are your worlds?" task was adapted from Cooper et al. (2002) in which they asked students to identify important people in their worlds. The original task asked students to choose their worlds from a list (i.e., family friends, neighborhood, myself, program, school, church or mosque, music, video games or internet, sports) and then name people in those worlds and the expectations that those people have for them. This activity has been done with middle and high school students as well as college students enrolled in academic outreach

programs; past findings suggest that students experience positive and negative

experiences in their family, school, and neighborhood worlds (Cooper et al., 2002).

Due to the focus on home and school, students in this study were only asked to

report on those two worlds. Students were asked to list up to five people in their home

world and up to five people in their school world. Then they were asked to choose the

expectations that those people had for them from a predetermined list (Cooper et al.,

2002). This list included 32 positive and negative expectations such as, "work hard,"

"stay in school," "be lazy," "drop out of school," and "go to college." A copy of the

activity can be found in Appendix D.

Parent Interviews. Parents were asked semi-structured interview questions about

their perceptions of their child's experiences of differences between home and school and

also asked about their own experiences with their child's school. Parents answered

questions such as: How are your expectations similar or different to the expectations that

your child's school and teachers have? and How much do you feel the school values

things that are important to you? The full list of parent interview questions can be found

in Appendix B.

Teacher Interviews. Teachers were asked questions such as: How would you

describe the relationship between home and school life for your students? and How much

do you feel your students' parents value things that are important to you as a teacher? As

time allowed, other topics that emerged were also explored. A full list of the teacher

interview questions can be found in Appendix C.

Qualitative Data Analysis

In this study, qualitative methods were used to learn more about students' experiences of HSD. This section describes how the student, parent, and teacher qualitative data were analyzed.

Assessing Construct Validity. Content validity measures "the extent to which a specific set of items reflects a content domain" (DeVellis, 2012, p. 59). Reviewing the literature extensively and gathering interview data from students, parents and teachers provided additional insight into whether or not the DBHS scale was actually assessing experiences of home-school dissonance. In addition, collecting qualitative data from students, parents, and teachers allowed for triangulation, which provides a richer understanding of the construct. Since HSD by definition centers on the relationship between home and school, the perspective of parents and teachers provided context for adding questions to the DBHS scale for the quantitative strand of the study.

Cognitive Interviews. Cognitive interview transcripts were reviewed to identify trends and problems (Willis, 1999) that occurred as participants explained how they derived their answers to the DBHS scale. Data analysis for cognitive interview transcripts focuses on how participants comprehend and formulate their responses to survey questions (Lippman et al., 2014). Beatty and Willis (2007) provide four steps for analyzing cognitive interview data: 1) Observing problems with responses to survey questions, 2) Identifying the specific problems that were observed, 3) Identifying characteristics of the question (e.g., wording, length, etc.) that may have contributed to the observed problem, and 4) evaluating the possibility that the observed problem will generalize to other survey participants. These steps are specifically designed to improve the quality of survey questions and for that reason, cognitive interview data is typically

not coded in the traditional qualitative sense. However, given that students' responses to

the cognitive interview questions often included information about their experiences of

HSD, the cognitive interview data were included in the thematic analysis coding

described below.

     "What are your worlds?" The "What are your worlds?" activity responses were

analyzed to identify similarities and differences between home and school expectations. I

specifically examined whom the students were reporting in each world as well as the

frequency of positive and negative expectations. I also looked for overlap or

discrepancies in expectations between home and school. This information was used as

another point of comparison in addition to the other data.

     Interviews. Thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) was used to identify

themes in the interview data for students, parents, and teachers. Given that students

sometimes shared relevant content during the cognitive interview, both the cognitive and

semi-structured interviews were coded using thematic analysis. Although the student,

parent, and teacher interviews were analyzed separately, Braun and Clarke's (2006) six

steps for thematic analysis, which follow, were used for all interviews.

     Step 1. The first step of thematic analysis includes transcribing the data and then

becoming familiar with it. I listened to the audio of the interviews and read and re-read

the transcripts to become familiar with the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). As questions,

thoughts, and ideas came to mind, I jotted down notes and memos about the data.

     Step 2. The second step of thematic analysis is creating initial codes. After

becoming familiar with the data, I read through the transcripts again to identify initial

codes. (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Since Braun and Clarke (2006) describe the process of

thematic analysis being complementary to other data analysis methods, procedures

provided by Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2013) were incorporated to guide the coding

process. During the first cycle of coding, the data were broken down into chunks or

"codes" using the Dedoose online platform (2016). Provisional and descriptive codes

were used to analyze the data (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014; Saldaña, 2013).

Provisional coding is more deductive in nature as codes are predetermined based on the

literature. Provisional coding was used to confirm if experiences of HSD fell within the

three constructs of 1) differing values, 2) differing beliefs, and 3) differing behavioral

expectations between home and school.

Descriptive coding, or words or short phrases that describe a topic, was used to

identify other topics that emerged in the data corpus (Saldaña, 2013). The combination of

provisional coding (deductive) and descriptive coding (inductive) allowed an

understanding of home-school dissonance as explained by Arunkumar et al. (1999) while

also providing insight into experiences of home-school dissonance that may expand

beyond the current definition.

Step 3. Braun and Clarke (2006) prescribe searching for themes as the next step

after coding the data. The codes were sorted and grouped into potential themes multiple

times before settling on the final themes. I identified themes collaboratively with my

dissertation chair, another graduate student, and members of my research lab. I also

engaged in peer debriefing to refine themes. Refer to the trustworthiness section of the

methods for more details on the peer debriefing process.

Step 4. The fourth step of thematic analysis is reviewing the proposed themes

(Braun & Clarke, 2006). I continued to review the preliminary themes and checked to

ensure that they mapped onto the actual data set. As the themes were refined, I reviewed

each transcript to determine if the proposed themes held true for each one. In some

instances, the themes were changed to represent the data more accurately, in other

situations the themes were thrown out, and in some cases, the themes were used to

describe the experiences of a certain subset as opposed to the entire dataset. As additional

changes were made, I engaged in peer debriefing with another graduate student and

discussed modifications with my dissertation chair. During these conversations, I

presented the proposed themes with supporting, disconfirming, contradictory, and/or

confusing quotes for discussion. Once the final themes were agreed upon, I created

thematic maps (see appendix F) for each dataset to provide a visual overview of the data

(Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Step 5. The fifth phase of data analysis involves defining and naming the themes

(Braun & Clarke, 2006). During this phase, the themes were clearly defined and the data

were analyzed by theme. The themes and subthemes were examined independently and in

relation to each other to ensure that there was no overlap and that they told a cohesive

story that accurately depicted the entire dataset.

Step 6. The final phase of thematic analysis is producing the report (Braun &

Clarke, 2006). The thematic maps and the information from step five were used to guide

the writing of the results section, which provides direct quotes, analysis, and literature to

make an argument for how students, parents, and teachers experience issues related to

HSD.

Establishing Trustworthiness. A number of steps were taken to ensure the

trustworthiness of the data collection and analysis process. During data collection, I

engaged in ongoing reflective memoing (Hays and Singh, 2012). These memos included

my reactions to interviews, thoughts on interviews, initial hunches about findings, and

questions that the interviews raised for me. While analyzing the data, I continued to jot

down short notes and thoughts about the findings and relationships between different

pieces of the data. I discussed my thoughts, questions, and concerns with my dissertation

chair on a weekly basis. In addition, Hays and Singh (2012) suggest a number of methods

for maximizing the trustworthiness of qualitative data, including triangulating the data,

peer debriefing, establishing intercoder reliability, and maintaining an audit trail, which

were all used in this study.

   Triangulation. Triangulation involves using multiple pieces of data to develop

themes and describe the findings of a study (Creswell, 2014; Hays & Singh, 2012,

Marshall & Rallis, 2014). By design, this study was proposed based on the premise that

multiple methods and data sources would be used to examine HSD. I used multiple

methods (i.e., quantitative surveys, qualitative interviews, cognitive interviews) to collect

data from multiple sources (i.e., students, parents, and teachers) to better understand

HSD. In addition, triangulation of theoretical perspectives (i.e., The Multiple Worlds

Model and the Integrative Model of Child Development) was helpful in interpreting the

data as both models relate to this study in different ways. Triangulating theoretical

perspectives involves integrating multiple theories (Hays & Singh, 2012), which I

incorporated in the literature review, interpretation of the results, and in the discussion

section.

   Audit trail. An audit trail includes physical evidence of the data collection and

data analysis process (Hays & Singh, 2012). The audit trail that included a log of phone

calls, emails to study participants, and a calendar of scheduled interviews, as well as a

timeline of research activities and memos. During the data analysis process, a record of

codebooks, thematic maps, notes from peer debriefing conversations, and all of the

transcripts was also maintained.

   Peer debriefing. Peer debriefing occurred at each step of the study. In addition to

consulting with my dissertation chair, I also discussed interview questions as well as

potential codes and themes with other graduate student researchers and at times, other

members of the committee. Peer debriefing was used a great deal for theme development;

however, some themes were developed independently or with another graduate student

and then discussed them with my dissertation chair and research lab. During peer

debriefing sessions, proposed themes, summaries of the data, and representative quotes

were presented to the chair and research lab members. After talking through the data and

answering questions and concerns raised by my peers, themes were often renamed,

redefined them, or eliminated. Engaging in the peer debriefing process helped in refine

themes and create thematic maps used to guide data analysis and the results section. In

all, I engaged in peer debriefing at least twice during steps two through five of the

thematic analysis process.

   Intercoder agreement. For two of the three data sets, I worked with a fellow

graduate student to develop codes and establish intercoder reliability (Saldaña, 2013)

before I proceeded to code the data independently. We both read a transcript and open-

coded to create the descriptive codes described in the data analysis section. After open-

coding one transcript, we reconvened to discuss and name the codes. Disagreements were

resolved by continued discussion until we could agree on the name or definition of a

code. After going through the first transcript together, an initial codebook that we both

used to independently recode the first transcript and then code a second transcript. While

coding the second transcript, we continued to open-code while also applying the

established themes from the codebook. Then we met again to discuss the coding for both

transcripts and to add additional codes from the second transcript. After reaching 100%

consensus on how both transcripts should be coded, I coded the remaining interviews

alone, but continued to discuss any concerns or challenging excerpts with the second

coder and the dissertation chair.

     Reflexivity Statement. Reflexivity in qualitative research involves "the inquirer

reflecting about how their role in the study and their personal background, culture, and

experiences hold potential for shaping their interpretations, such as the themes they

advance and the meaning they ascribe to the data" (Creswell, 2014, p. 186). I am an

African American female who has spent most of my life in urban southern cities. My

desire for higher education was influenced by both my family as well as the students with

whom I worked as a teacher in the rural deep south. Neither my maternal nor paternal

grandparents attended college. However, my parents and six of eight of my aunts and

uncles earned at least a Bachelor's degree. My one uncle who did not attend college

served in the military and had a successful career in telecommunications and an aunt,

who attended college, but did not complete her final year, has worked in retail

management for decades. Given the success of my parent's generation, I have been both

dismayed and fascinated that my generation (i.e., siblings and first cousins), for the most

part, has not achieved the same level of upward mobility as our parents.

In addition to my family background, I had a number of school experiences as both student and teacher that shaped my research interests. As an Honor's and Advanced Placement student in high school, I noticed that teachers and administrators were kinder, more lenient, and more supportive of me than they were of the racial/ethnic minority students in the regular tracks. I felt separated from my same-race peers, but also knew that the advanced classes would allow more educational opportunities beyond high school. The feelings of separation and a family history of attending Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU) led me to attend a HBCU for college. I later earned a Master's degree from an Ivy League institution before attending the University of Virginia for doctoral studies. I taught second grade for two years, which influenced me to pursue a career in mental health. I was troubled by the issues that the racial/ethnic minority and low-income students and their families faced, but also inspired by their resilience and strong desire for academic success. Despite the parents' hardest efforts and students' strong desires to make good grades, some of them failed to make adequate academic progress. Thus, I became interested in the cultural factors that impacted academic success.

The critical lens that I have taken to reflect on my own family background as well as my teaching experience inevitably impacted the design of this study and the interpretation of data. I have been exposed to racial/ethnic minorities who have achieved academic and career success, those who have struggled despite sincere and concerted efforts, and those who have seemingly withdrawn from pursuing higher education or skilled jobs. These experiences have inspired me to learn more about factors that contribute to academic success; therefore, I chose to examine HSD. My own biases and

the success of my parents' generation often led me to believe that hard work always paid off, but institutional racism still impacts racial/ethnic minority individuals. I was in constant reflection throughout the qualitative data analysis process and discussed any biases or challenges that surfaced with the dissertation chair and other members of my research lab.

Quantitative Methods

Quantitative surveys were administered to middle school students at three different schools to provide insight into the quantitative measurement of HSD. Students at Silver Canyon completed the DBHS scale and the pilot HSD questions, while students at two middle schools (Bronze Forest and Gold Lake). Demographic information was collected from all students.

School contexts. In addition to Silver Canyon students, sixth grade students at two other middle schools in, Bronze Forest and Gold Lake also completed the quantitative portion of the study. Both schools were also located in Central Virginia, but in a bigger city than Silver Canyon.

Bronze Forest. Bronze Forest Middle School has almost 600 students, 52% of whom identify as male. The racial demographics are as follows: White (47%), Hispanic (20%), Black (19%), and the remaining students represent a very diverse range of other racial/ethnic groups. Approximately 22% of students have limited English Proficiency, 45% receive free or reduced-price meals, 16% receive special education series and 11% have been identified as gifted (Bronze Forest School Website, 2016).

Gold Lake. Approximately 350 students attend Gold Lake Middle School. Fifty percent of students are boys and 50 % are girls. The school is predominantly White

(72%) with 10% of students identifying as Black and 7% as Hispanic. The remaining

students represent racial/ethnic groups that are more diverse than Silver Canyon and less

diverse than Bronze Forest. Only 4% of students have limited English proficiency, 31%

received reduced-price meals, 18% received special education services, and 13% have

been identified as gifted (Gold Lake School Website, 2016).

      Participants. The DBHS scale and pilot HSD questions were given to sixth grade

students at Silver Canyon (n=56). The 182 students who completed the survey at Bronze

Forest and Gold Lake Middle Schools were previously consented to participate in another

study on peer-group diversity. Across the three schools, a total of 238 middle school

students took the survey; boys totaled 105 (44%), while six did not report gender.

Twenty-nine percent of students reported receiving free or reduced-price lunch (FRL)

and an additional three percent reported that they were not sure if they did or not. The

majority of the students in the sample were White (52%). Demographics of the other

racial groups are as follows: Asian, Asian American or Pacific Islander (6%), Black or

African American (11%), Hispanic or Latino/a (8%), American Indian/Native American

(3%), Multi-ethnic (11%), and Other (6%).

      Procedure. After the qualitative portion of the study was complete, all students at

Silver Canyon were provided with a consent form to participate in a survey on home and

school experiences. This survey included demographic information as well as the DBHS

scale and the pilot HSD questions. In addition to paper consent forms, parents were also

given the option to complete an online consent form. The two parents who completed the

online consent form were contacted by telephone to confirm their consent. Fifty-six

students returned the form and completed the online survey during their homeroom class.

The survey was administered by grade level to students in the computer lab. Students took approximately 15-30 minutes to complete the survey and they were given a snack incentive before returning to class.

Students at Bronze Forest and Gold Lake consented to participate in a study on peer group diversity at the beginning of the school year. They completed an online survey near the end of the school year in which the pilot HSD questions were also included. Groups of approximately 15-25 students took the survey in a classroom or in the school library with one facilitator and a number of other research assistants. Students received a $5.00 incentive as a part of the peer-group diversity study that was being conducted at the two schools.

Measures. Students at Silver Canyon completed the original DBHS scale and the pilot questions for the draft HSD scale, while students at Bronze Forest and Gold Lake completed only the pilot questions. Descriptions of both follow.

The Dissonance Between Home and School Scale. The "Dissonance Between Home and School" scale is a five-question measure that was created based on findings from ethnographic studies (Arunkumar et al., 1999). It is a subscale of the "Patterns of Adaptive Learning Scales," which assesses academic engagement (Midgley et al., 2000). Cronbach's Alpha in the validation study was .749 for the DBHS scale; a factor analysis indicated one factor explaining 43% of the variance. Questions are asked on a five-point Likert-scale (i.e., 1 = "not at all true"; 5 = "very true"). The five questions are as follows: 1. "I don't like to have my parents come to school because their ideas are very different from my teachers' ideas"; 2. "I feel uncomfortable when my parents come to school, because they are different from the parents of many of my classmates"; 3. "I feel troubled

because my home life and my school life are like two different worlds"; 4. "I am not

comfortable talking to many of my classmates because my family is very different from

theirs"; and 5. "I feel upset because my teacher and my parents have different ideas about

what I should learn in school" (Midgley et al., 2000). The score of each item is summed

and a higher overall score indicates more HSD.

        Home-School Dissonance Pilot Questions. The interview data from the

qualitative portion of the study, which will be described in the results section, and the

HSD literature base were used to draft the 10 survey questions listed below. The

questions are answered on a five-point Likert-scale from "not at all true" to "very true".

1. My family is different from the families of many of my classmates.
2. My family and my teachers each have different ideas about what I should learn in school.
3. My home and school life are like two different worlds.
4. My family and my teachers each have different ideas about rules and discipline.
5. My family and my teachers each have different ideas about how important homework is.
6. I act differently at home and at school.
7. My family and my teachers each have different expectations for the grades I should earn in school.
8. My family and my teachers each have different beliefs about what it means to be successful.
9. Differences between my home and school life make me uncomfortable.
10. My family and my teachers each believe that getting a good education is important.

    The psychometric properties of the pilot items are summarized in the results

section.

        Quantitative Data Analysis. Once all data from the DBHS scale and the pilot

survey questions were collected, SPSS was used to examine the overall item descriptive

statistics. Normality was assessed using the Shapiro-Wilks test and then examining the

histograms, box plots, skewness and kurtosis statistics for each item. For items that did

not meet normality assumptions, nonparametric tests (i.e., Mann-Whitney U and Kruskal-Wallis tests) were used for comparisons across groups. Otherwise, Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) tests were used to explore group differences between Black, Latino, White, and Multi-Ethnic students, the largest racial/ethnic groups in the study sample. Differences between students who reported receiving FRL and those who did not were also examined using t-tests. Comparisons across schools were also made. All ANOVA and t-test differences were compared to an alpha of .05.

After examining the descriptives of the pilot item, DeVellis' (2012) method for scale development was utilized to learn more about the proposed questions. Corrected item-scale correlations (i.e., how well an item correlated with other survey questions) were examined to make sure the data were sufficient for a factor analysis. Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) allows researchers to understand the relationship between variables and can be used to identify summary constructs or factors of a set of variables (Goldberg & Velicer, 2006). It is recommended that there is a subject to item ratio of 1:10 (Costello & Osborn, 2005). This recommendation was satisfied given the 10 items and 238 survey participants. Inter-item correlations, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy, and Bartlett's test of sphericity were also used to ensure that the data were indeed factorable (Dziuban & Shirkey, 1974; Piedmont, 2014). After confirming that the data met all assumptions (i.e., Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin above .70, significant chi-square statistic from Bartlett's test, and average inter-item correlations from .20-.40; Dziuban & Shirkey, 1974; Piedmont, 2014), the EFA was conducted in SPSS. Principal axis factoring was used for the analysis as this method is suggested for samples with a smaller number of items on each factor (De Winter & Dodou, 2012). Given that the items

were expected to be correlated, an oblique rotation was first used; however, an EFA with

an orthogonal rotation was also run for comparison. Finally, the communalities, a scree

plot, and the pattern matrices were examined to identify the factors.

The sample size did not allow for a confirmatory factor analysis; however, the

EFA results were followed by an exploratory multigroup analysis to assess the factor

structure invariance across White and non-White students. Cross-group comparisons

were also made by socio-economic status; students in the free/reduced lunch program

were compared to those who were not. Specifically, after identifying a two-factor model

in SPSS, AMOS was used to create a more sophisticated model with path and factor

loadings and to conduct multi-group comparisons. Given the small sample size, these

procedures were exploratory in nature and only two groups were examined at a time (i.e.,

White/Non-White and Free/Reduced Lunch or not).

The chi-square statistic is the most widely used method for assessing

factor structure, though it is sensitive to sample size and rejects the null hypothesis with

too much power with large sample sizes (Wu, Li, & Zumbo, 2007). In small samples, it

has also been found to erroneously suggest good model fit (Keith, 2005). The chi-square

statistic was used as one indicator of fit, where a non-significant (i.e., $p > .05$) value

indicates a better fitting model. However, given the sensitivity of the chi-square statistic,

the models were also assessed using the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation

(RMSEA), where values less than .05 indicate good fit, and values less than .08 indicate

acceptable fit (Hu & Bentler, 1999). The Comparative Fit Index (CFI) and Tucker-Lewis

Index (TLI) were also examined; values greater than .90 are considered good, and greater

than .95 is best (Van de Schoot, Lugtig, & Hox, 2012). The Multi-group comparisons in

AMOS proceeded in an iterative process beginning with a configural model (i.e., no

constraints across groups). Factor loading invariance was assessed next, as indicated by

model comparison fit statistics (e.g., chi-square change and RMSEA), regression path

invariance, intercept invariance, and latent factor mean invariance (Kenny, 2011).

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

HSD has been associated with negative outcomes for students; however, previous studies have not found the hypothesized differences in HSD between different racial groups. This study sought to better understand the DBHS scale as well as student, parent, and teacher perspectives of HSD using both qualitative and quantitative data. This section begins with the results from analysis of the student, parent, and teacher interview data; themes from each stakeholder group are followed by a synthesis of themes across the three groups. The qualitative results are followed by a summary of the quantitative analysis of the DBHS and pilot HSD scales.

Pilot Student Interviews

In order to ensure that the questions were written in a sound and comprehendible manner, I conducted a pilot study with four African American middle school students (three females, one male). It is notable that the girls tended to report more congruence between home and school than the boy did, thus he had longer and more detailed responses to many of the questions. For the cognitive interviews, each participant was asked to re-state the prompt in their own words. Each of the participants could re-state the prompts and demonstrate comprehension of the prompt; however, there were questions about the meaning of abstract words. For example, "I don't like to have my parents come to school because their ideas are very different from my teachers' ideas" was interpreted differently by each participant. When asked what ideas came to mind when they heard the question, one participant talked about parents and teachers having different opinions

on how lockers should be organized while two of the other participants talked about parents and teachers having different ideas about what students should learn. The fourth participant asked what kind of "ideas" the prompt was referring to. Overall, the male participant, who was the only student to report experiences of dissonance between home and school, responded to the cognitive interview questions in a manner that referenced differing values, beliefs, and behavioral expectations between the two contexts. For example, he shared that home (in comparison to his school) is a safe place where he will not be judged and that he does not have to monitor his behavior there. The other participants talked more broadly about differences between home and school and how their parents learned concepts in one way and that teachers deliver content differently now. While these latter responses did indicate differences between home and school, they did not appear to relate to the values, beliefs, and behavioral expectations that the creators of the measure (Arunkumar et al., 1999; Midgley et al., 2000) expected based on race.

The cognitive interview question that asked students to restate the question in their own words was removed for the actual study since all students demonstrated a clear understanding of the prompts. Each of the participants appeared to be challenged by the first question, "How would you describe the relationship between your home and school life?" With encouragement, they were all able to provide brief, meaningful responses. Based on students' responses, particularly when they indicated confusion about the questions, interview questions were revised. Specifically, one prompt had a number of different questions included, (i.e., Tell me about differences and similarities between home and school. Do you behave differently? Do you feel like you are viewed differently? Are there things that are more important in one setting than another?). These

questions were separated and asked individually to ensure that the most meaningful responses were obtained. See appendix A for the interview protocol.

During the final portion of the interview, students were asked to name five people in the home "world" and five people in their school "world." Without probing, all students only named individuals who lived in their house for their home world. When told that their home world could include people who did not live in their household, some participants named friends or extended family members. Though they could name up to five people in both worlds, only two of the participants named five people in their home worlds. None of the participants named five people in their school worlds. The school worlds typically consisted of friends and favorite teachers. One participant did speak about teachers who he or she did not perceive as being supportive, but did not want those individuals to be included in the list. This was also the only participant to report that some teachers have negative expectations; the other three participants all reported that their parents and teachers had similar and positive expectations for them.

Overall, the pilot interviews facilitated minor revision of the prompts and questions for the cognitive and semi-structured student interviews. For the final interview protocol, the interview questions were written more clearly, and during the interviews, care was taken to ask questions one at a time instead of bundling question that appeared to be related. For the cognitive pilot interviews, students were asked to restate the question using their own words to ensure comprehension. All of the student participants understood the questions and having them to repeat the question or prompt did not provide valuable data. As a result, students in the final sample were only asked to define specific words in the prompts that could have been interpreted ambiguously. Lastly, for

the written activity, after noticing that students did not name five people in each world and that extended family and friends were almost never included in the list, participants in the final sample were reminded that their home worlds do not have to be limited to individuals that live in their house. They were also reminded that they could list up to five people, but that they did not have to do so.

Since the primary focus of this dissertation was on the student's perspective of HSD, pilot interviews were not conducted with parents or teachers. Throughout the process of interviewing parents and teachers, unclear wording was revised and questions were added or removed to facilitate participant comprehension and ensure that constructs of interest were discussed (see Appendices A and B for final teacher and parent interview protocols).

Qualitative Findings

Student Cognitive Interviews. In following Beatty and Willis' (2006) steps for analyzing cognitive interview data, response problems are identified and described in this section. The main problems with the DBHS scale prompts that emerged in the cognitive interviews were: 1) the affective component of questions may have impacted students' abilities to accurately answer the prompts, and 2) the wording of some questions left room for participant interpretation in responding to the prompts.

Problem 1. Cognitive interview results suggest that students understood the prompts on the DBHS scale, but that they had difficulty responding to the questions due to other concerns with the affective component of questions. For example, the question stems asserting affect or emotion were not relevant for most of the students who were interviewed. This was evident with Jennifer (Black female), who when presented with the

stem, "I am not comfortable talking to many of my classmates because my family is very different from theirs," responded with, "I don't really feel upset. It's just, like I said, confusing…My family is like ... different from other families…They're like, I don't know, complicated." It is possible that combining the emotion with the experience of HSD makes it difficult for students to accurately answer the questions on the DBHS scale; students may experience HSD, but not experience the particular emotion or feeling (e.g., discomfort, etc.) that the authors identify in the prompt. This was the case for the prompt, "I feel troubled because my home life and my school life are like two different worlds;" most of the students reported acting differently at home and at school, but none of them mentioned being "troubled" by differences between home and school. As another example, when presented with the prompt, "I feel uncomfortable when my parents come to school because they are different from the parents of many of my classmates," and then asked if he felt uncomfortable when his parents come to school, George replied, "No. I feel that if your parents are different that makes you more unique." Many of the participant responses indicated that only part of the prompt was true for them, making it difficult to formulate an accurate response. In other words, George could feel like his family was different without being uncomfortable about the differences.

　　　　Problem 2. The second problem with the DBHS scale was that the wording of some questions left room for participant interpretation in responding to the prompts. Participants were asked what ideas came to mind for the prompts, "I don't like to have my parents come to school because their ideas are very different from my teachers' ideas," and "I feel upset because my teacher and my parents have different ideas about what I should learn in school." Most students responded similarly to both prompts. They often

referenced teaching styles (e.g., the way teachers introduce a concept and the way parents

reinforce or help with homework at home) in their responses to both prompts. For the

first question that asked broadly about ideas, students also mentioned behavioral

expectations and discipline methods. Although students were not asked about what they

should learn in school in the first question, they often included that and other ideas in

their responses. For example; on the first, broad question about ideas, Thomas shared, "I

can't understand like um— teachers like explain like one thing in one way and your

parents like explain another way they know." He responded similarly to the second, more

specific question about different ideas about learning. Unlike most students, Ashley

interpreted answered the two prompts differently. She was first presented with the

prompt, "I don't like to have my parents come to school because their ideas are very

different from my teacher's ideas," to which she replied, "I interpret 'ideas' as outlooks

on how the rest of the world is." However, when given the prompt, "I feel upset because

my teachers and parents have different ideas about what I should learn in school," Ashley

replied, "I mean really. You know I listen to what the teachers are teaching and I learn

that, but if my parents say I should be learning something else, I try to learn what my

parents say and what the teachers say so I can get everything." Ashley and Thomas both

interpreted "ideas" differently in the first question as Ashley referenced "outlooks" and

Thomas mentioned teaching styles. However, when "ideas" was qualified in the second

question, both talked about "ideas" related to teaching and learning. The ambiguity of the

first question suggest that when the word "ideas" was qualified, responses were more

consistent.

Just as there was some ambiguity with interpreting the word "ideas," the wording of "I feel uncomfortable when my parents come to school, because they are different from the parents of many of my classmates" and "I am not comfortable talking to many of my classmates because my family is very different from theirs" also left some participants confused. The participants answered these two questions very similarly and seemed to interpret "parents" and "family" synonymously. For both prompts, students could name several differences that might exist between parents/families, but none of them reported being uncomfortable with differences. When presented with the prompt, "I feel uncomfortable when my parents come to school because they're different from the parents of many of my classmates," Jordan's initial response was, "That's a tough one." Then he went on to say, "Mine's kind of in the middle. 'Cause my parents, they can be kind of aggressive sometimes, meaning that if they hear one thing they don't like, it can turn into a doghouse quick. 'Cause with my fourth-grade teacher, it almost got ugly." Jordan's response indicated that he could possibly relate to the question that was being asked, but that he had a hard time formulating a response." He later referenced that while his parents can be "aggressive" at times, other kids' parents are more "laid-back." Michael also had a hard time answering the prompt, "I don't like to have my parents come to school because their ideas are very different from my teacher's ideas." Even though he was asked what ideas came to mind, he was stuck on the wording of the question and first responded, "Umm maybe like I don't really think that," suggesting that he did not agree with some aspect of the prompt that made it difficult for him to respond.

In summary, students in this sample understood what each prompt was asking, but still had difficulty answering the questions due to the affective stem of the prompts and

due to ambiguous wording in some instances. They all identified differences between

home and school for some students, but never acknowledged that the differences were

true for themselves; the differences did not seem to be a source of stress for these

students. Table 6 below summarizes results by prompt and provides an example response.

Table 5

Cognitive Interview Data Examples

DBHS Scale Questions	Cognitive Interview Data
1. "I don't like to have my parents come to school because their ideas are very different from my teachers' ideas"	No students said that they do not like their parents coming to school, but four mentioned that parents and teachers do not always agree on consequences, teaching methods, or overall expectations. **Example:** "Um teachers like explain like one thing in one way and your parents like explain another way they know." **–Thomas**
2. "I feel uncomfortable when my parents come to school, because they are different from the parents of many of my classmates"	Participants identified a number of differences including political outlooks, languages, parenting styles, country of origin, athleticism, and loud families, but only one reported feeling uncomfortable about their family coming to school. **Example:** "Like their parents might not speak English…They might be embarrassed or something like that. **–George**
3. "I feel troubled because my home life and my school life are like two different worlds"	Four students reported acting differently at home and school (e.g., more social at school, more relaxed at home, better behaved at school); none reported feeling troubled. **Example:** "Well you know maybe you joke around and you laugh more around your friends and then you're quieter at home. For me, generally the same both places." **–Ashley**
4. "I am not comfortable talking to many of my classmates because my family is very different from theirs"	Most students identified differences between families ssuch as SES, education, political views, languages, beliefs, religion, country of origin, jobs, problems; none reported feeling uncomfortable talking to classmates. **Example:** "Maybe one family can be like a different like from a different country and believe in like different Gods or something." **–Michael**

| 5. "I feel upset because my teacher and my parents have different ideas about what I should learn in school" | Students reported differences such as the value of some academic concepts, how to learn math as well as incorporating the bible, more history, and life skills into the curriculum; none reported feeling upset about differences.

Example: "I don't really feel upset. It's just, like I said, confusing…My family is like ... different from other families…They're like, I don't know, complicated." **–Jennifer** |

The findings from the cognitive interview were used to create the pilot HSD

questions that were listed previously in the quantitative measures section. Nine of the

pilot questions assess the presence of HSD (e.g., My home and school life are like two

different worlds) and the 10th question (i.e., Differences between my home and school

life make me uncomfortable) attempts to identify the affective component that was

intertwined into the DBHS scale questions. While the intention of the authors of the

DBHS scale may have been to measure negative emotionality associated with differences

between home and school, the cognitive interview data suggest that the wording was

confusing to students.

What are your worlds? The "What are your worlds?" activity required students

to name up to five important people in their home world and five people in their school

world and then choose from a list to identify positive and/or negative expectations that

the people in the two worlds have for them (see appendix D for activity). Some students

chose to name groups of people such as "teachers" and "friends" rather than individuals.

All students reported family members as the important people at home and one

student also listed an adult neighbor; however, there was more variation in the important

people at school. Four students reported a mixture of friends and adults while one student

only reported friends and another only reported teachers (Table 7).

No students reported negative expectations from the people in their home or school worlds; however, there was variation in the positive expectations that students identified. No student had the exact same expectations at home and school. Three students, two White (Ashley and Thomas) and one Black (Jordan), reported four of the same home and school expectations suggesting some overlap between expectations for them at home and school. As an example, Thomas shared some of the same expectations at home and school (i.e., work hard, be honest, have respect for others, be successful.). His other expectation at home was to stay in school while the other school expectation was to be a good student. For Thomas, there was significant overlap between home and school expectations. However, the remaining three participants were all students of color (Michael, Jennifer, George) and they only reported two of the same expectations between home and school (Table 6). For example, George reported that he is expected to have respect for others and to be confident at home and school. At home, he is also expected to stay in school, go to college, and do well in math, while at school he is expected to work hard, do well in English, and be a good student. These findings indicate that students perceive positive expectations from the people that they listed at home and at school. Though all expectations were positive, there may still be differences in home and school expectations.

Table 6
"What are your worlds?" activity data

	Home People	Home Expectations	School People	School Expectations
Jennifer (Black female)	Mom, Step-dad, 2 brothers, aunt	Work hard, stay in school, be a good student, be successful, be honest, be responsible for my own actions	Best friend, 3 friends, coach	Do well in math, do well in English, be a good student, go to college, have respect for others, be responsible for my own actions
George (Latino male)	Mom, Dad, Brother, Aunt, Uncle	Stay in school, do well in math, be confident, go to college, be successful, have respect for others	Friends, teachers	Work hard, do well in English, be a good student, be confident, be honest, have respect for others
Ashley (White female)	Mom, Dad, Brother, Granddad, Grandmom	Work hard, stay in school, be a good student, go to college, be honest, have respect for others	Teachers, Band, Honors Friend Group, Close Friends, Fellow History and Science Nerds	Work hard, stay in school, be a good student, be honest, have respect for others, be responsible for my own actions
Michael (Black male)	Mom, Grandma, Dad, Uncle, Grandpa	Work hard, stay in school, do well in math, do well in English, go to college, have respect for others	Female friend, Male friend 1, Male friend 2, Male friend 3, Male friend 4	Do well in math, do well in English, be confident, go to college, work right after high school, be honest
Thomas (White male)	Friends, Grandparents, Uncles, Brothers, Cousins, (Mentioned parents after being asked about them)	Work hard, stay in school, be successful, be honest, have respect for others	Teachers, Friends, Special or PE Teachers	Work hard, be a good student, be successful, be honest, have respect for others
Jordan (Black male)	Mom, Dad, Uncle, Adult Neighbor, Aunts	Work hard, be a good student, be confident, be successful, have respect for others, be responsible for my own actions	Math teacher, reading teacher, science teacher, PE teacher, band teacher	Work hard, stay in school, be a good student, be confident, be honest, be responsible for my own actions

Student Interview Data. As described in the Methods section, thematic analysis was used to analyze the cognitive and semi-structured interview data. Three themes were identified in the student interview data: "on the surface, home and school are the same," "different but not dissonant," and "student-adult interactions." The themes and relevant sub-themes are described in more detail below. The description of the first theme, "on the surface, home and school are the same," is shorter because students often said it was the same without providing much context or evidence, but then went on to provide evidence for differences between home and school in their other responses. While care was taken to include representative quotes from all students, Jordan's interview lasted twice as long as all of the other interviews, providing more illustrative quotes than his peers. He often elaborated on ideas that his peers briefly alluded to, which is why his quotes may seem more frequent and detailed.

On the surface, home and school are the same. All the students stated that home and school were the same when asked about similarities and differences between the two. This theme was present in each of the interviews; however, students did not provide much detail when making this claim. Instead, in other parts of the interview, students often provided stories and examples of differences between home and school (described in the next sections) despite their assertions that home and school were the same. Ashley described similar expectations in both places: "For school and at home you know homework getting the work done is both really important. Umm you know school is generally what would be expected of every student and at home it's about the same." While not all students discussed homework, most acknowledged the importance of academics and good behavior at home and school. Respectful behavior often came up as

an expectation at home and school as well. When asked about the relationship between home and school, Thomas replied, "They're both the same...They're similar because I learn good things out of school and good things in school." After being probed about what he learned in both places, he said: "Like to be respectful and honest to your family members instead of lying and getting in trouble and in school to be umm the same thing." Jennifer also reported that home and school were similar: "I mean everything's all-around important, so it's not really school/home, home/school…Well, they're kind of the same. I mean, because, like, when I socialize with people, I'm socializing with them at school and home because, you know, social media." This is another example of a student describing similarities between home and school, though this participant attributed the connection between home and school to social media. No other students referenced social media in their responses. Generally, the students all shared some similarities between home and school, though additional interview data suggested differences and evidence of HSD as well.

Different, but not dissonant. Although the student participants initially stated that home and school were the same, they went on describe differences between home and school that exist for themselves and/or others. Students described differences falling largely in three domains: academic views, family, and behavior.

Different academic views. Students talked about several different academic views between their parents and teachers, such as expectations for grades, ideas about what should be included in the curriculum, and strategies for completing mathematics problems. Some students felt that their parents had higher academic expectations for them than teachers did. Jordan stated that his parents care more about his "success" and

that "they want me to get As and Bs, but then, if I'm passing here [at school] they're good

with it. It doesn't really matter, like if I pass it's cool. 'You're going to the next grade.

Good Job.' But then, with my parents, if I'm getting C's and D's that's not cool." Jennifer

also described higher expectations at home than at school. She shared that her mother

tells teachers to hold her to a higher standard than other students: "she [Mom} tells them

[teachers], like, I need to set a good example. And... they want me to have, they want to

have better expectations for me than other people." Both Jordan and Jennifer reported

being good students (and their parents corroborated their reports), but perhaps there are

other students who have high expectations at home, but do not work to their potential or

feel valued at school due to lower expectations from teachers.

Other students talked about the curriculum. Jennifer reported that her

grandmother wanted her to learn more about the bible in school while Ashley reported

that:

> Teachers generally teach American history and then you know maybe parents
>
> would think you should learn the world from as many sides as you can possibly
>
> see from you know you know war uhh the world wars from the perspectives of
>
> multiple different countries…Really like world. Especially European history.

Though she spoke broadly in this quote, Ashley later clarified that her parents were open

to her learning lots of different things. Most of the students described differences in the

way that their parents learned mathematical concepts and the way that their teachers

instructed them to solve problems. This was the most common academic difference.

George, a Latino male, said, "Like in math homework sometimes I'll do something but

they'll [parents] try to change it, and eventually it might become wrong, but sometimes

it's right." Thomas described similar difficulty with solving math problems and the confusion that it caused for him: "Because like if one parent like your parents have one idea and then your teacher has one idea it gets confusing in between like each of those thoughts." Students reported that it was difficult to know if they should comply with their teacher's or parent's methods for solving problems. Overall, the students who were interviewed described differences in academic views and beliefs between home and school and did not report distress, though they did express some confusion with differences.

Family differences. Students mainly described broad family differences that may exist for some of their peers; however, two students (i.e., Jordan and Jennifer), talked about how their own families differ from others. Jordan described the "aggressive" way his parents handle situations that they do not like at school. Jordan described situations in which he was treated unfairly and how his parents were always involved and voicing their concerns to the teachers. Jennifer appeared to be embarrassed by her family as she shared how her family behaves during school visits: "My family, I don't like them really coming up here because they're really loud, and they speak their mind like ... like, often. So, I really just…rather them just tell me what to say and put it in my own words if there was something that has to be said." It seemed that Jennifer did not want her family to visit school due to a fear of being embarrassed in front of peers, which is normative during this developmental period (Caskey & Anfara, 2007; Scales, Sesma, & Bolstrom, 2003).

Other than Jennifer and Jordan who spoke about their own family differences, the other student participants identified differences that they observed for their peers at

school. Jennifer and Jordan both identified as African American and also shared that their parents had higher expectations for them than individuals at school. Given those differences, it is possible that they had more experiences to draw from as they responded to the questions about family differences and similarities. Other students alluded to their peer's socio-economic status; Ashley talked about "financial levels" and Michael stated that, "some parents might have like better jobs than other parents do or maybe they might, I don't know, have problems more than others do." These students were aware that some families have more resources than others, but they did not make any positive or negative attributions towards any group. Michael also shared that, "some might think different ways to raise kids." Jordan spoke to this point as he stated that: "Some families might be more ... casual, and other families are more formal. Like some families don't teach manners and stuff." These students seemed to have at least a limited understanding of some of the socio-cultural and systemic factors that can distinguish families from each other.

Students also talked about more observable differences such as peers who might be from different countries or speak a different language. George explained, "Like their parents might not speak English but their parents might. So, they might not feel ... they might be embarrassed or something like that." Despite these differences and others (e.g., country of origin, religion, "ways to raise kids," "political outlooks") that students identified, the participants did not talk about the differences in a negative manner and two made statements demonstrating acceptance. For example, Ashley stated that: "Even if there are differences if both the kids are willing to accept each other no matter how different they are. That's just. I mean personally I think that's the way how I think that's

how the world should be. Just everyone's generally supposed to be nicer to each other."

George, a Latino male, pronounced that "if your parents are different that makes you

more unique." These students were aware of family differences, but they did not provide

any evidence that the differences were resulting in dissonance for themselves. It is

possible that the students in this study perceived themselves as having similar

experiences between home and school, but believed that students with more apparent

"differences" (e.g., speak a different language, new to school from a different country)

were the ones with more differences between home and school.

As this study sought to examine differences between home and school, it was an

unexpected finding that two students talked about how some of their peers are different

from their peers' parents. Jordan explained that some of his friends cared more about

their grades than their parents:

> And some, the kids really want to do well, but the parents, it's just like if you get a
>
> C, you're really upset that you got a C, but they're like, "Okay." And then ... I
>
> know this from, I've seen some of my friends' parents, when I go to their houses
>
> and stuff, and they're showing their parents their grades, and if they see a C,
>
> they're almost in tears, and their parents are like, "Okay, you did a pretty good
>
> job." It's a total difference between the perspective of parents and the kids…some
>
> kids have different perspectives than their parents. And they have more in
>
> common exactly with the teachers than the parents. Sometimes it's the other way
>
> around.

Jordan was surprised by these parents' responses because as he had previously explained

during the interview, his parents had high academic expectations for him. He also shared

that some students have more in common with their teachers than parents; this was one of the only explicit examples of HSD that students provided. Jordan stated that, "Some kids have different perspectives than their parents. And they have more in common exactly with the teachers than the parents. Sometimes it's the other way around." Direction of HSD has not been explored, but Jordan's statement implies that when there are differences between home and school, the student may not always be aligned with the home experiences and values. Ashley also made a statement that was consistent with this idea as she talked about outlooks, "Yea you have one outlook and your friends may have the same outlook but your parents have something different." Ashely often used the word "outlook" as she described political beliefs. Her statement again speaks to differences that may exist between parents and students even though the focus of this study was on differences that exist between home and school.

Different behavior. Students generally talked about engaging in similar behavior at home and school. When they did bring up differences, students explained being more relaxed and possibly breaking rules at home, but never at school. They also described "self-monitoring" behaviors at school. Thomas described being on his best behavior at school: "In school you like have to be like a role model and stuff and like sometimes when you come into school you're in a bad mood because what happened out of school." He went on to say that you have to "get your head in school" regardless of what happens at home. Thus, Thomas seemed to be aware of how behavioral expectations at home and school might differ (i.e., more relaxed at home). George also talked about reserving certain behaviors for home as he explained that, "Sometimes they [teachers] might see me get mad. But it's rare." Both Thomas and George's responses indicate that they might

match their behavior to the setting and that they may perceive that certain behaviors as more acceptable at home than at school. Other students communicated that they monitored what they said at school. For instance, Ashley explained that:

> I mean there's you know going back to the thing about being careful about what you can actually talk to talk about to certain people. 'Cause if you know at home I can be more open but like at school, you gotta be a lot more careful and sometimes that's more difficult…at school you have to be a lot more careful with what you say because there are sooo many different outlooks.

Ashley was interviewed during October 2016 and she spoke a lot about political views and the upcoming election. She felt that she could not or should not share all her opinions at school. Home was a place where she could speak openly without having to monitor or censor her thoughts on certain topics. Jennifer also reported that she did not discuss certain topics at school. For example, she explained that, "I think she [grandma] wants me to learn more about, like, the bible. Stuff like that. So, like ... and I know they can't say stuff like that in school -so like, I couldn't really say anything about that either." Both Jennifer and Ashley spoke of certain things that might be more acceptable to discuss at home than at school. The students who were interviewed demonstrated the ability to be culturally flexible, or move between their home and school environments with ease (Carter, 2010).

Jennifer also shared that there were times that she disagreed with teachers, but that she "keeps her eyes and mouth shut and doesn't talk." She felt that she should monitor her behavior and her conversations with teachers. Though all students reported similar behavioral expectations at home and school as well as monitoring their behavior,

some reported differences in discipline practices. Jennifer reported that, "they [teachers] get you in trouble for the littlest things, but then you do something really big and you wouldn't get in trouble for it as much as you would if it was something smaller." Jennifer felt that her mother did not agree with or understand how disciplinary actions were taken at the school. She was also confused by how the teachers decided when or how to discipline students. Jordan also explained how the teacher would be mad at him when he did not complete an assignment, but not at other students: "I wouldn't get one or two questions done, and she would get mad at us when other kids wouldn't get it done, and it wouldn't be the same for different kids." For students like Jennifer and Jordan confusing expectations and disciplinary practices may negatively impact their school experiences.

As the students shared the differences between home and school, they typically did not express any emotions other than confusion. The term "dissonance" suggests a clash or tension (Arunkumar et al., 1999), which the students do not indicate in these interviews. The lack of negative emotionality as they describe differences may suggest that for students who have differences, they have learned strategies to manage the transition between home and school each day. Students perceiving home and school as the same, but then reporting some differences may mean that students experience difference but not dissonance.

Student-Adult Interactions. Students were asked how their parents and teachers would describe them. They either reported that their parents and teachers would describe them similarly or that they did not know how their teachers would describe them. The two White students, Ashley and Thomas, did not say much about teachers, but what they

did say was generally positive. The students of color shared more negative and neutral anecdotes about their interactions with teachers.

Some students shared that they did not have close enough relationships with their teachers to know how they might describe them. George, a Latino male, stated that "I guess like I don't have really too much connections with the principal and my teachers to really know if they know a lot about me," while Jennifer shared, "I feel like I'm just another one of the students." These students' responses suggested limited student-teacher relationships, which Jennifer confirmed as she stated, "I don't really associate with the teachers like that." She later disclosed that she had one close relationship with a teacher when she was in the 7th grade; that was the only student-teacher interaction that she described positively.

Some students talked about differences between parents and teachers. Michael said that, "At school I don't get along with all of my teachers and at home I can get along with everyone. Well at school sometimes me and my teachers don't see the same thing and at home me and my parents agree more on things." He described relational challenges with teachers and shared that his teachers did not always believe him. He specifically referenced that in situations in which students may be getting into trouble, the teacher often does not believe his side of the story. Michael felt that his parents were always more willing to listen to him and understand his perspective. In comparing and contrasting parents and teachers, George stated, "I don't really care what teachers think about me, but I care what my parents think about me much more." While it is expected that students would have stronger relationships with their parents than teachers, student-teacher relationships also have an impact on student success (Hamre & Pianta, 2006).

When asked about her relationships with teachers, Jennifer replied that, "Um ... they're okay, I guess. I mean, I don't really get into trouble like that so, like, they're okay enough for me not to get in trouble. But, like, I speak when I'm spoken to." To Jennifer, it seems that students who have negative relationships or perhaps no relationship at all with teachers are more likely to get into trouble. She only engages with teachers when they initiate the conversation, which could impact success for some students. This is a complex idea as some students may need more academic assistance or support from teachers and fail to initiate conversations or ask them for help due to pre-conceived notions about teacher-student relationships or how teachers might respond to them. Jennifer seemed to be excelling in school despite limited teacher-student relationships; however, some students may struggle without this type of support at school (Gershenson, Holt, & Papageorge, 2016).

Jordan was concerned that his teachers were only helping him to meet minimum expectations and not challenging him: "My friends, most of them are on different teams, so on my team, our teachers are advanced teachers and sometimes you really don't think that they want you really to get ahead, you just think they want to get you by." As an advanced student, Jordan expected to be challenged at school. He expressed high academic expectations for himself, but he perceived that his teachers were happy if he was passing even though he wanted to earn As and possibly a B if that was the grade he earned while giving his best effort. He was particularly frustrated by one teacher who helped students who earned lower grades, but did not challenge him after he earned an A:

In third grade we took this test, so there were some of us that ... like I got a 90 on it, on stuff that we were learning in like third and fourth grade. I got a 90, and

most kids got 70s and 60s and stuff. But since I knew more than they did, she [the

teacher] actually took the time to help me get ahead. But this teacher, if we

already know something, he doesn't try and help us, 'cause one time, I got a 100

on this quiz, and the other high score was a 70. He's trying to help other people

catch up while I'm just kind of sitting there in the mud. I'm stuck here.

Jordan described a positive experience in elementary school in which his teacher wanted

him to continue to learn even though he had earned a passing grade on a test. He felt that

one of his current teachers was not providing him with that same opportunity to extend

his knowledge after demonstrating mastery on the assigned learning objectives. Jordan

was the only student who reported these types of experiences with teachers not

challenging him in middle school.

Jordan also reported unfair treatment for some students: "Sometimes my teachers,

they don't follow up on those expectations for certain kids, and that's really frustrating."

He observed that teachers enforced rules more strictly or harshly for certain groups of

students. In addition, he shared a personal story, which was alluded to in the "different,

but dissonant" section, in which he believed that his teacher had treated him unfairly:

My teacher just kept saying that I wasn't getting my work done when my grades

didn't reflect that. So sometimes maybe we would have like 30 minutes to do

something and I wouldn't get one or two questions done, and she would get mad

at us when other kids wouldn't get it done, and it wouldn't be the same for

different kids.

Jordan observed that even when he tried his best and did not waste time while completing

an assignment, the teacher would be upset with him for not completing the task, but not

with other students. He voiced his frustration during the interview and also shared that his

parents came in to speak with the teacher about the differential treatment that he had

observed. While some students might internalize or negatively respond to perceived

differential or unfair treatment, Jordan reported that he continued to try his hardest and

competed with himself; his parents also encouraged him to work hard. This type of

treatment by teachers may impact students differently depending on personal

characteristics or the type of support that they have at home (Jeynes, 2003) or from other

adults in the school (Bernstein-Yamashiro & Noam, 2013). In Jordan's case, his

experience reflects research showing high expectations from parents can buffer low

expectations from teachers at school (Benner & Mistry, 2007).

  Overall, students initially reported that home and school were the same, but then

described differences that may exist for them or their peers. While "dissonance" implies a

clash or tension between home and school, the students reported differences that did not

cause them any distress. Students also reported varying teacher-student relationship

quality. Both White students reported "good" relationships with teachers, while the Black

and Latino students described limited or contentious relationships with some teachers.

The difference between the White students' experiences and those of the students of color

corroborates findings from a study that Black and Hispanic students have less positive

school experiences and relationships with teachers (Voigt, Hanson, O'Malley, &

Adekanye, 2015). Taken together, students reported a range of school experiences, but

none reported that HSD was impacting them. The students who did have negative

experiences attributed them to interactions with specific teachers at school.

Parent interview data. Three broad themes were identified in the parent interview data. The first theme focused on the high academic and behavioral expectations that parents reported having for their children. The parents also fell into two groups which comprise the second two themes; "I think they do pretty good" (parents who were satisfied with the school) and "most people would find someplace else for the kids to go" (parents who were dissatisfied). When applicable, sub-themes will also be discussed.

High Academic and Behavioral Expectations. All parents reported having high academic and behavioral expectations for their children and most described academic expectations that were higher at home than at school. The reports of higher expectations came from the parents of one White student and all three African American students (a parent of the Latino student was not interviewed). For example, Jennifer's mother, Mrs. Barber, explained that:

> I feel like I'm a little bit more tough when it comes to grades and stuff. Just being
> that I told them that, 'You can learn phones,' my boys learn video games and
> everything else, but if you can't remember your schoolwork, then that's a
> problem. So, even though like a C is passing for them, they don't get C's, like
> they get grounded for C's.

In addition to reporting higher expectations, some parents also shared that the school does not expect students to do their best. Jordan's father, Mr. Roberson, stated, "Well, I think that our expectations are probably different than the school's. Now, we expect him to do his best to excel. I think they're just hoping he gets by." While some parents firmly believed that the school just wanted their child to "get by" and pass the Standards of Learning (SOLs) tests, others spoke about higher expectations without being upset with

or placing blame on the school. This may be a result of parents having differential expectations for the school and/or different experiences at the school and with staff.

While some parents described higher behavioral expectations at home, others described similar behavioral expectations between home and school. Michael's mother, Ms. Landry, said, "What happens in school is an extension of what I expect from him from home. He knows he's not going to do things at school that he wouldn't do at home." Ms. Landry's report implies that her son has one set of behavioral expectations that should be generalized from home to school. Another parent (Thomas' mother, Mrs. McKinney) talked about the structure that she provides to her son: "We have expectations at home. He has his different chores and he has when he has to do his homework so I mean he has a structured environment at home just as well as he does here." To Mrs. McKinney, it was important for her son to understand that he has different types of responsibilities at home and school and that both places provided structure and consistency.

In summary, all the parents who were interviewed reported high expectations for their children both behaviorally and academically. In theory, this would suggest lower levels HSD if parents and teachers have similar values, beliefs, and behavioral expectations for students; however, additional data (See Dissatisfaction with School sub-theme) will highlight other types of dissonance that parents experience.

"I think they do pretty good." Mrs. Barber, Mrs. Harris, and Mrs. McKinney (mothers of the Black and White girls and the White boy) reported being satisfied with their own and their children's' experiences at the middle school. These parents reported similar experiences such as: satisfaction with the quality and quantity of communication

with teachers, strong relationships with teachers, feeling welcomed at the school, and

having similar values as the school. Jennifer's mother said, "I think they do pretty good,"

when asked how much she thought the school valued things that were important to her as

a parent. Mrs. McKinney's response to the same question was, "Um. A lot."

Mrs. Barber described a recent visit to Silver Canyon in which she felt welcomed

into the school:

> We had to make a dish and she didn't want to take it on the bus, so I took her
>
> before I went to work and just talk to her teacher for a couple of minutes, so like
>
> everybody in the office like know me by my first name…So, it's kind of good.
>
> That's the one thing I will never have to worry about.

While these parents were pleased with their interactions with teachers and other staff at

Silver Canyon, Mrs. Harris acknowledged that even though her experiences were

positive, she knew that was not the case for all students and families. She reported

engaging with some families who shared very different experiences than hers at the

school and within the broader school district. The three parents who were satisfied with

the school reported similar values and behavioral expectations at home and school and no

negative experiences at school. Given their overall satisfaction with school, the

interviews with satisfied parents were often shorter than those of the dissatisfied parents,

who spoke more about their negative experiences.

"Most people would find someplace else for the kids to go." The parents of two

African American boys, Mr. and Mrs. Roberson and Ms. Landry, reported dissatisfaction

with the school. These parents described experiences that differed greatly from the

reports of the parents who were satisfied with the school. While the dissatisfied parents

reported initiating and desiring communication with teachers, they also reported being ignored (e.g., teacher not responding to email) and being made to feel as if they were inconveniencing teachers during scheduled meetings. These negative experiences likely contributed to the poor or nonexistent relationships that these parents reported having with teachers and administrators at the school.

Though these parents shared their own experiences, Ms. Landry also mentioned a conversation with another parent, "I had lunch with a parent yesterday that didn't know me, I didn't know them either. She has the same exact concerns. I couldn't believe that we had... she's a white lady, a professional and she has the exact same complaints that I did." Mr. Roberson stated that, "I think if people have otherwise, most people would find someplace else for the kids to go, white and black." These parents believed that their negative experiences at the school were not isolated and that others shared the same sentiments.

Contrary to what might be expected from dissatisfied parents, these participants reported similar values to teachers for their child's performance (i.e., hard work, high academic and behavioral expectations). However, despite these commonalities, statements were made such as, "I don't think they [the school] value anything that we value." These values will be unpacked with the three sub-themes: "we aren't welcome or valued here," "our children aren't welcome or valued here," and "if we speak up, there may be consequences."

We aren't welcome or valued here. The parents of the two Black boys reported that they did not feel valued or included by the school. When asked if the school values things that are important to her, Ms. Landry replied, "I don't know how to answer that

question because I don't know that the parents are even part of the equation with any kind of decisions being made at Silver Canyon. I don't think that the parent is taken into account at all." In addition to feeling like parents were not included at the school, both mothers described school visits in which they did not feel welcomed. Mrs. Roberson described picking her son up early when he was sick, "But every time I've gone up there, and I've probably been up there less than three times, maybe four times this year. Then the secretaries don't even want to get out their seats to see what you need," and Ms. Landry described visiting for a meeting:

> When I walked in, nobody spoke. She told me to come in and meet with the assistant principal. I walked in, nobody spoke. I filled out the thing. They're sitting there. The office people were there and it was two teachers on the side. They were all engaged in this conversation about where they went shopping or something. They didn't say anything. Then, finally, I was like, excuse me, I'm here to see so and so. They said, have a seat over there and he'll be with you.

These parents had negative experiences during their visit, which were opposite of the visits described by the parents who were satisfied with school. These differential reports suggest that parents can have very different experiences within the same school. Parental involvement is often touted as a way to strengthen the connection between home and school (Patrikakou, 2016) however, parents in the dissatisfied group reported negative experiences despite being involved and/or in communication with teachers.

Mrs. Roberson was skeptical about if the school really desired a connection with students' homes:

> We have teachers that when they see your child in public or you in public, they
>
> don't even speak. But they've said they want to have communications between
>
> the home and the school, but when you have teachers that don't even speak to
>
> your child, you wonder, "Well, how did they treat them in the classroom?

She was concerned about interactions that she had with teachers outside of school. She

felt that the teachers could at least greet students and families when they run into them in

the community. While some might argue that teachers are not obligated to build

connections outside of the school day, interview data suggests that parents have certain

expectations for teachers at all times. In addition to being dissatisfied with face-to-face

communication, Ms. Landry wanted teachers to be more responsive to her emails:

> I just wish they would respond to my email or send me an email and say Michael
>
> had a bad day today, this is what happened, so I can address it at home. I don't
>
> have to go to the school. My issue is that I need to know. That's all. Not
>
> necessarily do I have to go to the school but when I do go to the school, I'd like it
>
> to be more welcoming.

This mother reported a desire to be immediately made aware of any incidents at school.

She shared that there had been times when she heard about some days after it occurred. In

her opinion, she could have done a better job handling it with her child if teachers had

alerted her sooner. In addition to wanting teachers to reach out to her, she also reported

that at least one teacher appeared to be ignoring her emails, but then referencing them in

conversations with her son (see sub-theme "If we speak up, there may be consequences").

Lastly, Jordan's parents described racial discrepancies in how parents are treated,

"I think they also have low expectations with parents, with black parents. I think they

treat all of us as if we are – I don't know, undereducated or something. As if we can't

spell or read, which is insulting us." This mother, despite having a college degree and

being involved in her son's education, felt that she and other Black parents were

stereotyped based on the color of their skin. While only Jordan's parents described

differential treatment for parents, both Jordan's parents and Michael's mother felt that

their sons were treated unfairly and stereotyped due to being Black boys. In sum, Black

boys' parents felt unwelcomed and undervalued at the school in part due to

dissatisfaction with the quality and quantity of communication with teachers and others at

the school.

Our children aren't welcomed or valued here. The parents of the two Black boys

also reported that their sons were not welcomed or valued at school. They described

feeling as if their children were just "numbers" given the testing pressures at school. Ms.

Landry stated, "I believe they are so pushed with the SOLs and having to try to meet

those expectations that I believe kids and my son is one of them is going to get lost." Mr.

and Mrs. Roberson expressed the same sentiment. Despite worries about SOLs, the

parents' greatest concerns focused on their sons being stereotyped as Black boys. Mrs.

Roberson spoke broadly about race, "Their expectations for African-American students is

not very high. They don't push them to be successful," and Ms. Landry mentioned

gender as well, "I feel like because he's a black boy. He comes from a single parent

home, they have already labeled him." Parents described their perceptions of how

stereotypes and labels appeared to impact how teachers and administrators worked with

students. For example, parents described unfair discipline practices and concerns about

how students are considered for inclusion in gifted classes.

Mr. Roberson described his understanding of discipline practices within the entire school district:

> The discipline at Silver Canyon and of the high school and the elementary school is based on your last name and who you are. I think if you Black, you're going to get suspended. If you're White, they're going to try to work it out.

His wife shared that, "Well, they stereotype all the black boys have behavior problems. They are loud according to the stereotype." She described how teachers would contact her for minor behavioral concerns (e.g., her son being loud in gym class or pushing to get in line in elementary school), but would not reach out to her about academic concerns. This mother also described differences in the treatment of Black and bi-racial students:

> Another distinction they have like, too, is I don't know how the subgroups, if a student mixed, like, say, half white half black, those students are treated better than children that both parents are black. There is a difference between that. I mean, I don't know how they code it in the system, but those children that have a, like are mixed, will be treated differently. Of course, they can't say that, but children can see it and feel it and the expectations are – they'll push those children a little bit more than someone who might be behind, and be like, basically, well, if both parents are black and their child was behind, they're not going to encourage them to do the extra tutoring or their programs to – they might not even tell them about it because they'll also say, they're too far behind, they can't catch up.

Her explanation implied that these students were valued more since they had one White

parent. She felt that her son was treated more poorly than White and bi-racial students in

both elementary and middle school.

Jordan's parents also voiced concerns about the lack of students of color in the

district's gifted program:

So, we are losing a lot minorities that could be very successful in – it could be

Math or some other areas but because they're not identified in elementary, we

don't have any in the program. So, probably throughout the whole school system,

you probably have less than five African-American children. This is the school

system that has lot of minorities but they're not getting into the advanced

programs. So, that hurts them also.

They were unsatisfied with the gifted test being used to place students in the gifted

program. They also felt that the lack of students of color in the gifted program was just

one other way that the school district was failing students in addition to stereotyping

them. The concerns of these parents and the teacher are not unique to Silver Canyon and

their school district; the underrepresentation of students of color has been documented as

a national concern as well (American Psychological Association, Presidential Task Force

on Educational Disparities, 2012; Grissom & Redding, 2016). Parents of Black boys in a

suburban school reported similar concerns about stereotypes, SES assumptions, and

exclusion from Gifted classes (Lewis-McCoy, 2016).

In sum, parents who were dissatisfied with school felt that their sons were being

stereotyped and labeled based on the color of their skin. They felt that their children may

be punished more harshly and withheld important educational opportunities because they

were Black. Their feelings were consistent with research that has demonstrated discipline

disproportionality and racial achievement gaps (Gregory, Skiba, Noguera, 2010) and

institutional practices that negatively impact students of color (Lewis & Diamond, 2015).

If we speak up, there may be consequences. In addition to feeling that they and

their sons were not valued, the interview participants in the dissatisfied group reported

that some parents do not speak up because they fear consequences or retaliation. The

parents who were interviewed shared their own stories of meeting with teachers and

administrators and voicing their concerns, but they also had ideas about why other

parents were not as vocal. Mrs. Roberson described pervasive nepotism in the district as

one reason why some parents fear raising a concern at school:

> But they are afraid to come forward. That's the only thing because I think that
>
> they all retaliate against their kids. In certain ways, they do because everybody's
>
> related, every – probably in the school system you got cousin or wives working,
>
> you got nieces and nephews, there's so many family on the staff… There's a lot
>
> of relatives in the system and people fear if they're going to tell, it can be
>
> retaliated against somewhere or another, if it isn't elementary, then they probably
>
> going to meet up with somebody's sister or sister-in-law or mother, further down
>
> the road, so people don't even want to do or say so much. There's a lot of family
>
> in the school system.

Parents expressed the idea that speaking up at school could create more problems and that

the problems may extend beyond one classroom, teacher, or school. For parents who

already feel marginalized or stereotyped, this fear of retaliation could significantly impact

their willingness to be involved at school or to advocate for their child. While there is a

dearth of literature on parental fear of retaliation, there is research to show that parents of

color often feel unwelcomed or perceived negatively by teachers (Kim, 2009). Ms.

Landry described her conversations with some other parents:

> The feedback that I got was this. Yes, if they do participate or they do say
>
> something, they will be targeted or their child will be targeted at school. Let me
>
> tell you, at first, I was like, that's crazy, but I do believe there is some truth to it
>
> because I noticed that my son has started to have some conflict with a couple
>
> teachers. One of the teachers and I'm very irritated by this, but I haven't said
>
> anything because you know what? It's not even going to matter.

Not only did this parent corroborate the fear of retaliation or targeting, she also felt like

voicing those concerns to the school would be pointless. These quotes, which came from

two different parents, suggest that there may be a voiceless group of parents who are also

dissatisfied with the way that they and their children have been treated at the school or

more broadly in the district.

> Ms. Landry gave a specific example of the targeting that she described.
>
> I always send an email to the teachers. How is Michael is doing? Does he have...
>
> is there any issues that I need to be aware of? That kind of thing. I just check on
>
> his mental, is he engaged in class? I sent the message, well, anyway, I sent a
>
> message to this one teacher. The teacher never responded to me. Never. In class,
>
> he makes comments to Michael. 'Wonder what your mother is going to say
>
> today? Wonder what your mother is going to say about this today'…That's why
>
> parents say they won't talk to anybody because if they talk to them, their child is
>
> targeted and I feel like Michael has been targeted because I sent an email to check

>on him. I didn't know anything was going on. I was just checking. I can
>
>understand parents not wanting to talk because they don't want their kid to be
>
>singled out. They don't.

This parent felt that her proactive communication with teachers was undesirable and that it resulted in negative consequences for her son. She expressed an understanding of why other parents may completely withdraw from communicating with school staff. Parent reports of their involvement at school potentially having harmful outcomes for their children was unexpected given research that associates parental involvement with positive academic outcomes (Eccles & Harold, 1993; Green, Walker, Hoover-Dempsey, & Sandler, 2007; Wilder, 2014). However, findings from this study may represent the gap between the "rhetoric and reality" of parental involvement in some schools (Hornby & Lafaele, 2011). Though teachers and schools often have good intentions and desire equality and fairness, institutional systems and covert racism are most always at play. Lareau and Horvat (1999) describe how minority parents are often ignored and dismissed while Shannon (1996) explained how the concerns of a Latino mother were labeled as irrational. Parental involvement and communication therefore does not have the same benefits for all students.

In sum, the parents all reported high expectations for their children that on the surface seemed similar to traditional school values. However, two groups of parents were identified: those who were satisfied with the school and those who were not. The dissatisfied parents had Black sons and they felt that neither they nor their sons were welcomed or valued and that speaking up could possibly lead to more difficulties at school and within the district more broadly.

Teacher Interview Data. The three broad themes identified in the teacher interview data included, "It's both ends of the spectrum," "Bridging the gap," and "Communication as the missing link." Teachers often used a "spectrum" to describe students' differences and similarities between home and school. They also talked about ways in which they helped students bridge the gap between home and school; in some instances, teachers also shared barriers to bridging the gap. In analyzing the data another theme that emerged was that teachers perceived a lack of communication from parents as a key contributing factor to students who they identified as being on the end of the spectrum associated with more differences between home and school.

"It's both ends of the spectrum." In describing their observations and understanding of HSD, the teachers in this study described a spectrum of HSD. Mr. Weeks described the three groups of students as follows, "So, um, it, it's a tendency that ends in that spectrum more than in the middle. It's either you've got really involved parents or really not involved parents. And a few in the middle, obviously." In other words, the teacher felt that most parents tended to be either "really involved" or "really not involved". In response to questions about the relationship between home and school for students, Ms. Bradley also spoke about a spectrum, though she only identified two groups as she stated:

> There is two completely separate students. There's the students that have a really supportive home, they come from, I don't want to call it a great background but you know, everything they could want, everything they could need their parents are there and then there is ones who ... I had a student yesterday who actually is

withdrawing and moving because his mom kicked him out. He's going to live

with his dad… Um, so it really is ... I mean it's both ends of the spectrum, so.

In this case, Ms. Bradley appears to focus on the quality of support students receive at

home as defining the ends of the spectrum. Other teachers' discussions of parents

reflected two or three different groups of students as well. The three sub-themes below

provide detail into teacher descriptions of the three groups on the teacher-identified

spectrum of HSD.

"Hard work, education, um doing what you're supposed to do." Mr. Johnston

described students with lower levels of HSD as those with similarities between home and

school. He shared that, "I think some it's the exact same values. Hard work, education,

um doing what you're supposed to do. I think some of them I would say in general,

there's a good bit of them actually that that is a value too." Teachers often identified

these students as those who took "gifted" classes and those whose parents had more

resources. Ms. Haynes described the parents of these students as implementing practices

at home that are similar to school, "We have parents where it's very similar, like they

come from a house where, you know, there's books and…those same kind of

conversations and skills taking place at home as there are at school. But I would say

they're more, here they're more of the minority." Mr. Weeks described this same group

of students, but talked mainly about experiences working with gifted students and their

parents: "So, um, 90% I'd say or close to it of the parents of these [gifted] students are,

are very in tune with the school and very much want their students to be successful. So

they do, they do check up…they do e-mail us you know, more often than some other

parents of less successful students." This teacher seemed to equate "being in tune with

the school" as helping to decrease HSD. It also appears that *not* "being in tune with the

school" may be considered a contributor to HSD in students who this teacher deemed as

"less successful."

Ms. Franklin shared her observation that, "A lot of our gifted people are of the

richer, white kids and why is that? And it's like are we not focusing enough and allowing

other kids to come in because of behavior issues?" This reflection seems to speak directly

to the idea that differing behavioral expectations between home and school might impact

students' school experiences and opportunities, and that behavioral expectations may

vary across race and social class groups. In continuing to describe this group of students,

Mr. Weeks shared, "I would say the kids who tend to be ... Um, tend to come from

families that have the means to go places or give their students experiences- tend to have

an easier time with that connection between home and school. Whereas others who don't,

really struggle with the differences." His description of students with less HSD goes

beyond differing values, beliefs, and behavioral expectations, but speaks to the impact

family characteristics such as socio-economic status and resources may have on teacher

perceptions of students.

While teachers reported that the parents of the students in the group with less

HSD were "in tune with school" and in communication with teachers, they also described

some of these parents as being *overly* involved with their child's education. Teachers

explained that sometimes parents of these students might send multiple emails a day or

communicate with them about things that the teachers believed students should be doing

for themselves, such as asking for missed homework assignments after an absence. Ms.

Franklin first described uninvolved parents and then described the other group, "But you

do have those parents that are way over the board, and you're like, 'whoa take a step back'." Despite this group of parents who are in frequent contact even when their students are meeting teacher expectations, teachers do seem to value and equate communication between parents and teachers as contributing to less HSD.

While some teachers identified certain groups of students who they perceived as having less HSD, Ms. Haynes provided a different perspective.

> I actually feel like [parents] value [things that are important to teachers] more often than a lot of teachers perceive. They might not always be in a way we understand or that aligns with our beliefs about school and stuff, but that they do, they all ... We have the common goal of wanting their children to do well, and survive and prosper outside of school.

This teacher not only acknowledges that parents often value education for their students, but also articulates that not all teachers are able to understand this. Ms. Bradley made a similar statement about values, "Um, but I think, you know a lot of the values are the same. It's somewhat how they go about them." Three of the teachers who were interviewed expressed this type of belief about parents' educational values. These quotes from teachers speak to the challenges that some students may face even when they have similar values and expectations at home and school. Despite similar values between home and school, some teachers described students who fall in the middle of the spectrum as well.

"I think there's, there's not a lot of middle ground." Teachers provided the least descriptive information about the students who they perceived as falling in the middle of the HSD spectrum. They often described the parents of students in this group as those

who despite differences between home and school, still stressed the importance of school and the educational process. Ms. Haynes shared her observation that, "…we have other parents that really stress how important this is even if they don't have the same kinda thing going on at home with books and education and that kinda stuff." In her experience, this had been particularly true with the parents of linguistically diverse students: "I see that a lot with, um, ELLs I would say, where they might not have access to that stuff at home but their parents have really strong expectations and desires to help them". Though findings have been inconsistent (Yamamoto & Holloway, 2010), this teacher's report is in line with a study that found that Latino parents of kindergartners had higher expectations than Black and White parents (Suizzo & Stapleton, 2007). Moreover, the vast majority of ELLs at Silver Canyon were Latino.

Ms. Franklin spoke about how parents explicitly help students to match their behavior to the setting, "Despite some of those differences the parents are still telling them, you have to act one way at home and one way at school." In her opinion, these parents help students to deal with differences between home and school by providing them with clear behavioral expectations.

In describing this "middle group," Mr. Weeks commented that, "there are parents who are just kind of like some of our students just, you know, don't do a whole lot either way. Go out of their way to make the extra effort but, you know, they do care." Overall, parents in this group are perceived as caring and/or instilling the importance of education and acceptable behavior even if their home experiences might be different from school.

"The expectations just aren't always there." The teachers who were interviewed reported that the majority of students Silver Canyon fall into the group with high HSD. In

addition, ELLs and Special Education students were often placed in this group. Some

teachers commented on challenges that students might face such as unstable households

with Mr. Johnston believing that school stresses the importance of "work hard equals

success" while "survival" may be the "underlying theme" at home. While some homes

were described as unstable, others were described as having less structure and fewer

expectations than school. Mr. Johnston explained that, "The expectations just aren't

always there" at home. Mr. Weeks also spoke about the level of structure some students

have at home as he shared his opinion that, "…some kids it's [school] very different from

their home where there's no structure. Um, you know, and they just do whatever they

want and then they come here and, you know, we try to provide them with some structure

and it's a hard adjustment for them." Mr. Johnson and Mr. Weeks both viewed school as

a place with more structure and higher expectations than some students have at home.

In addition to the environmental factors that teachers described, they also talked

about how parents and students in this group do not value school and sometimes actively

resist the school's expectations. Ms. Franklin posed the question, "Because if their

parents don't value education, how are they going to value it here? And I feel like that's

what we find the disconnect is. The value in education, but it's difficult." Parents were

often described as having different values than teachers or the school as a whole; teachers

referenced differing academic and behavioral expectations. The expectations were always

described as lower at home and teachers perceived that some parents and teachers

actively resisted the higher expectations at school. Mr. Weeks stated, "The ones that have

lower expectations at home struggle, and they resist the higher expectations." Multiple

teachers told stories of parents encouraging resistance as well; they described instances in

which parents told students that they did not have to listen to the teacher or follow a particular school rule. This frequently came up in reference to language expectations and the use of words such as "shut up" and "nigga." Ms. Franklin described a conversation with a parent related to this: "like today I called a parent saying that her child said the "n-i-g-g-a" word. And to me that was very unacceptable, but when I called, it was like, okay. Like she didn't really, she wasn't upset about it. And I'm like, okay. It's just funny how my expectations are so different from maybe someone else's." In Mr. Johnston's case, he described active resistance resulting from a parent telling the child that they did not have follow the rules in his classroom. He shared, "the student was actually told to actively try to give me a hard time. He did so quite often, quite well as a matter of fact. So, we butted heads consistently. He was not nice to other students as well so it was across the board as far as how he behaved." This resistance was related to a personal issue that the parent had with Mr. Johnston; however, at least one other teacher mentioned active resistance as well.

Although the consensus was that many students have differing values and expectations at home and school, some teachers provided additional perspectives. Ms. Franklin felt that, "they want to have the same values, but they don't know how to get there for some parents." Similar to how the parents of students in the middle group were viewed as caring, perhaps there are also parents of students in the high-HSD group who teachers also view more favorably. Though not explicitly stated, this quote may imply that this teacher might have more compassion for students and parents in this group than other teachers who perceive the boundary between home and school as being particularly difficult to cross due to perceived active resistance.

Notably, as the teachers described the spectrum of HSD, they often cited their own upbringing and compared it to the students' experiences. Ms. Haynes appeared to sympathize with the high-HSD students as she described her own experiences growing up, as she identified, poor: "Um, well, and it, like for me personally in my household, if you wanted to be heard you talked louder. And I think for some of my kids it's really hard to wait to talk. Like I didn't learn that skill until I got older because that's not how I did it at my house." This teacher likely attributed the differences in behavioral expectations to her household experiences instead of active resistance because she was reminded of her own upbringing. During the interview, this teacher talked about the high-HSD group with compassion and understanding as opposed to the frustration that some other teachers expressed.

Other teachers described themselves as growing up in homes with similar values and expectations to school. Mr. Weeks described his experiences as follows: "Well, you know, for me or any other kid who comes from a very regimented background, they tend to enjoy school more. 'Cause they, they are familiar with being respectful, and having high expectations at home and they don't lower themselves at school it's usually the other way around." This statement reflects the idea that homes perceived as having more structure are appreciated more by teachers and that these students might be more desirable to teach than students from high-HSD homes. Ms. Franklin spoke to behavior expectations: "And it's just culturally I came up a different way from them and it's like a shock to them to see, hey I can't yell 'shut up' to somebody." Teachers who grew up in homes that they viewed as more structured were often surprised or "shocked" by differences between home and school for their students, while the teacher who identified

her home as "poor" seemed to have a better understanding of the student's realities without judgment.

Bridging the gap. The second broad theme that emerged was "bridging the gap," which refers to ways to address differences between home and school that exist for some students. Teachers mainly talked about ways that they help bridge the gap, though there was some mention of student and parent efforts as well. Additionally, teachers identified potential barriers that they experienced in their efforts or desires to help bridge the gap between home and school.

Teacher efforts to bridge the gap. All teachers described getting to know students as a primary way of bridging the gap between home and school. They also shared that they incorporate home experiences into instruction through classroom discussions and other methods such as using familiar topics in word problems. Some teachers expressed that instead of incorporating cultural activities or experiences that are specific to their students, they broadly talk about differences and highlight many different cultures. For example, Ms. Bradley described a number of different lessons that addressed culture: "So we had graffiti. We had like Navajo, uh, weaving. We had a couple of different American Indian tribes. We had cornrows, the geometry behind the cornrows. And oh my gosh there was a couple more." In addition to discussing and acknowledging different cultures in the classroom, teachers explained that communication between home and school was an important piece in bridging the gap between the two.

Mr. Weeks stated, "I think try to keep up with as many possible ways to stay in touch with parents. Helps bridge that gap between what goes on at home and what goes on at school," and other teachers reiterated this sentiment. Teachers reported using

multiple methods to stay in contact with parents including phone calls, text messaging,

and email; however, the range varied across teachers. One teacher reported making

frequent home visits when unable to get in contact with parents using the more traditional

methods while another teacher reported very limited contact with parents overall. Some

teachers utilized websites or text blasts to keep parents abreast of what was going on in

the classroom while others seemed to rely more on parent-initiated communication.

Mr. Weeks also reported that on a school-wide level, administration is trying to

find more ways to reach out to parents and to build partnerships with the community as

well. The teacher described how in addition to automated phone calls and internet

postings, the school has started to inform community organizations (e.g., after school

programs and places of worship) about important school events so that they can reinforce

them to the families:

> You know, other organizations in the community can help us you know, with
>
> what we're trying to accomplish here at school. You know, whether it's Kiwanis
>
> Club or church groups, you know, the Y, the Boys and Girls Club. So, they know,
>
> if a kid from us goes to the Boys and Girls Club because you know, mom's
>
> working third shift and you know, whatever the situation might be, they can say,
>
> "Hey, Johnny, you know, you've got you know, X, Y, and Z going on at school,
>
> you got your field trip money in?" You know, so they can kind of also tap into
>
> what's going on at school. To help make multiple connections throughout a kid's
>
> day other than when they just leave here. You know, even on Sunday I've had
>
> students tell me that, um, their preachers have like said something about school,
>
> during or you know, right after Mass or before. They'll do announcements for the

community. So, you know, they'll say you know, [the school] has a dance this

Saturday. Just a reminder to all the families out there. So, things like that I think

help keep parents more involved with the school.

This teacher highlighted how third parties beyond home and school that might be

valuable in helping to bridge the gap between home and school for some students.

Student characteristics that bridge the gap. Two teachers thought that the students

who successfully bridge the gap between home and school were able to change their

behavior at home and at school. Ms. Haynes described how they specifically talk to

students about meeting the behavioral expectations at school:

Like we talk about, this is a different environment there are different rules, and

the different places…and I feel like it's really important to tell kids that there are

different expectations depending on your environment. Because that's true in the

adult world in so many different ways, not just for kids who go to school, like

that's true everywhere.

It appears that teachers value this type of cultural flexibility that allows students to meet

the social expectations of home and school; however, only one teacher in the study talked

about helping to provide students with this type of knowledge and capital.

Teachers also identified "motivation" as a characteristic that helps some students

to successfully bridge the gap between home and school. Mr. Weeks had a negative

perspective about the students in the high-HSD group, "Um, and it's really driven by

motivation and just the kids willing to, to try their best and a lot of kids just don't care."

Other teachers, such as Ms. Haynes, described students who have set goals that they want

to achieve: "Um, uh, a lot of them have a set goal, like they know that they wanna move

out, or they wanna go to college, or they wanna make money, so that, I do see that the

kids that have some expectation for the future have a slightly easier time doing that." It is

important to note that this teacher feels that motivation only helps students to bridge the

gap to a certain extent.

    Communication as the missing link. Teachers identified communication

challenges as a distinguishing factor between the low-HSD and high-HSD groups of

students: "then I think you have the other spectrum where parents have no idea what's

going on. They don't put the effort to get in contact with teachers. Or, um, they just are so

busy with work or whatever. That there's, uh, a big disconnect there." Teachers often

described parents in the low-HSD group as those who worked jobs that made it difficult

for them to attend parent-teacher conferences or answer the phone during their work day.

This speaks to possible socio-economic differences and privileges that exist between the

low- and high-HSD groups that possibly allow the parents in the low-HSD group to be

more involved and in closer communication with teachers. Yamamoto and Holloway

(2010) explain that some minority or low-socioeconomic status parents may choose not

to communicate with teachers due to their own experiences with school or due to mistrust

of teachers.

    A lack of communication was often used to describe the parents of students in the

high-HSD group. Ms. Haynes described differences in how parents used the online

communication platforms, "I think we have some parents that are (snaps finger) on it

with [online platforms] they know what they're kids' grades are, and then we have other

parents that don't even know it exists or learn how to open it." In addition to reporting

that they valued parents' involvement with online communication, teachers appeared to

value communication most when it was positive and the parents were asking about and reinforcing things that were going on at school. For instance, Ms. Franklin described a conversation with a parent, "Yes, it's like what they're seeing here, what they're seeing there and they try to work with us. 'Hey, what can I do at home to help you here at school?'" This teacher was pleased with the way some parents had asked her how they could help strengthen the connection between home and school

Teachers talked about contentious parent-teacher conferences differently; when conferences were negative or parents did not agree with the teacher's discipline methods, the students and parents were often characterized as having high-HSD even though there was communication between the parent and teacher. Multiple teachers talked about having a guidance counselor or administrator present in parent-teacher conferences when they needed "back-up" or did not have a previous relationship with the parents. The desire to have an administrator present may speak to tension that teachers experience between wanting parent communication, but also having some hesitation about it. Ms. Bradley stated:

> I guess the biggest thing there is getting administration or another teacher ... Like, I'm very careful if I have to talk with someone and it's a problem or I'm not sure to have someone else there. Um, so I don't like to talk to parents alone unless we have a relationship. Um, you know I've got some that will come down here and talk to me. I'm like, "Okay, that's fine." Um, but I if I think it's going to be a problem it's just like we need to set this up with guidance. Somebody else needs to be in the room.

Some teachers appeared to enter into these meetings defensively while at least one teacher appeared to feel more comfortable meeting with and having difficult conversations with parents. This teacher acknowledged the importance of going out of your way to have positive relationships with parents: "[at the beginning of the school year] I call 'em all, I call all of 'em and then, and that's where the home visit starts if I can't get in touch with 'em for a positive contact I that's the first time. 'Cause I really want my first interaction to be positive." While this teacher valued the importance of proactively communicating with all parents, research (Lewis & Diamond, 2015) shows that some teachers are more reactive and that they respond to actual and possible communication from parents. Teachers in Lewis and Diamond's (2015) study often believed that White parents would be in more frequent contact, which impacted their amount of proactive and reactive communication as well.

In the context of HSD, communication appears to serve a dual purpose. On one hand, it allows teachers to share information about school activities and assignments, but it can also have the negative impact of creating a space for judgment when parents do not respond or do not engage in a way that the teacher deems as acceptable. Recall, Ms. Franklin's call with a parent after a student used the word, "nigga" in class: "..And to me that was very unacceptable, but when I called, it was like, okay. Like she didn't really, she wasn't upset about it. And I'm like, okay. It's just funny how my expectations are so different from maybe someone else's." Though she could get in contact with the mother, the conversation did not go how Ms. Franklin had expected, which led to some judgment on her end.

There are additional challenges when teachers do not communicate with some students and families. Teachers described the barriers that exist with ELLS; most said that they try to use basic phrases from the student's home language, but they do not have much, if any, communication with the parents. Mr. Johnston shared: "I had two Hispanic boys join us in class who didn't speak English so I speak a little bit of Spanish…It used to be much more, but now I've fallen off, so ... But I will try my best to engage students. In Spanish, I have kind of a cheat sheet of Spanish statements that I can say to one of my girls in [class]." It was important for him to be able to communicate at some level with all of his students. Ms. Haynes described the ELL's as students who are in the middle of the spectrum while others perceived them as having high-HSD. Ms. Haynes saw them as being in the middle and she reported trying to engage with the parents of ELL students.

Though some teachers reported trying to learn Spanish or speaking a minimal amount of Spanish to students at school, communication with parents was often nonexistent. The teachers reported limited access to interpreters and often no desire or time to go through the challenges of securing an interpreter to facilitate communication with families. In describing her communication with parents, Ms. Franklin shared:

> I have some type of a relationship with some of the parents. I have some type of
>
> relationship with some of them because I'm constantly in contact with those,
>
> and then the ELL students, I'm not very in contact with them even though I
>
> would like to. Because of getting interpreters and things like that. Though I want
>
> to on my part try and learn their language which will take years to do. But I want
>
> to. But at this age I have sixty students so it's kind of hard to have relationship

> with all sixty, so I would say that I probably have a communicative relationship
>
> with probably 15 – 20% of those.

This also speaks to another challenge: teachers felt that they often did not have time to "bridge the gap" and complete the requirements of their job. Ms. Haynes talked about using their free time to engage with families, but also acknowledged that other teachers cannot be expected to do the same:

> … it's hard because we all work a lot of hours and I spend a lot of time after
>
> school doing what I do, and I know that, that's a big thing. So maybe even
>
> enabling teachers to have time to make those connections… So, so I understand
>
> when teachers are like, I'm not going to so and so's house, I'm like, well, yeah.
>
> They're like, I'm off, I'm like, I know.

Other teachers did not explicitly state not having time to bridge the gap or communicate with parents, but they referenced testing pressures and large class sizes making it difficult for them to do their job without just "teaching to the test." One can imagine that if teachers feel pressured to meet state expectations of increasing rigor, that identifying ways to strengthen the connection between home and school may not be a priority. Mr. Weeks explained that, "I don't barely have time for us to go to the bathroom during an 80-minute block, let alone do something that's going to entertain you. We just don't have time. It just doesn't work." He was talking about how he does not have time to make the curriculum entertaining, which might also imply that he does not have time to bridge the gap in the classroom.

While teachers mainly talked about challenges communicating with parents, Ms. Haynes had concerns about bringing up differences in the classroom:

I don't wanna offend anyone so it is, it, like that's a harder subject. But I do try to

have the kids share about their lives and about their families and I feel in a lot of

ways that does bring it in. But as for like explicitly with, um cultural difference

probably not as much, more just an understanding of all of us and our families and

our lives and how those things are different and look different.

Despite the reported fear, this teacher reported the strongest connection with students and

parents with differences between home and school. Ms. Franklin also shared a concern

about honest communication with parents: "you want to be blunt, honest, but in this

society we live in you're not allowed to be blunt, honest with people." This teacher felt

that there were times that there were times were honest communication about a student's

behavior would be beneficial, but she was afraid of how the parents might respond to her

observations.

In summary, teachers identified a spectrum that ranged from perceived

similarities to completely different values and expectations between home and school.

Some teachers identified ELL and special education students as those who were often on

the end of the spectrum with more differences; they also alluded to the changing

demographics and socio-economic status of the area as well. Teachers provided the least

descriptive information about students who fell in the middle of the spectrum. In order to

help the students with differences between home and school to be more successful,

teachers reported building relationships with students (and sometimes parents) while

some reported talking to students about differences and different cultures. Additionally,

teachers shared that they believed parental involvement and communication with families

and sometimes community members was important in helping bridge the gap between

home and school that exists for some students.

Synthesizing the qualitative data

After analyzing and describing the student, parent, and teacher data, discrepancies and similarities were identified across the three data sets. The original data analysis plan was to analyze stakeholder interviews separately and then triangulate the data in the discussion; however, there were some interesting points of comparison that I would like to highlight. Two overarching themes emerged: 1) students, parents, and teachers all talk about dissonance differently and 2) all communication and parental involvement are not equal. These themes will be unpacked briefly in this section and then expanded upon in the discussion section.

Different descriptions of HSD. Teachers reported a spectrum of HSD, students spoke of similarities and differences between home and school, and parents described varying levels of satisfaction with the school. These different perspectives speak to the challenges with assessing HSD (Tyler et al., 2008; Tyler et al., 2016), but also possible issues with accurately defining the construct. Though teachers reported a spectrum of HSD (recall one teacher saying, "So, um, it, it's a tendency that ends in that spectrum more than in the middle. It's either you've got really involved parents or really not involved parents. And a few in the middle, obviously"), students in this study described similar values and behavioral expectations at home and school suggesting that they would fall in the low-HSD group (recall Ashley's report: "For school and at home you know homework getting the work done is both really important. Umm you know school is generally what would be expected of every student and at home it's about the same"). Parents all reported high academic and behavioral expectations, which align with the
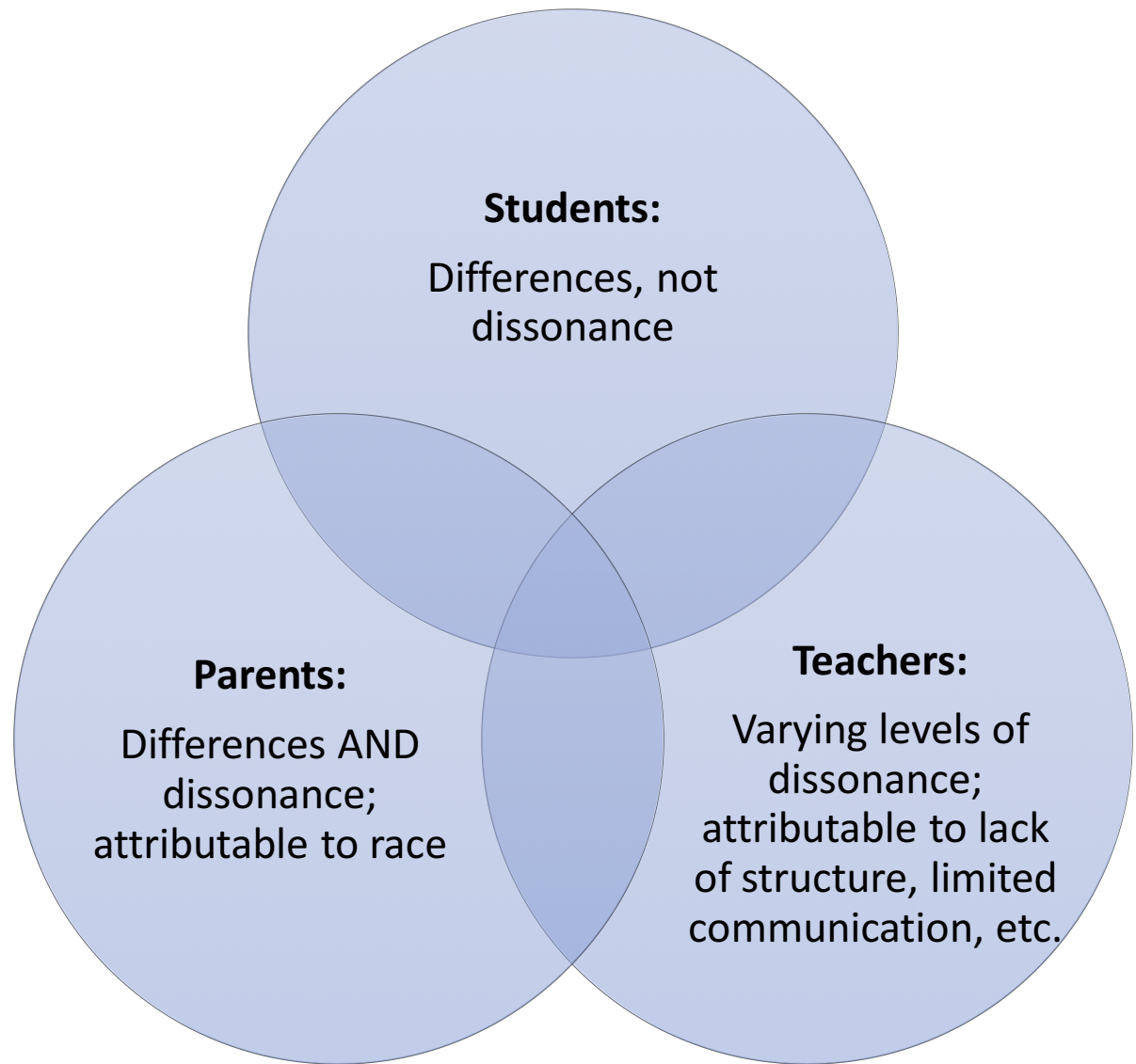
low-HSD group that teachers described; however, the parents of the two Black boys

reported differing values (i.e., "I don't think they [the school] value anything that we

value"). They felt that they were not valued nor were their sons or Black students in

general. Their sons did speak of unfair treatment and difficult relationships with teachers,

but they did not mention race like their parents did. Interestingly, Jennifer (Black girl)

reported some relational challenges with teachers that her mother did not mention in her

interview. Like Michael and Jordan, she did not talk about race, but some of her

experiences appeared to be similar to what the boys described. Michael, Jordan, and

Jennifer reported limited relationships with teachers and also confusion about how rules

were enforced; these concerns were not present for the White students. None of the

teachers mentioned race either, though some referenced socio-economic status as they

described students on the HSD spectrum.

There was also a discrepancy in how parents and teachers conceptualized the

source of HSD; teachers described HSD as originating in the family (e.g., "I would say

the kids who tend to be ... Um, tend to come from families that have the means to go

places or give their students experiences- tend to have an easier time with that connection

between home and school. Whereas others who don't, really struggle with the

differences"), but parents described it as originating in school (e.g., "Well, I think that

our expectations are probably different than the school's. Now, we expect him to do his

best to excel. I think they're just hoping he gets by"). Teachers conveyed that HSD was a

result of home or family culture and the way that individual families operate. They

expected families to adjust to school culture and norms as opposed to identifying ways

for the school to be more accommodating or for families and the school to meet in the

middle in bridging the gap. HSD was almost always described by teachers as a deficit instead of being acknowledged as a difference. Interestingly, when the students described differences that might exist for their peers, they described differences without deficits. Students were also the only group of interview participants who uniformly recognized how home and school both play a role in in the differences that exist between home and school. On the other hand, the dissatisfied parents attributed dissonance to teachers, school and district leadership, institutional practices, and differential treatment due to race. Their attributions were consistent with research that highlights the low expectations that teachers often have for students of color (Gershenson et al., 2016) as well as the institutional practices that perpetuate the racial achievement gap and disproportionality in disciplinary actions (Lewis & Diamond, 2015). Perhaps due to developmental level, the students did not personalize their experiences or refer to the structural issues that their parents related to the school experiences of students of color. Interestingly just as students did not talk about race, neither did teachers. While race was central to the descriptions of dissatisfied parents, the teachers talked about socio-economic status, but not race in their interviews. Overall, the varying and discrepant reports of HSD from students, parents, and teachers, highlight the challenges of measuring HSD and determining where and how to intervene. Figure 5 below conceptualizes student, parent, and teacher descriptions of HSD.

Figure 5.

Student, Parent, and Teacher Conceptualizations of Home-School Dissonance

Students:

Differences, not dissonance

Parents:

Differences AND dissonance; attributable to race

Teachers:

Varying levels of dissonance; attributable to lack of structure, limited communication, etc.

All communication and parental involvement are not equal. Parental involvement and communication between parents and teachers are often offered as important strategies to strengthen the connection between home and school. However, communication and parental involvement do not have the same impact for all groups of students (Kim 2009; Lewis & Diamond, 2015). The concerns of parents of color are often

not taken as seriously as the concerns of White parents, which can result in parents being ignored or rejected, as the dissatisfied parents described in this study (Lewis & Diamond, 2015). The parents in the dissatisfied group reported negative communication with teachers, which included feeling like a nuisance or being ignored via email or in person (recall Michael's mother, Ms. Landry: "I just wish they would respond to my email or send me an email and say Michael had a bad day today, this is what happened, so I can address it at home").

The satisfied parents did not report any negative communication with teachers and they were pleased with the way that school handled situations. These differential experiences illustrate how parents may begin to make meaning of the benefits or consequences to communicating with teachers. When teachers and parents agree, teachers likely perceive lower levels of HSD, but when disagreements occur, higher levels of HSD are assumed. Teachers also placed students with whom they had no parental involvement into the high-HSD group. Parent reports suggest that there may be some parents who intentionally choose not to engage with teachers due to a fear of retaliation.

In general, communication between parents and teachers appears to play a complex role in teacher perceptions of where students fall on spectrum of HSD. Increased communication does not always lead to decreased teacher perceived HSD. This is consistent with literature that demonstrates that communication from minority parents is not as valued or taken as seriously as communication from White parents (Kim, 2009; Lewis & Diamond, 2015). In some instances, communication allows teachers to surmise that values and expectations are similar at home and school, but in other cases the opposite is true and teachers learn that parents have different views.

While communication and parental involvement mostly came up in relation to parent and teacher interactions, some students mentioned communication issues with teachers as well. Jennifer reported choosing not to engage with teachers and to only speak to them when spoken to. Additionally, all students of color described limited relationships with their teachers, which is inconsistent with teacher reports of valuing getting to know their students. Limited relationships between students of color and teachers likely means that communication is limited as well. Most students did not say much about parental involvement, but recall Jennifer being embarrassed by her family's visits to the school. Her mother, Ms. Barber, described positive visits to the school and typically just dropping Jennifer off with the exception of one meeting in guidance that she was happy with. Though he did not report being embarrassed, Jordan also talked about his parent's involvement at school. He shared how they came to school to speak with teachers when they were concerned about academic or behavioral issues. Other than Jennifer and Jordan, no other student participant referenced parental involvement or communication with teachers in their interview. In summary, communication between teachers and parents as well as students is complex and increased communication is not always linearly associated with lower-HSD or parental satisfaction with school. Both themes, different descriptions of HSD and unequal communication, will be further unpacked in the discussion section.

Quantitative Findings

The findings from the administration of the original DBHS scale at Silver Canyon Middle School will be presented followed by the data from the pilot HSD questions that were administered to students at Silver Canyon, Gold Lake, and Bronze Forest. Before

proceeding with any of the analyses, a chi-square test was run to examine differences in

the distribution of White and non-White students across socio-economic status. Students

of color were significantly more likely to receive free or reduced-price meals as school,

$\chi^2(6)=49.53$, p,<.001. Fifty-eight percent of students of color reported receiving reduced-

price meals while only 13% of White students did.

DBHS Scale. T-tests were used to assess differences in overall mean score

between White and non-White Silver Canyon students on the DBHS scale. Levene's Test

for Equality of Variance showed that equal variance was assumed for both tests.

Consistent with findings from previous studies, White (M=8.65, SD=4.36) and non-

White (M=11.11, SD, 5.36; $t(51)$ =-1.82, p=.075) students did not have significantly

different scores on the DBHS scale. However, regardless of race, students who received

free or reduced-price lunch (FRL) (M=12.33, SD=4.88) reported significantly higher

mean scores on the DBHS scale than their peers (M=8.6, SD=4.56; t(47)=2.55, p=.01).

Cohen's d, an indicator of effect size, for this between-group difference was .77,

indicating a moderate effect.

Pilot HSD Survey Questions. Descriptive statistics for the pilot HSD items are

reported in Table 7. The mean scores suggest relatively low levels of differences between

home and school for students. Specifically, the means of most items, generally ranging

from 2.6 to 3.5, were neutral, as "neither agree nor disagree" was coded as a three (one

was "strongly disagree" and five was "strongly agree"). Additionally, most students

agreed that their parents and teachers believe that getting a good education is important,

which is reflected in the low mean score on item 10 (item 10 was the only one that was

reverse coded, with lower scores indicating agreement). Item 10 may differ from the

other items because it does not specifically ask about differences between parents and

teachers.

Table 7

HSD Pilot Survey Descriptive Statistics

	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	Variance
1. My F is different from the F of classmates.	238	3.25	1.16	1.35
2. My F and my T each different ideas about what I should learn.	237	2.88	1.19	1.42
3. My H and S life are like two different worlds	238	3.55	1.26	1.58
4. My F and my T have different ideas about rules and discipline.	236	3.20	1.21	1.45
5. My F and my T have different ideas about homework.	238	2.66	1.39	1.92
6. I act differently at H and at S.	237	3.13	1.30	1.69
7. My F and my T have different expectations for grades.	236	2.63	1.27	1.62
8. My F and my T have different beliefs about success.	236	2.62	1.23	1.52
9. Differences between my H and S life make me uncomfortable.	237	1.91	1.09	1.18
10. My F and T each believe that getting a good education is important.	237	4.62	0.87	0.75

F- Family, T- Teachers, H-Home, S-School

The scores of Black, Latino, Multi-Ethnic, and White students on each item were

compared to determine if there were any differences across race; comparisons were also

made by free/reduced lunch status (Table 10) and school (Table 11). The data generally

met criteria for normality as measured by examining skewness, kurtosis, and histograms

except for item 10. When looking at group differences across race, item nine (i.e.,

"Differences between my home and school life make me uncomfortable.") was

significant. Tukey's post-hoc test revealed that Latino students reported significantly

higher mean scores (*M*=2.65, *SD*=1.14) than Black (*M*=1.76, *SD*=0.97) and White

students (*M*=1.77, *SD*=1.00); however, the mean scores for each group were all closer to

the lower end of the scale, indicating, on average, that students disagreed with the

statement. Given the violation of normality for item 10, I ran a Kruskal-Wallis test. For

item 10, there were no statistically significant differences across race, (H(3)=2.62,

p=.46), with a mean rank of 100.12 for Black or African American students, 110.58 for

Latino students, 97.81 for White students, and 91.22 for Multi-Ethnic students.

Table 8

Comparisons of Item Means by Race

	Black (n=25)		Hispanic (n=20)		White (n=124)		Multi-ethnic (n=27)		F	P
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD		
1. My F is different from the F of classmates.	3.40	1.04	3.55	.76	3.02	1.23	3.37	1.12	2.00	.12
2. My F and my T each different ideas about what I should learn.	3.04	1.31	2.95	1.05	2.76	1.26	2.85	.77	.45	.72
3. My H and S life are like two different worlds	3.72	1.37	4.05	.83	3.44	1.29	3.70	1.07	1.73	.16
4. My F and my T have different ideas about rules and discipline.	3.29	1.08	3.32	1.00	3.10	1.22	3.44	1.25	.75	.52
5. My F and my T have different ideas about homework.	2.48	1.53	2.65	1.14	2.48	1.35	3.04	1.48	1.26	.29
6. I act differently at H and at S.	2.96	1.62	3.25	1.12	3.19	1.20	3.00	1.41	.39	.76
7. My F and my T have different expectations for grades.	2.76	1.45	2.90	.85	2.50	1.28	2.81	1.27	1.04	.38
8. My F and my T have different beliefs about success.	2.92	1.41	2.95	1.05	2.48	1.19	2.48	1.25	1.61	.19
9. Differences between my H and S life make me uncomfortable.	1.76	.97	2.65	1.14	1.77	1.00	2.11	1.25	4.62*	.004
10. My F and T believe education is important.	4.56	.96	4.40	1.00	4.61	.88	4.7	.87	.47	.70

* $p < .05$

For the t-tests comparing students based on free/reduced lunch status t-tests, four of the items were significantly different across groups (items 1. My Family is different from the family of my classmates, 3. My home and school life are like two different worlds, 4. My family and my teachers have different ideas about rules and discipline, and 9. Differences between my home and school life make me uncomfortable; Table 9) Specifically, students who reported receiving FRL had higher mean scores on each of these four items. I ran a Mann-Whitney tests for item 10 since it violated normality. There were no significant differences between those who received FRL (Mdn=1) and those who did not (Mdn=1), U=3,534, p=.18). Results are shown in the Table 9.

Table 9

Comparisons of Item Means by Free or Reduced Priced Lunch Status

	Free/Reduced Price Lunch			Full-price Lunch			95% CI for Mean Difference		
	M	SD	n	M	SD	n		t	df
1. My F is different from the F of classmates.	3.57	1.00	70	3.09	1.21	161	(-.81, -.16)	-2.95*	229
2. My F and my T each different ideas about what I should learn.[a]	3.07	1.11	70	2.78	1.22	160	(-.62, .03)	-1.81	144.44
3. My H and S life are like two different worlds.	3.84	1.16	70	3.40	1.27	161	(-0.79, -0.09)	-2.47*	229
4. My F and my T have different ideas about rules and discipline.	3.47	1.15	68	3.07	1.22	161	(-.74, -.06)	-2.32*	227
5. My F and my T have different ideas about homework.	2.87	1.35	70	2.55	1.38	161	(-0.71, .07)	-1.62	229
6. I act differently at H and at S.[a]	3.23	1.46	70	3.08	1.22	160	(-.54, .25)	-.74	113.48
7. My F and my T have different expectations for grades.	2.81	1.25	70	2.55	1.38	159	(-.62, .10)	-1.43	227
8. My F and my T have different beliefs about success.	2.83	1.22	70	2.50	1.23	159	(-.67, .02)	-1.85	227
9. Differences between my H and S life make me uncomfortable.[a]	2.24	1.19	70	1.77	1.02	160	(-.80, -.15)	-2.91*	115.44
10. My F and T believe education is important.	4.5	.94	70	4.65	.85	160	(-.10, .40)	1.19	228

* $p < .05$.
[a]Equal variance not assumed using Levene's Test for Equality of Variance

In examining differences across the three schools, there were significant mean differences for four items (3. My home and school life are like two different worlds, 4. My Family and my teachers have different ideas about rules and discipline, 6. I act differently at home and at school, 8. My family and my teachers have different beliefs about success; Table 10). For item three, students at Silver Canyon had significantly higher mean scores than students at Gold Lake and for item four, Silver Canyon students had significantly higher scores than those who attended Bronze Forest. On items six and eight, Silver Canyon students had significantly higher mean scores than students at both of the other middle schools. Item 10 violated normality, so a Kruskal-Wallis test was run. There were no significant differences between schools.

Table 10

Comparisons of Item Means by School

	Silver Canyon (n=56)		Bronze Forest (n=86)		Gold Lake (n=96)		F	P
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD		
1. My F is different from the F of classmates.	3.39	1.26	3.26	1.14	3.17	1.13	.67	.51
2. My F and my T each different ideas about what I should learn.	3.20	1.34	2.71	1.06	2.85	1.19	2.96	.054
3. My H and S life are like two different worlds	3.84	1.30	3.62	1.14	3.31	1.30	3.38*	.04
4. My F and my T have different ideas about rules and discipline.	3.57	1.16	3.06	1.18	3.11	1.22	3.61*	.03
5. My F and my T have different ideas about homework.	2.55	1.50	2.55	1.30	2.81	1.40	1.03	.36
6. I act differently at H and at S.	3.55	1.33	2.97	1.23	3.02	1.30	4.11*	.02
7. My F and my T have different expectations for grades.	2.88	1.35	2.40	1.21	2.69	1.26	2.58	.08
8. My F and my T have different beliefs about success.	3.15	1.11	2.33	1.21	2.58	1.23	7.93*	<.001
9. Differences between my H and S life make me uncomfortable.	1.89	1.04	2.00	1.11	1.84	1.10	.48	.62

* $p < .05$

Scale Development. Item-scale correlations for the pilot scale are reported in

Table 11 and item scale statistics are summarized in Table 12. The item-scale statistics

indicated that removing questions one and 10 would increase the internal consistency.

After dropping questions one and 10, alpha equaled .78 for the eight questions.

Table 11

HSD Pilot Survey Item-Scale Correlations

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
1. My F is different from the F of classmates.	27.17	39.94	.23	.108	.75
2. My F and my T each different ideas about what I should learn.	27.54	35.48	.55	.341	.71
3. My H and S life are like two different worlds	26.88	36.63	.42	.306	.73
4. My F and my T have different ideas about rules and discipline.	27.22	36.16	.49	.264	.72
5. My F and my T have different ideas about homework.	27.76	36.94	.34	.251	.74
6. I act differently at H and at S.	27.29	36.43	.42	.276	.73
7. My F and my T have different expectations for grades.	27.79	34.20	.60	.456	.70
8. My F and my T have different beliefs about success.	27.81	35.00	.57	.433	.71
9. Differences between my H and S life make me uncomfortable.	28.52	37.79	.43	.260	.73
10. My F and T believe education is important.	25.81	43.67	.024	.057	.77

Scale Statistics	Mean	Variance	Standard Deviation	N
	30.42	44.71	6.69	10

Table 12

Summary Item Statistics

	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	Range	Maximum /Minimum	Variance	N of Items
Item Means	2.719	1.386	3.536	2.150	2.551	.426	10
Item Variances	1.456	.764	1.942	1.178	2.542	.101	10
Inter-Item Correlations	.215	-.127	.589	.716	-4.621	.025	10

Table 13 shows the inter-item correlations, which all fell between .2 and .4 (Piedmont, 2014). There were no variables with correlations of .90 or greater; thus, no additional questions were removed at this step (Field, 2005; Piedmont, 2014).

Table 13

Correlation Matrix

	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
2. My F and my T each different ideas about what I should learn.	–							
3. My H and S life are like two different worlds	.343*	–						
4. My F and my T have different ideas about rules and discipline.	.370*	.324*	–					
5. My F and my T have different ideas about homework.	.327*	.027	.256*	–				
6. I act differently at H and at S.	.239*	.417*	.252*	.091	–			
7. My F and my T have different expectations for grades.	.438*	.297*	.384*	.391*	.229*	–		

| 8. My F and my T have different beliefs about success. | .377* | .251* | .391* | .300* | .338* | .589* | – | |
| 9. Differences between my H and S life make me uncomfortable. | .197* | .277* | .252* | .281* | .318* | .313* | .343* | – |

p < .001

The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was .80, which is considered

"meritorious" (Dziuban & Shirkey, 1974). Bartlett's test of sphericity, which indicates

that there are some relationships between variables, was significant ($\chi 2$ (28) = 430.21, p <

.001) also indicating that the items were adequate for a factor analysis.

An exploratory factor analysis (EFA) of the eight remaining survey items was

conducted using principal axis factoring and an oblique rotation. Five of the eight

communalities were in the low range (i.e., less than .4; Costello & Osborn, 2005), while

three were in the moderate range (i.e., .4-.7). Low communalities suggest that an item is

not related to the others or that another factor should be explored (Costello &Osborn,

2005). Since the assumptions had been met (i.e., Bartlett's and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin

test), I continued with interpreting the findings cautiously. Using a scree plot and looking

at eigenvalues above one (Thompson, 2004), the analysis yielded two factors that

explained 33% and 8% of the variance respectively. Table 14 shows the promax-rotated

components for the eight items.

Table 14

Promax-rotated components for the eight items

	Pattern		Structure	
	I	II	I	II
2. My F and my T each different ideas about what I should learn.	.464	.182	.566	.442
3. My H and S life are like two different worlds	-.123	.821	.338	.753
4. My F and my T have different ideas about discipline.	.398	.234	.529	.457

5. My F and my T have different ideas about homework.	.675	-.237	.543	.142
6. I act differently at H and at S.	.031	.563	.347	.581
7. My F and my T have different expectations for grades.	.754	.018	.763	.440
8. My F and my T have different beliefs about success.	.632	.117	.698	.472
9. Differences between my H and S life make me uncomfortable.	.310	.236	.442	.409

Given that the two factors were not particularly strong and that the second factor only consisted of two items, I re-ran the analysis using an orthogonal varimax rotation for comparison. Brown (2009) suggests running separate EFAs with both an orthogonal and oblique rotations to determine which one best describes the data. The orthogonal rotation method yielded the results below in Table 15.

Table 15

Varimax-rotated factors

	I	II
2. My F and my T each different ideas about what I should learn.	.489	.321
3. My H and S life are like two different worlds	.106	.752
4. My F and my T have different ideas about rules and discipline.	.441	.351
5. My F and my T have different ideas about homework.	.577	-.015
6. I act differently at H and at S.	.182	.552
7. My F and my T have different expectations for grades.	.720	.255
8. My F and my T have different beliefs about success.	.631	.312
9. Differences between my H and S life make me uncomfortable.	.358	.325

In examining both the promax and varimax rotated factors, the promax EFA seemed to represent the data better (i.e., values over .32, factors with a few high loadings and others closer to zero, and less complex loadings above .30 on both factors; Brown, 2009; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). Oblique rotations are often used when complex variables occur as they did with the varimax rotations (Thompson, 2004).

The EFA with a promax rotation best fit the data. It yielded two distinct factors explaining a combined 40% of the variance. The low communalities suggested that the

items may not be closely related to each other and the pattern matrix did not reveal any

particularly strong coefficients. The two factors appear to measure two components of

HSD. The first factor consists of questions about differing expectations between family

and teachers (i.e., My family and my teachers each have different beliefs about what it

means to be successful, My family and my teachers each have different ideas about how

important homework is., My family and my teachers each have different expectations for

the grades I should earn in school., My family and my teachers each have different

beliefs about what it means to be successful.) while the second factor reflects the survey

participant's personal experiences of HSD (i.e., My home and school life are like two

different worlds., I act differently at home and at school). Though a pattern emerged with

the two factors, neither was strong. Factors such as the one about personal experiences of

HSD with less than three items are unstable (Costello & Osborn, 2005). In addition, solid

factors typically consist of at least five loadings of .50 or more (Costello & Osborn,

2005), which neither factor had.

     Multigroup Comparisons. To further examine the factor structure, I conducted

multi-group analyses in AMOS. First, I ran the analysis with the whole group to examine

the model (Figure 6). The significant chi-statistic (χ^2=25.128, df=8, p=.001) was the first

indication that the current model was not a good fit.

Figure 6

Two Factor Model
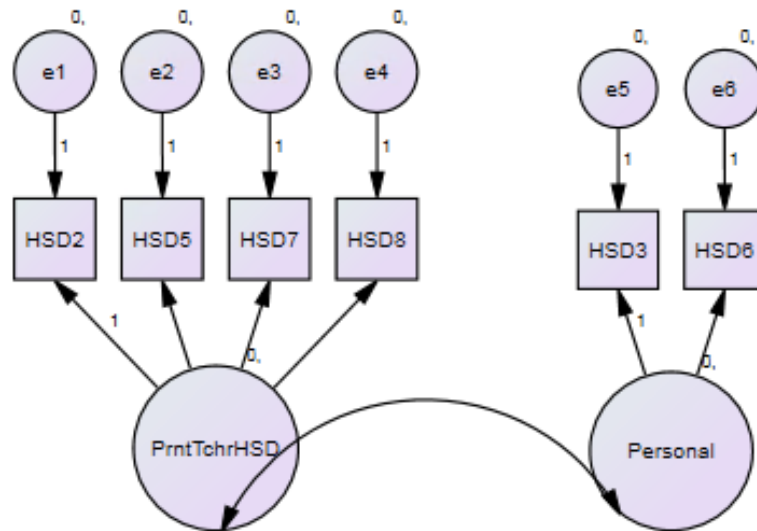
Given that chi-square is often sensitive to small sample sizes, I also used CFI, TLI, and

the RMSEA as indicators of fit. In the full sample CFI=0.94, TLI=.84, and

RMSEA=.095. The CFI value of .94 is adequate; however, the TLI should also be above

.90. RMSEA should close to or less than .05 with values greater than .05 and less than 1.0

being adequate. Since the fit statistics were only moderately good, the two-factor model

was rejected and the multigroup comparison was run again without the "Personal" two-

item factor (Figure 7).

Figure 7

One-Factor Model
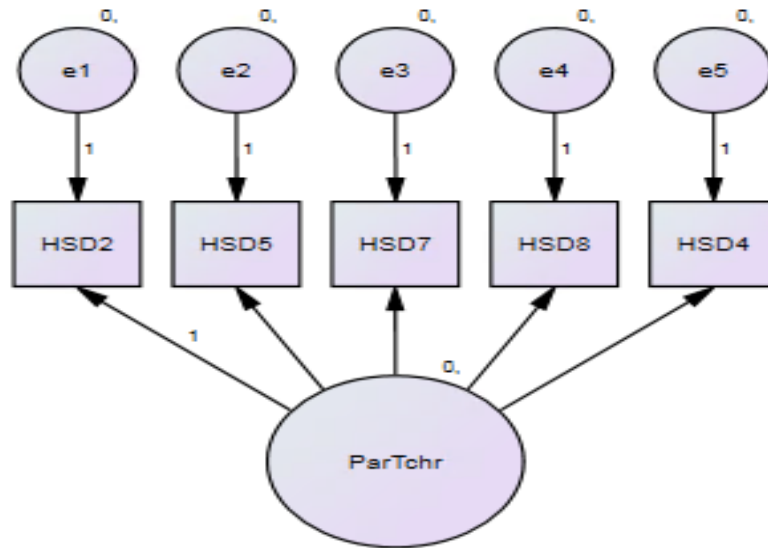
The structure and pattern matrices were also revisited and item four, "My family and my teachers each have different ideas about how important homework is." was added into the analysis. The chi-square statistic was not significant with the new model ($\chi2$=7.32, df=5, p=.20). The other fit statistics were in the acceptable range as well (CFI=.99, TLI=.97, and RMSEA=.04). Given that the hypothesized model fit the data well, a multigroup comparison analysis was run to examine differences between White and non-White students. The most constrained model, where parameters were constrained to be equal across both groups, had the best fit ($\chi2$=22.55, df=25, p=.60; RMSEA=.00; CFI=1.00), and model comparison statistics (e.g., change in Chi-squared) demonstrated that the most constrained model was not significantly different from the baseline model and should not be rejected. Thus, the most parsimonious model was retained providing evidence that the five-item structure was invariant across White and non-White students.

A multigroup analysis was also run to assess measurement invariance between students who received FRL and those who did not. As with the previous comparison, the results showed that the most constrained model had the best fit, with a chi-square of 31.61 (df=25, p=.17), RMSEA of .03, and CFI of .97. Model comparison statistics showed that this model was not significantly different from the baseline (unconstrained) model, indicating that it should not be rejected. Thus, the most constrained (and parsimonious) model was retained and provided evidence that the five-item factor structure was invariant across the two groups.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

Schools in the United States are becoming increasingly more diverse; however, racial achievement and discipline disparities continue to exist (Howard, 2015). In addition, the teacher workforce does not reflect the demographics of students (Goldring, et al., 2013). Given that many schools operate based on middle-class White norms (Carter, 2005), it is important to understand how home-school dissonance (HSD) impacts academic and psychosocial success for students from racially and socio-economically diverse backgrounds (Markus, 2008; Tyler et al., 2008). This study sought to understand the utility of the DBHS scale and to learn more about overall experiences of HSD from students, parents, and teachers.

The findings from this study indicate that the answer to the questions in the title, "Dissonance between home and school: Does it exist and how should it be measured?" are complex and interrelated. Whether or not dissonance exists depends on how it is defined *and* how it is being measured. To date, the quantitative measurement of HSD has been limited and flawed (i.e., confusing wording and self-report only), and more broadly, student self-report measures do not get at the dissonance that occurs between other stakeholders. The results from this study suggest that dissonance between home and school does exist, but that students, teachers and parents have differing perspectives on its form and impact.

Research Goal One. The first goal of this study was to assess the utility of the most commonly used quantitative measure of HSD, the DBHS scale. Cognitive interview

data did not reveal any differences in understanding the individual DBHS items based on

race. Importantly, all students were confused by some of the questions and reported that

the affective component was not always applicable to their lives. For example, when

presented with the prompt, "I feel troubled because my home life and my school life are

like two different worlds," some students reported having different home and school

worlds, but not being "troubled" by the differences. The cognitive interview data

demonstrated that students in this study may have had difficulty accurately answering the

questions due to the manner in which experiences of difference (e.g., "…my teachers and

parents have different ideas about what I should learn in school") were conflated with

emotionality (e.g., "I feel upset…").

I used ANOVA to determine if between-group differences existed in DBHS

scores as predicted by existing theory and research. Consistent with previous findings

(Arunkumar et al., 1999), students of color did not report higher levels of HSD; however,

students who reported receiving FRL indicated higher levels of HSD. Given the findings

from the cognitive interview process, which suggest that the items conflate potential

sources of HSD with emotional or affective responses to HSD, the statistical tests may

not provide a valid assessment of differences in HSD. In particular, the face validity

(DeVellis, 2012) of the DBHS is questionable as it is unclear if students' responses are

based on affirming or disaffirming actual experiences of differences between home and

school or if they are responding to the affective part of the prompt (e.g., feeling upset or

troubled). Overall, the challenges that students had as they answered the questions

indicate that the DBHS scale may not be a good measure of HSD due to its design and

wording. While it may be that "dissonance" between home and school requires students

to affirm experiencing a negative reaction to differences in each context, more work is needed to tease the experience of difference apart from the emotion.

Research Goal Two. The second goal of this study was to learn more about experiences of HSD from a racially/ethnically and socioeconomically diverse set of informants (students, parents, and teachers) to provide further insight into the utility of existing measures. I conducted interviews with students, parents, and teachers and analyzed qualitative data to identify common themes and variation in perceptions of differences in values, beliefs, and behavioral expectations between home and school. Qualitative findings suggest that students, parents, and teachers all talk about HSD differently. The students in this study reported that home and school were the same, but then provided evidence suggesting confusion about how to frame the differences as well as differential experiences, especially for the students of color. Students never reported being upset or uncomfortable with differences between home and school, but they did mention being confused by differences. Both students reported being confused when their parents and teachers had different ideas on academics. For example, Thomas' teachers might tell him to solve a math problem one way, but then his parents would help him solve it differently. Jennifer also reported being confused by discipline practices at school though she had difficulty articulating her concerns. There were other students who did not explicitly use the word "confused," but also talked about their observations of differential enforcement of rules. The students did not seem to be negatively impacted by the confusion, but they were aware of it. Perhaps confusion is a precursor to true awareness of HSD that high school students were able to articulate in previous studies (Carter, 2005, Phelan et al., 1999).

Students also talked about differential experiences and expectations; however, they did not attribute the differences to race or SES, which might be expected. For the Black male students who reported low expectations from teachers and limited relationships with teachers, race was not mentioned in their interviews. However, their parents were dissatisfied with their sons' educational experiences and they referenced racial stereotypes and lower expectations as well. Also of note, although one mother reported that her home and school were the same for her daughter, her daughter's interview included evidence of HSD. Other than the parents of the Black males, the parents interviewed reported that home and school were the same for their children. Taken together, the student and parent interview data indicate that students of color who participated in this study may have more negative experiences, lower expectations from teachers, and weaker student-teacher relationships than the White parents and students who were interviewed.

Teachers described a spectrum of HSD and often reported that HSD was a result of lower expectations at home or lower SES. It was notable that the teachers did not mention race in their descriptions of HSD. This may be related to the race of the interviewer (Black), given that all of the teacher participants identified as White. They described gifted students, who are predominantly White, as having less HSD. Lower SES, special education, and ELL students were described as having higher levels of HSD. Teachers also reported that greater parental involvement was associated with less HSD. Teachers described bridging the gap by incorporating students' home lives or cultures into the classroom, attempting to speak Spanish to some students, responding to correspondence from parents, and, in the case of one teacher, making home visits. It

seemed that both parents and teachers desired communication with each other, but teachers were often unsatisfied with the level of involvement from parents while parents were sometimes unhappy with the quality of their interactions with teachers.

The "double-edged sword" of parental involvement in school and increased communication with teachers was an unexpected finding. Parental involvement is generally believed to be associated with positive benefits (Hill & Tyson, 2009); however, some researchers have documented that there may be differential impacts of involvement across racial/ethnic groups (Lewis & Diamond, 2015). In a 2009 meta-analysis (Hill & Tyson, 2009) posited that negative historical experiences (e.g., slavery, segregation) as well as personal experiences impact African American parents' willingness to engage with the school system. In this study, however, parents of all three African American students were involved in their child's educations and in communication with teachers. Though students and teachers did not talk about race in their interviews, the parents of the two Black boys reported many concerns that were consistent with national trends such as unfair and disproportionate discipline practices, low academic expectations, and an underrepresentation of Black students in gifted classes (Ford, 2014; Gregory et al., 2010).

While my idealistic assumption was that parental communication with teachers would positively impact student experiences and outcomes, the parents of African American boys reported fearing that communication with teachers would lead to retaliation as well as their sons being stereotyped. Some of their concerns were similar to that of parents in another study (Lewis-McCoy, 2016) in which middle-class parents of Black children reported that they were not treated similarly to their white counterparts and that teachers assumed all Black students were from low-SES backgrounds. Similarly,

Lewis and Diamond (2015) found White students in a diverse high school received better treatment than students of color due in part to perceived social capital. Specifically, White students and their parents were often and sometimes erroneously assumed to come from higher-SES backgrounds and hold more social power (i.e., power that could be leveraged to negatively impact the school) while the opposite was often assumed for Black students and their parents. For Black parents in this study, communication with teachers did not have the positive impact that would be expected; it resulted in fear of retaliation against their children.

Communication between parents and teachers seems to be a complex phenomenon. In some situations, it may be helpful, but in others it may open the door for judgment or retaliation. This may be especially true when parents are raising concerns at the school (e.g., unfair treatment) as opposed to checking in with teachers about academics or homework. When parents and teachers agree on expectations or behavioral concerns, conversations between the two tend to go well allowing teachers to deduce congruency between home and school. On the other hand, when parents and teachers disagree (or when either party perceives disagreement), tensions arise as teachers blame parents and parents blame teachers; this situation may be more common for parents from historically marginalized groups (Hill & Torres, 2010; Hill, Witherspoon, & Bartz, 2016; Wallace, 2013). This tension between adults likely impacts students as well. This leaves open the question: is no communication at all better than communicating with the risk of retaliation? This study cannot answer this question, but it does shed light on the differing impacts of parental involvement and communication for some students and families.

Research Goal 3. The third goal of the study was to propose a new set of items

for a quantitative HSD scale. The new items were created based on the cognitive

interview and traditional interview data and piloted to students at three different middle

schools. The biggest difference between the original "Dissonance Between Home and

School" scale and the proposed HSD questions was that an attempt was made to separate

experiences of HSD from the emotions that may or may not be associated with it. While

there were few significant differences on each new item across racial/ethnic groups,

students who received free or reduced-price lunch (FRL), a proxy for low SES, had

higher mean scores on each item than students who did not. There were significantly

more students of color who reported receiving FRL. Additionally, White students had

lower means scores than at least one racial/ethnic group (Black, Latino, Multi-Ethnic)

and sometimes all three of the other groups on each item. For the two questions about

personal experiences, White and multi-ethnic (the majority of which reported being Black

and White) students had the lowest mean scores. Multi-Ethnic and White students also

reported the lowest mean scores on the question about their parents' and teachers' beliefs

about success suggesting that these students perceived more similarities in expectations

between home and school than others. Though the majority of the item comparisons

across race were not significant, the findings show that Black and Latino students in this

study reported more personal experiences of HSD and more differences in parents' and

teachers' beliefs about success than their White and Multi-Ethnic counterparts.

Additional research is needed to understand how the interaction of race and SES may

impact scores.

There were also some differences at the school level. Students at Silver Canyon

had significantly higher scores than one or both other schools on: "My home and school

life are like two different worlds," "My family and my teachers have different ideas about rules and discipline," "I act differently at home and at school," and "My family and my teacher have different beliefs about success." These differences may be attributable to some of the racial tensions that exist in the Silver Canyon community. In addition, the district that houses Bronze Forest and Gold Lake has more teachers of color and more concerted diversity and inclusion efforts at the district and school level. In order to better understand how HSD presents across different school contexts, more work should be done to explore the impact and correlation between school climate and other factors relating to levels of reported HSD.

An exploratory factor analysis yielded two factors: one with two items that appeared to measure personal experiences of HSD and another with four items that appeared to assess differences between parents and teachers. When the model was examined in AMOS, the two-item factor was removed and another item was added to the factor measuring differences between parents and teachers. This five-item factor demonstrated measurement invariance across White and non-White students, but not across students who received FRL and those who did not. Though the two factors did not hold, the findings suggest that questions centered around personal experiences of HSD and differences between parents and teachers might be useful. In future studies with a larger sample size, it would be beneficial to examine actual racial/group differences instead of just the White and non-White comparison that was run due to the small numbers of students in the non-White groups. It would also be advantageous to pilot more questions that map onto the two factors. After determining how to best measure the presence of HSD, then work can be done on measuring the emotional impact as

attempted in the original DBHS scale that conflated the two.

The finding that students receiving FRL had higher scores on all of the pilot HSD items speaks to importance of assessing social class when examining HSD. Students who received FRL reported more differences between home and school and that the differences make them more uncomfortable than other students. This suggests that schools may need to work harder to assist students with lower economic differences in managing boundaries between home and school. There were fewer differences between white students and students of color on the pilot items, although some did emerge. Ultimately, it is important to investigate and acknowledge the role that the intersection of race and class play in experiences of HSD. Since the quantitative sample was predominantly White, I was unable to examine differences in reported HSD across race and social class simultaneously.

With additional work on the scale, the proposed items may show promise for measuring experiences of HSD; however, qualitative results from this study caution against using student reports as the sole indicator of HSD. In particular, Michael and Jordan's parents shared experiences which were more detailed and negative than what their sons shared. Additionally, teachers described a spectrum of HSD that did not emerge in the student data. This data suggests that student and parent feelings towards the school may differ at the middle school level. Further, parents and teachers may have different observations and experiences of HSD than middle school students, meaning that student self-report measures should be only one method to assess HSD. Studies such as this one that triangulate student, parent, and teacher perspectives may provide the most information about the presence or absence of HSD.

Summary. Findings from this study suggest that teacher and parent perspectives provide a window into the tension that exists between home and school for some students. Discrepancies between teacher and parent reports demonstrated a disconnect between the two that likely impacted perceptions of HSD and would not have been discovered by solely examining student reports. The tension that exists between parents and teachers that is not being measured on student self-report measures calls into question the utility of self-report measures in identifying HSD in middle school students. Though the DBHS scale is the only quantitative measure of HSD, studies using it have not identified significant differences between Black and White students. In addition, Tyler et al. (2016) make the claim that the DBHS scale is not fully capturing the construct of HSD. It is likely that the studies using the DBHS are missing out on the dissonance and tension that occurs between parents and teachers.

Perhaps for middle schoolers, dissonance takes place between parents and teachers and then shifts to the student as they continue to develop and become more autonomous and aware. For example, as teachers talked about HSD, they often grouped students based on assumptions, stereotypes, and biases. Explicit comments were made about gifted, special education, and socio-economic status, though race was not a part of the conversation. Students did not talk about gifted or special education groupings, but they demonstrated some awareness of socio-economic status as they talked about "financial levels" and the types of jobs that parents may have. On the other hand, the parents of the two Black boys were acutely aware of how stereotypes and the historical and ongoing experiences of their racial group were surfacing at school for their children. For students like Jennifer, perhaps gender, cultural capital, and cultural flexibility (e.g.,

skills for transitioning back and forth between home and school and matching the

behavior to the setting) buffered some of the negative experiences that the parents of

other Black students reported. These findings suggest that the traditional measurement of

HSD focusing on cultural differences between home and school may not be assessing the

ways that HSD is actually presenting in schools. The DBHS scale and the literature on

HSD focuses on differing values, beliefs, and behavioral expectations even though

parents report similarities to school in each of these three domains. In comparison,

teachers often assume differences that may not actually exist.

Synthesizing the findings

      Discrepant mixed-methods results. One of the strengths of this dissertation is

that mixed-methods were used to examine HSD. Qualitative methods were used to

interrogate a quantitative measure and quantitative methods were also used to

substantiate the qualitative data. Findings from this study were consistent with the extant

literature, which have shown discrepancies in the quantitative and qualitative data on

HSD. While the quantitative findings from this study revealed low levels of HSD as did

the student interviews, parent and teacher reports provided evidence for HSD. This was

an interesting and important finding since, to date, HSD has been measured only through

self-report measures and primarily with student interviews. Without using the mixed-

methods approach, the erroneous conclusion that HSD was not a major issue in the

sample could have been made.

      Although the qualitative and quantitative results showed overall low levels of

HSD, students from FRL backgrounds were more likely to report HSD. This is further

compounded by the fact that there was an over-representation of students of color in the

FRL group, suggesting a unique interplay between race and SES in experiences of HSD

that would not have been identified without the quantitative data. Another concern is that

there is little known about the psychometric properties of the DBHS scale. A CFA was

used to assess the factor structure (Arunkumar et al., 1999), but nothing was found that

explained measurement invariance or if the factor structure held across groups of

difference. While both the current study and previous quantitative studies found low

levels of dissonance, the qualitative interrogation of the DBHS scale as well as the semi-

structured interview data suggest that HSD exists, but it may not be getting assessed

appropriately or thoroughly with the DBHS.

        Despite there being overall low levels of dissonance in both portions of this study,

the few differences between race and SES were important. The one item that was

significant in the racial comparisons, "Differences between my home and school life

make me uncomfortable," showed that Latino students had higher mean scores than both

Black and White students. While African Americans have historically been oppressed in

the United States, Latino students make up a quickly growing minority group in Central

Virginia and nationally. One hypothesis is that the language barrier may be creating more

dissonance for students who are learning English or for students who know English, but

may have parents who are not as fluent. A lack of communication between parents and

teachers due to language differences may result in increased levels of dissonance for

students and emotional responses such as discomfort and embarrassment, which George

mentioned during his interview.

        The more surprising finding that was present quantitatively, but not qualitatively,

was that lower-SES students seemed to be experiencing more HSD. Like Latino students,

they also reported significantly higher scores on, "Differences between my home and school life make me uncomfortable," but they also had higher scores on the following questions, "My family is different from the family of my classmates," "My home and school are like two different worlds," and "My family and my teachers have different ideas about rules and discipline." This survey data was valuable because students who were interviewed did not report feeling uncomfortable about differences between home and school nor did they feel that their families were different than the families of their peers. The purposive sampling used for the interviews garnered a very different group of participants than did the survey sampling in which consent forms were sent home with every student at Silver Canyon and all sixth-grade students at Gold Lake and Bronze Forest. The larger and more representative data gathered from the quantitative sample provided more nuanced information than the qualitative data, thus showing the value in using quantitative and qualitative data to supplement each other.

Aside from having qualitative and quantitative data from students, the qualitative data from parents and teachers provided unique perspectives into HSD that went beyond the self-reports (interviews and surveys) in previous studies. While students were reporting low levels of HSD, teachers were sorting students into groups based on their perceptions of students' different values and expectations between home and school. Though students were largely unaware of this process, parents of the two Black males described instances of unfair treatment or rejection of them and their sons in the school setting. Triangulating the qualitative data between parents and teachers showed that even when students are not aware of or consciously impacted by HSD, there may still be processes that adults are engaging in that negatively impact student outcomes.

In sum, the mixed-methods used in this study revealed the true complexity of HSD. It is difficult to capture quantitatively and it may also present differently across different racial, SES, or intersectional groups. While the findings showed that some students are experiencing HSD that results in them feeling uncomfortable, others are simply confused by the processes that they may not be able to fully name as a middle school students. Regardless of how students are feeling, teachers may be labeling students and parents may be acutely aware of this, suggesting that teachers and parents are a largely untapped source of measuring and addressing HSD. These complex findings would not have been discovered without the use of mixed-methods as well as the triangulation of the qualitative data.

Expanding the definition of HSD. Findings from this study as well as existing theory provide evidence that part of the challenge with measuring HSD may be that the current definition is limited**.** The integrative model of child development (Garcia Coll et. al., 1996) posits that schools can be inhibiting or facilitating environments for students. However, the current definition of HSD (i.e., differing values, beliefs, and behavioral expectations between home and school) as defined by Arunkumar (1999) focuses more on the individual student than systemic and institutional factors that contribute to dissonance. Though home and school are both included in the definition of HSD, conceptual models largely only include student reports and experiences. To this point, HSD, cultural discontinuity, and other related constructs have often focused on cultural-value based behaviors that may be different at home and school; however, student participants in this study did not discuss culture. The dissonance appeared to be related to miscommunications between parents and teachers as well perceived and actual

differential treatment of some students. In addition, students did not report experiencing

or noticing HSD and were generally accepting of their peers, while teachers talked a great

deal about HSD. Perhaps the true issue with HSD is how teachers respond to it and work

with students with differences between home and school.

The Multiple Worlds Hypothesis model (Phelan et al., 1991) accounts for the

interrelationships between students, families, peers, and schools and also considers race

and socio-economic status, but these factors that contribute to dissonance between home

and school are not central to the model. Given the stated concerns with the existing

frameworks, new models should account for the interplay between home and schools,

demographic characteristics, as well as interpersonal dynamics between students, parents,

and teachers. Findings from this study including the different descriptions of HSD by

students, parents, and teachers as well as survey data substantiate Tyler et al.'s (2016)

assertion that the DBHS scale is not fully capturing experience of HSD and confirm that

the deeper exploration of measuring HSD taken in this dissertation study was warranted.

Findings also raised the concern that middle school students may not be as acutely aware

of HSD as the high school students were whose interview data was used to formulate the

Multiple Worlds Hypothesis (Phelan et al., 1991).

Examining direction of HSD. Though researchers still have not figured out the

best way to measure HSD and other related constructs (Tyler et al., 2008; Tyler et al.,

2015), more information is needed on the directionality of HSD. For example, some

students may have higher expectations at home than they do at school and vice-versa.

Benner and Mistry (2007) found that higher maternal expectations buffered the effects of

low-expectations at school, but less is known about the outcomes of students who may

have higher expectations at school. Teachers in this study often reported that some students had lower expectations at home and they reported that those students struggle at school; however, these students and parents are not represented in this data set to share their experiences. Still, one student in this study did share that some of his friends wanted to do well in school, but that their parents did not care as much about grades. He felt that some of his friends had more in common with teachers than their parents. Another girl talked about some students having more in common with their peers than their parents, which may be a developmentally appropriate assumption on her part as an adolescent negotiating her own identity and autonomy. Overall, at this point it is unclear is dissonance in general is associated with negative outcomes, or if there are more nuanced outcomes based on where the dissonance occurs.

Recommendations for Practitioners

The final objective of this study was to make recommendations to help schools and students manage HSD. Though teachers described HSD as originating in homes and families, schools still have the responsibility to educate all students equitably. For this reason, it is my belief that schools also have the responsibility of helping to minimize the negative effects of HSD on students. HSD is not a deficit, but a difference that should not result in negative educational experiences.

Culturally Responsive Interventions. Culturally responsive teaching and behavioral interventions have been lauded as one way to reduce HSD (Bottiani, Bradshaw, Rosenberg, Hershfeldt, Pell, & Debnam, 2012; Bui & Fagan, 2013; Delpit, 1988; Delpit, 2006; Gay, 2002; Gay, 2013; Griner & Stewart, 2012; Hershfeldt, Sechrest, Pell, Rosenberg, Bradshaw, & Leaf, 2009; Sugai, O'Keefe, & Fallon, 2012). Though

culturally responsive interventions are promising, teacher preparation programs have

been slower to implement these tenets into their curricula (Kea & Trent, 2013). The

Double Check method is a technique used to help teachers to become more culturally

proficient (Hershfeldt et al., 2009). Using this model, teachers receive coaching that helps

them to reflect on their students' group membership, build authentic relationships,

communicate effectively, make connections to the curriculum, and show sensitivity to

students' cultures (Hershfeldt et al., 2009, p. 5-7). Teachers engage in self-assessment

activities and receive coaching from a trained team of researchers as they work to infuse

cultural responsiveness into classroom instruction and overall culture.

While the Double Check method has been implemented in a number of schools,

outcome focused studies are limited for this and other culturally responsive interventions

(Debnam, Pas, Bottiani, Cash, & Bradshaw, 2015). Debnam et al. (2015) conducted a

study using observational and self-report survey data and found that teachers reported

using more culturally responsive strategies than were actually observed. These findings

indicate a need for more systematic implementation and evaluation of how culturally

responsive interventions are being introduced and carried out in the classroom. Indeed,

culturally responsive interventions are important and may be one piece of addressing the

HSD puzzle; however, implementing these practices without also making institutional

changes will show little if any true benefit to students.

Restorative Justice Practices. Restorative justice, which originated in the field

of criminal justice, is an evidenced-based approach to disciplining students, repairing

harm, and rebuilding relationships, while reducing punitive consequences (González,

2014; Payne & Welch, 2013; Teasley, 2014). Restorative justice practices may be

especially beneficial in reforming school discipline and reducing the disparities that

disproportionally impact students of color and likely those with high levels of HSD.

Using this model, the victim, offender, family members, friends, community members,

and other relevant stakeholders engage in discussions to determine how to move forward,

reverse harm, and meet the needs of all parties involved (Umbreit, Coates, & Vos, 2007).

Peer mediation and student conferences are frequently used to determine the appropriate

consequences to the behavior infraction (Payne & Welch, 2013). When implemented

correctly across entire schools and districts, positive outcomes include reducing repeat

offenses and increasing the number of students who graduate from high school (Payne &

Welch, 2013). The use of restorative justice practices has the potential to improve school

climate by creating a fairer and more individualized approach to disciplining students.

The involvement of family and community members also increases community

engagement and collaboration between home and school for students, thus strengthening

relationships and reducing HSD.

       Family/Community/School Partnerships. As one teacher in this study

mentioned, building community partnerships can be a valuable method for reducing

HSD. Given the mistrust that exists between some cultural groups and educational

institutions, third parties such as places of worship and community centers may be able to

help bridge the gap between home and school that exist for some students and families

(Gay, 2002). Benefits of school-community collaborations can result for students (e.g.,

access to extracurricular activities, career exploration), parents (e.g., knowledge of local

resources, interactions with other families, and awareness of school role in the

community), and teachers (e.g., awareness of how community can enrich curricula,

access to mentors, business partners, community volunteers, helpful referrals; Epstein,

2010, p. 87). These kinds of benefits reach multiple stakeholders in the school, and thus

may help bridge perceived distances between them.

Community partners could be an important resource as well as a cultural broker

for families with linguistic or cultural differences. While some schools try to meet these

families' needs by providing a translator and translating documents (e.g., school

newsletters), academic language and jargon may be intimidating for English-speaking

families. This may be especially true for parents who interface with the special education

system as they go through annual conversations and legally mandated meetings regarding

the required services to meet students' educational needs. The cultural brokers available

from community partners may speak the language of the family or may just be a trusted

person with some knowledge of the educational process who helps the family to feel

more comfortable in the school setting (LaRocque, 2013). Importantly, educators should

not make assumptions about culturally diverse parents and should remember that despite

barriers, most want to be involved in their child's education; moreover, teachers should

acknowledge the expertise that parents have about their children (LaRocque, 2013).

While this may sound like common practice, teachers in this study often made

assumptions and did not appear to always value the family processes of culturally diverse

students.

Further support for family-community-school partnerships comes from Griner &

Stewart (2012). While developing a checklist for culturally-responsive practices, they

incorporated an expert review into their study in which community members and parents

were interviewed. These stakeholders desired the school to engage in more outreach with

families and community partners and they also wanted more diverse representation on

school committees and organizations such as the Parent Teacher Association. In sum, the

value that parents and community members place on family-community-school

partnerships illustrates the importance of leveraging community partners to improve

school experiences and success for students, especially those who may experience higher

levels of HSD.

   Changing Schools: Demographically and Institutionally. Though there is

variation depending on geographic region and location, most White students attend

school with a majority of White students, while most Black and Latino students attend

school with a majority of students of color (Orfield et al., 2014). There has been a trend

of resegregation in schools due to rolling back policies and not enforcing others regarding

desegregating schools (Orfield et al., 2014). One observation in this study was that

although the town is about 80% White only 65% of students who attend the school are

White which suggests that White parents who are able are sending their children

elsewhere. Though the goal for many is true integration this actually is not happening in

many places and findings from this study suggest that intergroup interactions may not

serve as a buffer for students who experience tension associated with HSD.

   In addition to concerns with student diversity, the teacher workforce should be

more representative of the students in schools. A study conducted using a large dataset

from Florida, which included students in grades three through ten found small, but

positive, benefits in reading and math when Black and White students had a teacher who

was their same race (Egalite, Kisida, & Winters, 2015). The positive benefits were

particularly useful for low-performing students. These findings suggest that school

districts and principals should engage in targeted recruitment and retention strategies to create a diverse workforce that is representative of their student body.

While teacher and student diversity is important, examining school processes and institutional practices is perhaps most important. While many purport to live in a "colorblind" society and most teachers report that they aspire to practice fairness and equality, these ideals are often not reflected in achievement or discipline data (Lewis & Diamond, 2015). In their mixed-methods study of a high school in a diverse, solidly middle-class neighborhood, Lewis and Diamond (2015) concluded that "good intentions" were not enough to close the achievement gap, place more students of color in advanced classes, or increase the fairness of the discipline process. They argue that a shift is needed away from individual interventions that address prejudice and racism, to examining institutional practices and data that represent a divide between aspirational and actual practices in schools. In sum, diversity is one important aspect of decreasing HSD, however, students will likely feel even less HSD when academic and discipline practices are deracialized to increase opportunities and fairness for all.

Limitations

There are several limitations that should be discussed. First, as the teachers reported and previous research corroborates, there is a spectrum of HSD; however, that spectrum was not represented in the student and parent interview sample. While the school identified multiple potential study participants who they believed to have a range of HSD, the students and parents who participated were only those willing to provide consent. It may be that these families have fewer differences between home and school compared to those who were invited and did not participate, and if differences do exist,

participating families may be managing them with less difficulty relative to other

families. As such, the voice of students who may have greater dissonance between home

and school is potentially missing in this study. It is possible that students and parents who

experience higher levels of HSD have more mistrust of the school or that they may be

fearful of retaliation if they speak out about their experiences.

Although the principal and counselor provided a list of students with perceived

varying levels of HSD to participate in the qualitative portion of the study, there also

seemed to be subtle, yet active resistance during the recruitment process. As I shared my

recruitment challenges, both a teacher and a parent who were involved in the community

offered to assist me in recruiting more students who they perceived as having higher

levels of HSD. The principal did not allow me to use these resources as she wanted to

continue the recruitment process as originally agreed upon. Additionally, during the

recruitment phase for the quantitative portion of the study, I was not allowed to send

home reminders with students, though the school did put information about the study and

reminders on their website.

It was particularly challenging to recruit Latino students, which is concerning

given the many Latino students enrolled in public schools in the United States. Research

on HSD has largely excluded Latino students and families and focused on differences

between Black and White students. In order to meet the growing demand to provide

quality educational experiences to all students, a better understanding of HSD in Latino

students is necessary. Although I had a Spanish-speaking research assistant who emailed

and called parents on my behalf, none participated in the qualitative interview portion of

study. Administrators, teachers, other teachers, and even one parent participant discussed

barriers to communication with Latino and Spanish-speaking families, but it seems like language may not be the only barrier. Researchers– and practitioners too– must engage these families in meaningful and genuine ways to increase interest, trust, and understanding of our work. In future studies, intentional methods built upon prolonged engagement with the community, which provides researchers with the opportunity to enroll students in a study over a longer period of time as relationships and trust are built, should be employed to gain access to populations who were underrepresented in the present study (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Oden, Hernandez, & Hidalgo, 2010).

Though there was racial diversity within the student and parent sample, the teachers were all White. Teachers of color may have different views about HSD than those of the teachers represented in this study. Additionally, most of the students and parents were likely middle-class citizens given their reported levels of education. HSD likely presents differently across various racial/ethnic and socio-economic groups making it important to ensure the inclusion all groups of people in future studies.

Another challenge related to the sample was that I relied more heavily on the existing literature base than planned to create the pilot questions since the qualitative sample consisted of students who reported low levels of HSD. Though the student sample was not as diverse in levels of HSD as I had hoped for, the parent interview data was rich in information and did provide insight into some of the experiences that students with higher levels of HSD may have (e.g., stereotypes from teachers, low teacher expectations, discipline differences). The parent data suggests that the DBHS scale and the HSD pilot questions may not be accurately measuring the presence of HSD in schools.

Recruitment was also challenging for the quantitative portion of the study. Out of the approximately 700 students at Silver Canyon, about 70 students returned a consent form and 56 took the survey. The school would not allow a second round of consent forms to be sent home, but they did give reminder announcements over the intercom each day. Given the recruitment challenges, the quantitative sample was smaller than desired, which limited the ability to run an EFA and CFA on the data. Another challenge with the sample size was that only comparisons between White and non-White students were able to be run due to the small sample size of the racial/ethnic minority groups. This also made it impossible to make within-group comparisons across FRL status. Lastly, while the findings from this study underscore the importance of student, parent, and teacher perspectives of HSD at the middle school level, findings from Silver Canyon likely do not generalize to the experiences of students in larger or more urban school districts.

While there were important limitations, using mixed-methods provided rich sources of data that were used to examine the discrepant findings between other quantitative and qualitative studies on HSD. This study was unique in that it used quantitative data from students and qualitative data from students, parents, and teachers to understand how to better measure HSD. Studies have been conducted in elementary school classrooms (Allen & Boykin, 1991; Barbarin et al., 2010), with middle school students (Arunkumar, 1999; Kumar [née Arunkumar], 2006), and with high school students (Brown-Wright & Tyler, 2010; Carter, 2005; Phelan et al., 1991); however, the current theoretical models were created based heavily on student data. Given that HSD centers on the relationship between home and school, including the perspectives of parents and teachers as well may result in a stronger conceptual understanding of HSD.

Future Directions

In the future, I hope to conduct a similar study with a larger and more diverse sample of students, parents, and teachers. HSD will be better understood when students and parents with varying levels of HSD and from varying racial/ethnic and SES backgrounds are represented in the literature base. I would also like to match the race of the interviewer with the participant to see if that changes the types of responses that participants give to interview questions. As previously mentioned, I hope to conduct a larger study by using community-based participatory action research and prolonged engagement with partner school communities. Additionally, this study took place in a small town in Central Virginia; however, conducting a similar study in a larger city or urban area would likely shed different insight into experiences of HSD.

I hope to use findings from this and future studies to help school district leaders, individual school leaders, and school psychologists to better understand how to make schools more welcoming and inviting for all students. It is also important for school leaders to understand, acknowledge, and alleviate the institutional practices that perpetuate the differential treatment of students of color and their families. For example, the differential effects of parental involvement should not exist. Parental involvement should be an asset for all students and not a hindrance when parents fear retaliation or targeting as a consequence of being involved or in communication with teachers at their child's school.

Conclusion

Findings from this dissertation study suggest that HSD impacts students from racial and ethnic minority as well as low-socioeconomic status. This dissonance is

perceived and defined differently by students, parents, and teachers, with middle school teachers and parents being more aware than the students. While the quantitative showed low levels of HSD, the qualitative data substantiate findings from previous studies that students of color and their parents have different experiences in schools than White students. Although the qualitative data were helpful, the discrepancies in the qualitative and quantitative data demonstrate the need to continue to explore this construct and determine the best ways to measure it so that it can be addressed effectively.

Most of the parents who participated in this study had college degrees, but in the future care should be taken to recruit students and parents with varying levels of education and SES to ensure that HSD is accurately being assessed across demographics who are most likely to experience it. Particularly, low-income students of color may be most at-risk for experiencing HSD based on findings from this study. In addition to examining the individual student experience of HSD as well as parent and teacher perceptions, the greatest need is in identifying and challenging institutional and systemic practices that have resulted in the achievement gap and disproportionality in discipline practices for underrepresented groups of students.

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Appendix A

Student Interview Questions

1. How do you describe the relationship between your home and school life?

2. How would you describe yourself as a student?

3. How would your parents describe you as a student?

4. How would your teachers describe you as a student?

5. What are you teachers' behavioral expectations for you at school?

6. What are your parent's behavioral expectations?

7. How do you act differently at home versus at school?

8. Tell me about differences and similarities between home and school.

9. Do you behave differently at home and school?

10. Do you feel like you are viewed differently at home and school?

11. Are there things that are more important in one setting than another?

12. Is there anything outside of your classroom experience that is important to know about the relationship between home and school?

13. Do your administrators/principals/counselors understand the connection between home and school? Do they try to bridge that relationship?

14. Based on this conversation, is there anything else that you think would be important for me to know?

Appendix B

Parent Interview Questions

1. How would you explain the relationship between your child's home and school life?

2. What are your behavioral expectations for your child at home? How do you enforce them?

3. How are your expectations similar or different to the expectations that your child's school and teachers have?

4. What do you believe the role of school is for your children?

5. How much do you feel the school values things that are important to you?

6. How often do you visit your child's school?

7. When you go, why are you going?

8. Describe your last visit to your child's school.

9. How did you feel when you were there?

10. Did it feel like a welcoming environment?

11. Do you wish you could visit it more or less?

12. Some parents have relationships with their child's teacher, others do not. Can you tell me a little more about your experiences?

13. Tell me about differences between home and school for your child.

14. Based on this conversation, is there anything else that you think would be important for me to know?

Appendix C

Teacher Interview Questions

1. What do you teach?

2. How long have you been teaching?

3. How would you describe the relationship between home and school life for your students?

4. How much do you feel your students' parents value things that are important to you as a teacher?

5. If I were to sit in the back of your classroom, what would I see students doing and saying?

6. What are the behavioral expectations in your classroom?

7. How do you communicate behavioral expectations to your students?
   How do you know if a student is on-task?

8. What do your relationships with parents look like?

9. What is your philosophy about communication between home and school?

10. How do you communicate with parents?

11. Tell me about your last call home to a parent or a parent/teacher conference.

12. Tell me about a time that it was challenging to deal with a student.

13. Tell me about a time when it was challenging to deal with a parent.

14. Do you notice differences in home and school expectations for some students? If so, please tell me more about that.

    a. *Probe for behavior

15. How do you incorporate students' differing cultural backgrounds into your instruction?

16. Based on this conversation, is there anything else that you think would be important for me to know?

Appendix D

Written activity adapted from (Cooper, Jackson, Azmitia, & Lopez, 1994, 2002)

Write in the important people that you interact with in your home and school worlds. Write their relationship to you such as mother, father, sibling, friend, coach, priest, counselor, or principal. These people can be positive influences in your life or can cause you difficulties.

Home		School	
People you interact with:	Their expectations for you:	People you interact with:	Their expectations for you:
1		1	
2.		2.	
3.		3.	
4.		4.	
5.		5.	

What do people expect of you in your home and school worlds?

Based on the list that you just created, think about the goals, expectations, and values that important people in your worlds have for you. Then from the list below, write up to 6 expectations inside the appropriate column. You can just write the number instead of the words.

Positive	Negative
1. Work hard	17. Be lazy
2. Stay in school	18. Drop out of school
3. Do well in math	19. Do poorly in math
4. Do well in English	20. Do poorly in English
5. Be a good student	21. Be a poor student
6. Be confident	22. Be unsure of myself
7. Go to college	23. Do not go to college
8. Work right after high school	24. Be unemployed
9. Be rich	25. Be poor
10. Have a family in the future	26. Have a family too soon
11. Help others financially	27. Not help financially
12. Be successful	28. Fail
13. Be honest	29. Be dishonest
14. Have respect for others	30. Be disrespectful
15. Be responsible for my own actions	31. Be irresponsible
16. Other: (write inside the box)	32. Other: (write inside the box)

Appendix E

Student Codes

Code	Description/Example
Different Behavior	Should be used when students describe acting differently in different settings
	Example: "Well you know maybe you joke around and you laugh more around your friends and then you're quieter at home."
Respect	Used any time students mention respect as a behavioral expectation
	Example: "Well, I mean, just- it's- I think, basically, just be res- respectful…-be respectful, do what I'm supposed to do and just ... and all, like, if I just be respectful and do what I'm supposed to do, then she just lets me go with the flow, basically."
Pressure at school	Should be used when students discuss pressure to behave a certain way at school OR when they discuss being able to relax more at home
	Example: "It means like in school life means school you like have to like umm like in school you like have to be like a role model and stuff and like sometimes when you come into school you're in a bad mood because what happened out of school and then what happens in school."
Self-Monitoring	Should be used when students describe modifying their behavior or censoring themselves in certain environments
	Example: "Yeah. Um ... it's like, I don't know, they just, sometimes it doesn't make any sense… Like, with the things that they go, like, the things that they say… Like, I've been, I have been confused about it, but I don't really ask… Because, like, I have like a ... little bit of a problem with that, to like- where I just keep my eyes and my mouth closed and just, like, talk."
Different Academic Views	Used to describe differences in academic goals or instruction between parents and teachers
	Example: "You know I listen to what the teachers are teaching and I learn that, but if my parents say I should be learning something else, I try to learn what my parents say and what the teachers say so I can get everything."
Behavioral Expectations	Used to describe behavioral expectations

	Example: "You know you're supposed to stay quiet, listen to what the teacher is saying, you know write down everything that you need to write down and get stuff done. All the stuff that's just naturally expected of someone to do."
Confusion	Used when students describe being confused by differences between home and school, parents, or teachers.
	Example: "Yeah. Um ... it's like, I don't know, they just, sometimes it doesn't make any sense… Like, with the things that they go, like, the things that they say… Like, I've been, I have been confused about it, but I don't really ask… Because, like, I have like a ... little bit of a problem with that, to like- where I just keep my eyes and my mouth closed and just, like, talk."
Values	Used when students describe things that are important or valued by them or their parents/family
	Example: "Umm extra-curriculars for doing that it's to my parents it seems to be- it's more important. Me doing extra-curriculars is more important to my parents than it is to the teachers."
Home-School Connection	Used when students talk about how home and school function in relation to each other
	Example: "Well, they're kind of the same. I mean, because, like, when I socialize with people, I'm socializing with them at school and home - because, you know, social-media."
Student-teacher/adult interactions	Used when students describe interactions with adults at school
	Example: "At school I don't get along with all of my teachers and at home I can get along with everyone."

Parent Codes

Root code/Child Code	Description/Example
Expectations	
Behavioral	Parent beliefs about how their child should behave.
	Example: "Yes. That's what I tell her because I'm like, Okay, realize you're the student, that's the teacher and you have to show respect."
Academic	Parent beliefs about how their child should perform academically.
	Example: "I feel like I'm a little bit more tough when it comes to grades and stuff. Just being that I told them that, 'You can learn phones,' my boys learn video games and everything else, but if you can't remember your schoolwork, then that's a problem. So, even though like a C is passing for them, they don't get C's, like they get grounded for C's."
Communication	
Preferences	Parent preferences for desired modes of and frequency of communication with teachers
	Example: " Usually I do email or I do text because a lot of times when I'm at work, I can't -- unless it's an emergency, I don't really get -- trying to get too many phone calls at work."
Unreciprocated	Parent descriptions of initiating conversation with teachers, but the teacher never responds
	Example: "I sent the message, well, anyway, I sent a message to this one teacher. The teacher never responded to me. Never."
Frequency	Parent descriptions of how often they are in communication with teachers
	Example: "Maybe like every couple of week, I mean, I'll just -- quick little emails"
Barriers with Hispanic families	Any mention of difficulty communicating with Hispanic families
	Example: "The other population that we're dismissing is the Hispanics. We can't communicate with them.

	That's one thing. The other thing is we don't have people that look like them."
Positive communication	Parent descriptions of communication with teachers in which positive messages are conveyed
	Example: "The teacher might email me and say, she's doing a good job or whatever, whatever and how they enjoy in the class, I would like for that as well."
School visits	Parent descriptions of visits to the school
	Example: "Last week I had to go to the school for oh, I had an incident with a parent and a parent and another kid and I just wanted to let the school know, be aware of it.?
Home-School Connection	Any mention of the relationship between home and school
	Example: "Yeah. I think he sees it as a place of comfort. As far as, what happens in school is an extension of what I expect from him from home. He knows he's not going to do things at school that he wouldn't do at home."
Behavior Management Discipline	Parent descriptions of how they discipline their child
	Example: "Umm he has consequences so if he doesn't fulfill what he needs to do at home, he gets his play station taken away, he has to go to bed earlier, umm just like if he would get in trouble here, the consequences would occur."
Rewards	Parent descriptions of how they reward their child for meeting expectations
	Example: "So, you get all A, then you get new pair of shoes. You get A's and one B, I'm going to get you pair of -- you know what I'm saying?"
Parent-teacher relationships	Any description of relationship (or lack of) between parents and teachers
	Example: "so like everybody in the office like know me of my first name. So, it's like, hey, hello, da, da, da, da. So, it's kind of good. That's the one thing I will never have to worry about. "
School Environment Welcoming	Any description of feeling welcomed at school

	Example: "So like everybody in the office like know me of my first name. So, it's like, hey, hello, da, da, da, da. So, it's kind of good. That's the one thing I will never have to worry about."
Unwelcoming	Any description of feeling unwelcomed at school
	Example: "When I walked in, nobody spoke. She told me to come in and meet with the assistant principal. I walked in, nobody spoke."
Dissatisfaction with school	Any mention of dissatisfaction with the school OR public school in general
	Example: "I mean, the behavior in Silver Canyon was awful. We expect our son to behave himself. I've been in the school it's kind of rowdy, and I think they had expect the young black – young men to be rowdy. I mean, we disagreed with the discipline there, we disagreed with the expectations that they have for young black boys. I don't know that we agree on anything."
Stand-offish teachers	Any mention of teachers being "stand-offish" rude or negative BUT NOT in reference to a SPECIFIC parent-teacher relationship; this code should be used for broad explanations
	Example: "We have teachers that when they see your child in public or you in public, they don't even speak."
Poor leadership	Criticism of leadership at the school or district level
	Example: "That's been my concern with Silver Canyon. The leadership there. I haven't had too much contact with the counselors. I can't speak on them. I can just speak on my experience... the principal is the head and they're going to set the expectations of what they're expecting from the teachers."
Parents rejected/not included	Any mention of parents visiting or reaching out to the school and being actively rejected OR Any mention of parents feeling unwelcomed due to HUMAN and not BROAD ENVIRONMENTAL factors
	Example: "They seem like they don't want that [communication]. They're not welcoming of it."

Fear of retaliation	Any mention of parents choosing not to communicate, speak up, etc. due to a fear of retaliation by teachers or other school staff members
	Example: " There's a lot of relatives in the system and people fear if they're going to tell, it can be retaliated against somewhere or another, if it ain't elementary, then they probably going to meet up with somebody's sister or sister-in-law or mother, further down the road, so people don't even want to do or say so much."
Student conflict w/teachers	Any parent description of a student having conflicts with a teacher
	Example: "Because I noticed that my son has started to have some conflict with a couple teachers. One of the teachers and I'm very irritated by this, but I haven't said anything because you know what? It's not even going to matter."
Targeting	Any clear example or mention of a student being targeted or treated negatively by teachers
	Example: "The feedback that I got was this. Yes, if they do participate or they do say something, they will be targeted or their child will be targeted at school."
Stereotypes/Labels	Any mention of teachers stereotyping or labeling students OR parents
	Example: "Well, they stereotype all the black boys have behavior problems. They can loud according to the stereotype. He has been labeled those things too by staff"

Teacher Codes

Code	Description/Example
Bridging the gap	Refers to ways in which teachers help to strengthen the connection between home and school or their thoughts or opinions on the connection. **Example:** "I try to incorporate a lot of the prior experiences-Into math as it can be such an abstract-Idea for a lot of kids, and you know, they wonder why am I gonna do this-Or whatever. What's the purpose of this. So I try to, to ... Um, usually on Mondays, usually-After weekends or after breaks, we'll spend a little bit of time, you know, I kind of give them like their 20 seconds of fame- Where I'll ask them, you know, what'd you do this weekend, you know, anything."
Code-switching	Refers to students changing their behavior to match the setting. **Example:** "I feel like it's really important to acknowledge that there are those differences and acknowledge them with the kids. Like we talk about this, this is, you know, this is a different environment; there are different rules, and the different places."
Communication challenges	Refers to difficulties teachers have maintaining contact with parents/families **Example:** "I really like phone calls, but because our systems are not always updated, phones change constantly with a lot of the students. It's very hard to communicate so I would rather have email. But then I got ... They don't use their email and then a lot of parents call and cancel their parent teacher conferences which we schedule for Mondays, or this is or planning time so this is when we try to get them. If they can't come, they'll cancel and it's just hard either way."
Different Behavioral Expectations	Refers to differing behavioral expectations between home and school OR teachers and parents **Example:** "Definitely. Some kids get away with you know, practically murder at home- And they come in here and then like, you know, they're asked to you know, sit down and they can't even do that, so ..."
Different Home and School Environment	Refers to differences in the physical environment, situation, or circumstances between home and school

|	
Expectations	**Example:** "Um, and some of our kids have drastically different lives at home where there aren't expectations, or they're in charge and all the expectations are on them." Refers to any expectations for students that are not related to behavior
Gifted Students	**Example:** "Yes, and I see that of what's going on at school. A lot with, um, English language learners ... I would say, where they might not have access to that stuff at home ... but their parents have really strong expectations and desires to help them." Any reference to students with the gifted designation at the school
Instability at home	**Example:** "The relationship between home and school for our students. School sometimes, I feel like they feel like it's a burden on them. Like they don't want to be here sometimes. That they verbally say, but internally you know that this is the one place they can always count on, they always count on us to care for them and at home, it's not always stable." Any reference to a student's unstable home environments
Parental involvement	**Example:** "School sometimes, I feel like they feel like it's a burden on them. Like they don't want to be here sometimes. That they verbally say, but internally you know that this is the one place they can always count on, they always count on us to care for them and at home, it's not always stable." Refers to parent's involvement with teachers and the school process in general OR teacher's involvement with parents
Parents-Different Groups	**Example:** "Hmm, I would say that the parents that I have, it is important that they value what we're doing in the classroom. I think there's, there's not a lot of middle ground- With that question. I think either you have parents who are very supportive and are totally on board- And you know, they'll you know, they have their kids do their homework and, and hold them accountable, and then I think you have the other spectrum where parents have no idea what's going on." Any reference to different groups of parents
	Example: "Um, we have some whose parents have very negative feelings about school from their own experiences. So it, it doesn't really align, and then we have other parents that really stress how important this is even if they don't have the same kinda thing going on at home with books and education and that kinda stuff."

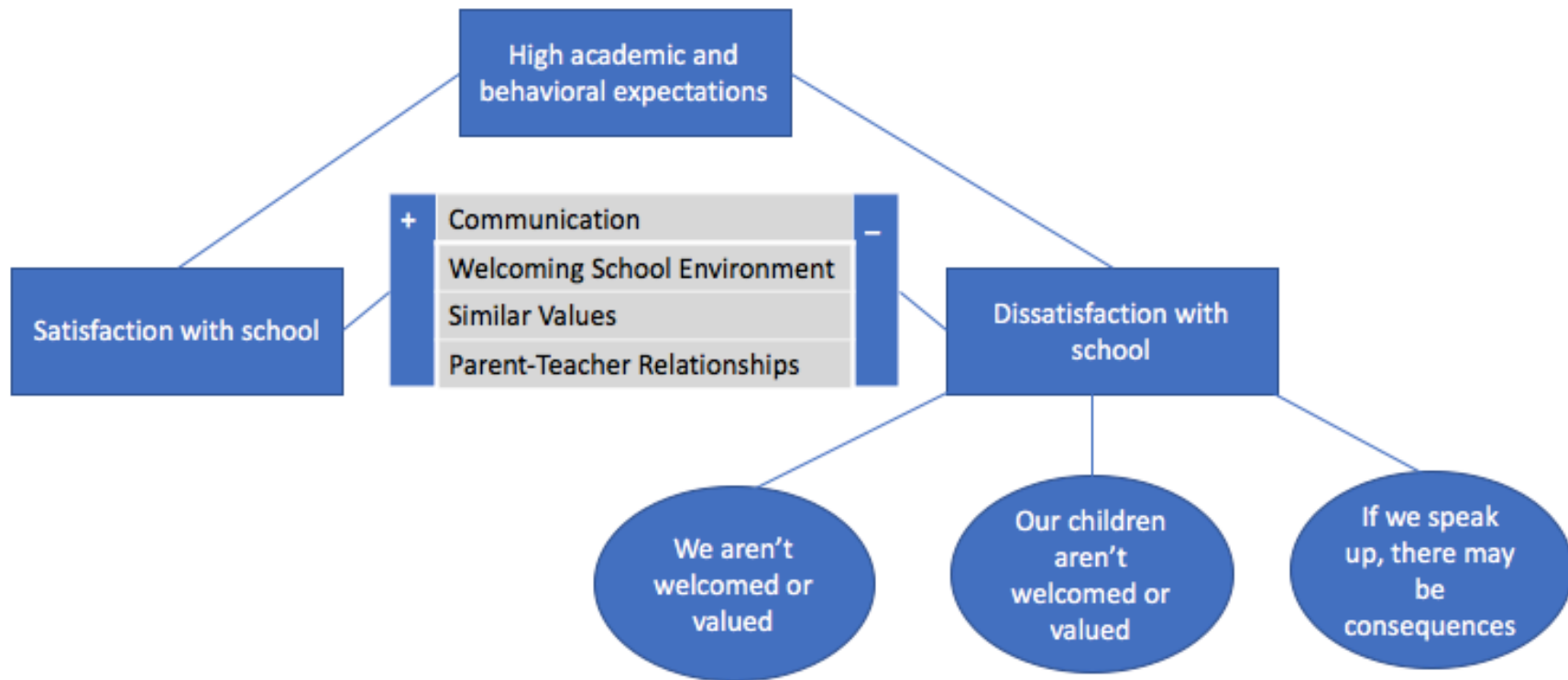|	
Similar Behavior Expectations at Home and School	Any reference to students who have similar expectations between home and school
	Example: "Um, some students are very well, um, traveled, and their families are ... Have the means to do a lot of things, where other kids barely leave TOWN. Um, so they're ... The, the connection I think for some kids between school and-Is between school and home."
Students-Different Groups	Any reference to different groups of students
	Example: "There is two completely separate students. There's the students that have a really supportive home, they come from, I don't want to call it a great background but You know, everything they could want, everything they could need their parents are there and then there is ones who ... I had a student yesterday who actually is withdrawing and moving because his mom kicked him out. He's going to live with his dad."
Values	Any mention of values or things that are important
	Example: "Um ... Hit or miss. I think some it's the exact same values. Hard work, education, um doing what you're supposed to do. I think some of them I would say in general, there's a good bit of them actually that that is a value too and I think some, I think some don't value it basically at all. I've had students tell me that "my mom says I've got free speech and I can say what I want to say."

Appendix F

Student Thematic Map
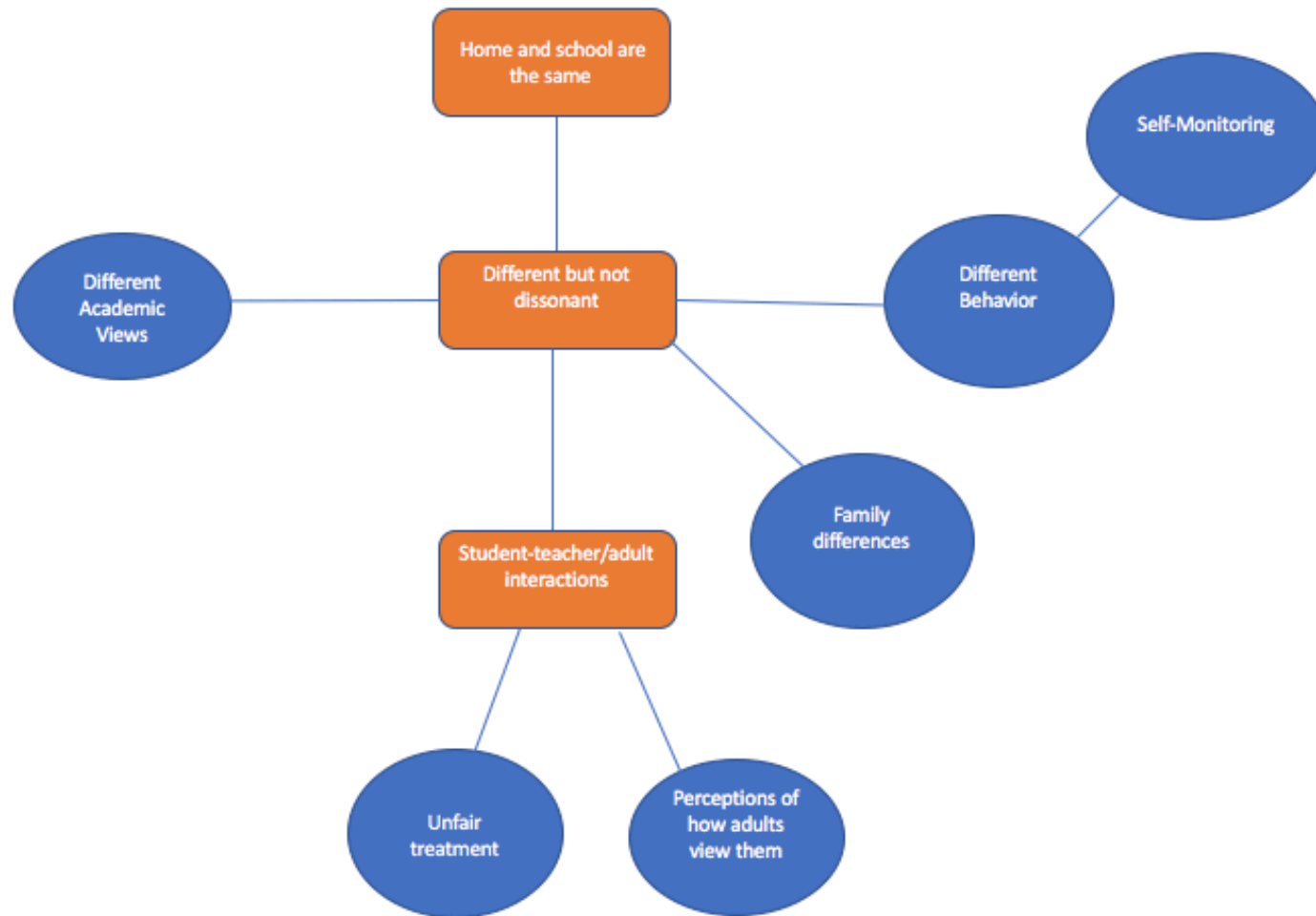
Parent Thematic Map

Teacher Thematic Map