

Critical consciousness in a trade school context: A narrative analysis

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Abstract

Brazilian educator Paulo Freire conceptualized critical consciousness (CC) as involving two inextricably and recursively related components: critical reflection (or analysis) and critical action. Freire defined critical analysis as an individual's making sense of unjust social conditions and he defined critical action as participation in behaviors that are intended to transform unjust social conditions. CC is relevant in multiple contexts across the life span. Within the field of youth development, CC has largely been studied among marginalized youth of color particularly in relation to their schools. However, less is known about how CC develops among working class white youth in relation to schools. The purpose of this dissertation was to shed light on the person↔context processes involved in developing CC, specifically critical analysis, among a subsample of four working class students of the Williamson College of the Trades—a predominantly white, male-only vocational-technical school. A narrative analysis was conducted to examine critical analysis in what the young men said about the causes of poverty in the U.S., and *how* these young men “narrativized” or spoke about their perspectives about poverty in the U.S. To explore the role that context may have played in shaping these young men's perspectives, I assessed the potential impact of family and peer relationships, and personal experiences with poverty, and whether the Williamson College culture and values contributed to how these young men made sense of poverty in the U.S. The narrative analysis revealed participants made a combination of fatalistic, structural, and individual attributions for the cause of and solution for transcending poverty. Personal experience with poverty brought narrative cohesion to how the young men reasoned and spoke about poverty in the U.S. However, none of the participants engaged in a structural analysis of poverty in the U.S. These results, their

limitations, applications for fostering CC within schools, and implications for the study of critical analysis among working class white young men are discussed.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The purpose of this dissertation was to explore the processes involved in developing critical analysis (Freire, 2000) among a subsample of four working class students of the Williamson College of the Trades (WC)—a predominantly white male-only technical school. I conducted a narrative analysis using the McLean and Syed (2015) model of identity development as a framework, to 1. examine the critical process that links macro-level narratives about work and class inequalities with individual-level personal narratives and 2. to identify if an emerging narrative that integrate the two macro-level and micro-level narratives which may reify, or counter, the macro-level hegemonic master narrative is present. By conducting a narrative analysis using the McLean and Syed (2015) framework, I hope to illuminate how these young men make meaning of their social position as workers and how they make meaning others in relation to class inequality in the U.S and if that process of integrating macro-level and micro-level narratives involves *critically analyzing* class inequities. Furthermore, to explore the role that context may have played in shaping these young men’s perspectives, I conducted a thematic analysis to examined the following: 1. the potential influence of family and peer relationships, 2. the role of personal experiences with poverty, and 3. the potential influence of the WC culture and values on how these young men made sense of poverty in the U.S.

Human development is derived from inextricably linked person ↔ context relations. Therefore, to understand the WC context in which these young men live for the duration of their studies, I explored artifacts such as the website, and I reviewed interviews with teachers and administrative staff to elucidate the values, messages (narratives), and practices that inform how WC produces skilled male laborers. To understand who these young men are, I looked across

two waves of autobiographical interview data to identify how these young men understand themselves as working class white men.

The present study builds upon a pilot investigation that I conducted with WC interview data as a part of a qualitative methodology course in the Child Study and Human Development department at Tufts University. The culminating assignment was an unpublished report of my methodology and findings—Harris (2016). In Harris (2016), I conducted a narrative analysis using autobiographical interview data to investigate research and analytical questions that were similar to the research questions that guide this dissertation analyses. The results of that study indicated that white young men made a combination of individualistic, fatalistic, and structural attributions for why people are poor in the U.S. In addition, I was found that personal experiences with poverty informed how the young men made sense of why people are poor in the U.S. The results of Harris (2016) informs the theoretical foundation and methodological approaches of the present investigation. For the present study, I explored the range of combinations of attributions made for why people are poor among this four-person sample and I examined how they bring coherence to the combinations of different attributions.

Statement of the Problem

Critical consciousness has emerged as an important skill for marginalized youth to begin to develop a means to disrupt the unjust conditions they see in their communities and society. Brazilian educator Paulo Freire (2000) developed the theory of critical consciousness as a pedagogical strategy to help disenfranchised and illiterate working-class Brazilians “read” the conditions that was producing their marginalization. Freire describes the process of critical consciousness development as involving two interrelated components: (1) *critical analysis* of social inequities in society, and (2) *critical action* to address the inequities in society.

Youth development scholars have adapted and expanded Freire's concept of CC. Studies within the field of youth development predominantly focus on youth of color, have focused on sites of education as the primary context for exploring CC development, and have focused on young people's critical reflection. Although Freire (2000) briefly suggests that CC can be developed among those who possess and exercise institutional power, to a much lesser extent, CC has been examined among white youth.

Examining critical reflection among youth of color in school settings using multiple methods (e.g., exploring curriculum in schools; retrospective qualitative studies, mixed methods interventions with pre-post testing) is a logical step in advancing Freire's conceptualization of CC. Freire (2000) indicates that, to speak a true word, is to transform the world." (p. 87). Furthermore, Freire is a critical pedagogue who worked with marginalized populations and intended CC development to not only be something that marginalize people develop, but also as a pedagogical strategy for fostering a critique of inequitable social systems.

The process of naming what marginalization is and narrating how one's marginalized experiences is a part of contemporary and historical collective trauma imparted by systems of power is important for person-level healing and macro-level societal transformation. Lawson-Te Aho (2014) indicated that the process of narrating one's story, and becoming aware of historical trauma, is radical healing and resistance. In addition, critical race theory (CRT) scholars (e.g. Solórzano & Yosso, 2002) have termed counter-storytelling as a methodology for illuminating untold experiences of marginalized communities of color for the purposes of exposing, analyzing, and challenging deficit stories about people of color and majoritarian stories of racial privilege (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). However, the preoccupation of studying youth with color who have been constructed as the "other" who are consistently problematized and intervened

upon through social scientific inquiry reinforces the notion that racism is a problem that belongs to people of color.

In regard to white youth, less is known about the role of narratives in relation to the disruption and reproduction of white male supremacy and the impact white male domination has on white youth development. Of the studies that explore CC among white youth, the focus has been on how white young people (men in particular) understand social structures in relation to labor and the economy, inequality, and schools. Structural theories and interpretations of white male supremacy are tacitly discussed or not discussed at all (Foley, 1990; McLeod, 1987; Willis, 1977; Seider, 2011). Failing to name white male supremacy is problematic for two reasons. First, white male supremacy impacts racialized people differently. Therefore, it is likely that the processes for understanding how young white people come to understand white supremacy will be different from youth of color.

Second, a central feature of white male supremacy (e.g., ideologies, practices, epistemologies, values) is that whiteness and maleness are the purposefully hidden, unmarked standards or norms against which all other people, cultures, ideologies, practices, epistemologies, values, etc., are compared. Feminist scholar Haraway (1991) noted that “To be unmarked means to be invisible—not in the sense of ‘hidden from history’ but, rather, as the self-evident standard against which all differences are measured: hidden *by* history” (p. 210). As scholars, we limit our ability to fully understand youth development when we do not analyze how systems of power and white male supremacy impact the development of youth, including white youth. More specifically, scholars cannot know what *critical analysis* is among white youth if we do not understand how structural whiteness and maleness functions. Therefore, the goal of this dissertation is to advance the study of CC by exploring how young white men think about

socioeconomic inequities and the processes involved in CC development. I address this goal by identifying how white male domination informs schooling contexts through master narratives and practices.

The Research Context: The Williamson College of the Trades

WC is an all-male, three-year post-secondary trade school located in Media, Pennsylvania. The WC was founded in 1891 by Isaiah Vansant Williamson, a Philadelphia merchant and philanthropist (WC, 2013). Williamson founded the WC to provide financially disadvantaged young men with the opportunity to become productive and respected members of society through a free trade education. Students pursue Craftsman Diplomas or Associates in Specialized Technology Degrees. The WC aims to prepare “deserving young men to be useful and respected citizens” (WC, 2013); the school emphasizes hard work as the pathway to financial success and employment. The Williamson theory of change stipulates that “If 1. Healthy, able-bodied young men who are 2. Intellectually and emotionally prepared, honest, frugal, entrepreneurial, temperate, and industrious; and who are given 3. A curriculum that educates them with the knowledge and skills needed to pursue a good mechanical trade; in the context of a school setting that 4. Provides Judeo-Christian ethic and values; then 5. They will succeed in life” (WC, 2015).

To attend WC, students must come from families living at or below 250% of the U.S. poverty line (WC, 2013). They must also be able-bodied, in good health, less than 20 years old, unmarried and without children, and legal residents of the U.S. at the time of admission (WC, 2013). Students must have a high school diploma or General Education Diploma (GED), and they must take the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery test (although there is no minimum score for admission), and complete an interview with WC administrators (WC, 2013).

WC administrators state that WC does not discriminate against applicants on the basis of race, color, creed, religion, or ethnic background.

In addition to its focus on trade-skill development, the WC is distinguished by its emphasis on character and civic development. WC implements activities and requirements that are reportedly designed to promote these character and civic skills, such as attending daily chapel service, adhering to a stringent code of conduct, and participating in service and community-related activities. WC has a strict, zero-tolerance policy that prohibits the consumption of alcohol (regardless of whether students are 21 years of age) and the use of any illegal substances. Students are randomly drug tested to ensure their adherence to this policy and are expelled if they are found to violate it. Due in part to this zero-tolerance policy and to the strict disciplinary code, some students are expelled or willingly leave each year. For students who graduate from the WC, however, an average job placement rate of 98% ensures that almost all will secure a job in their trade soon after graduating (WC, 2013). At the time that data were collected for the Assessment of Character in the Trades (ACT) Study, all teachers, staff and administration were white men except for one white female teacher. In addition, the board of trustees are all graduates from WC and were also all white males.

Theoretical Frameworks and Defining Concepts

This dissertation is multidisciplinary. I draw from theories across several disciplines to inform my thinking about the critical analysis of young white men at the WC. My understanding of human development is guided by the relational developmental systems metatheory (RDS). This metatheory stipulates that human development is co-constructed from the dynamic and mutually constitutive relations (i.e. developmental regulations) between the person and contexts

(Overton, 2015), represented as individual ↔ context relations. Within this metatheory, the person and the context are wholly integrated (Overton, 2015).

Although human development is derived from the mutually constitutive relations between person and context (Overton, 2015), these relations are not always beneficial. The United States is marked by intersecting inequitable systems of power (e.g., racism, classism, sexism). These systems of power (e.g., racism, sexism, classism) permeate, organize, and structure all levels of society (Bonilla Silva, 2015; Spencer, 2006; Spencer, Swanson, & Harpalani, 2015) and ensure political, economic and social super-ordination for dominate groups, while ensuring political, economic, and social subordination of oppressed groups (Bonilla Silva, 2015). The networks of political, social, and economic relations that organize societies into hierarchies are maintained by ideologies and evolving narratives that inform behaviors, policies, and practices (Bonilla Silva, 2010). Schools, among other contexts, are imbued with normalized person ↔ context relations that maintain inequitable systems of power (e.g., racism, classism, sexism).

The culture of white heterosexual males of privileged classes plays a central role in structuring the race, class, and gender hierarchies that exist in the U.S. (Bonilla Silva, 2015; Feagin, 2017; Helms, 2016). The white hetero patriarchy produces and reproduces the processes that determine which groups have access to resources and opportunities in the U.S. Therefore, racism and heterosexism are methods for supporting the white hetero patriarchy.

One key feature of the White male domination is that it is simultaneously ubiquitous and invisible (Fine & Weis, 1998; Harris, 1993; Helms, 2017; Hughey, 2011; Robinson, 2000). Whiteness is hidden in the sense that it is not considered white culture, but the normative culture against which all other cultures, groups, and behaviors are compared (Fine & Weis, 1998;

Helms, 2017; Hughey, 2011; Robinson, 2000). School environments are not an exception; white male super-ordination is produced and as well is hidden in schools.

Critical Race Theory and Schools

For this dissertation, I conducted a CRT structural analysis of how white male supremacy is reproduced in schools. I drew from Harris' (1993) concept of Whiteness as Property theory to understand how white male super-ordination functions at WC. According to Harris, Whiteness as Property is a concept that highlights the conflation of whiteness with exclusive rights to freedom, and the right to draw advantages from those freedoms. Colonial American society was founded upon the racialized conception of property. African peoples were seized and made property to enact labor. This process involved ideologically conflating blackness with sub-humanity and with the legal removal of human rights. Native American lands were seized by force and made the property of white men. Therefore, to be identified as white meant that one could draw from the rights, benefits, and advantages associated with whiteness. These expected rights and benefits included, among other things, the right to own one's humanity. This racialized process and conception of property was "implemented by force and ratified by law" (p. 277).

Harris (1993) articulated that Whiteness has four property functions. The first is the *right to disposition*, which stipulates that whiteness is alienable; like property, the privileges of whiteness can be transferred at times to non-whites. However, whiteness possesses the exclusive rights to dictate when the privileges of whiteness are transferred. The *right to use and enjoyment* is the ability to access and to use and enjoy the social cultural and economic privileges of being white that are conferred upon white people. The third property in the theory is *reputation and status as property*. In the court of law, to damage one's reputations is to damage one's personal property. With regard to race in schools, to call a white school "urban" or "black" defames the

reputation and status of whiteness as standard and superior (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). The fourth property of whiteness is the absolute right to exclude. Within the legal system, the one drop rule ensure that whiteness was not contaminated with blackness. In the case of schools, the right to exclude no longer takes overt forms such as legal, segregation but takes the form of methods of separation such as tracking or informal networks, which provide exclusive knowledge and access to opportunities (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995).

Narrative Identity Development Framework

For this dissertation, I used the narrative identity framework of McLean and Syed (2015) to understand how people make sense of the world. McLean and Syed (2015) are narrative identity scholars who explored how adolescents develop identities through constructing narratives. McLean and Syed (2015) identified that context is not sufficiently taken into consideration when scholars study narrative identity development. They created a theoretical framework that serves as a model for understanding the key processes involved in how people link individual personal experiences and cultural master narratives to develop an emerging integrative alternative narrative identity.

I did not explore the narrative identities of the three young men in my study. The data that I am using is secondary, and the protocol questions about class inequalities were not written to elicit stories about these young people's identity in relation to class inequalities. Rather, the goal of the protocol was to address questions about poverty in order to elicit responses that provide insight into the young men's reasoning about class inequalities. However, the identity development framework of McLean and Syed (2015) is a useful analytical tool that allow scholars to examine how culture (e.g., ideological narratives, master narratives, meritocracy, bootstrap theory) and the individual (e.g., lived experience with the world) are linked at the

person-level and how the integration of the two results in meaning making. In the McLean and Syed (2015) approach, the result of culture and individual experiences result in identity formation. For the present study, I conceptualized the meaning making (i.e., the alternative narratives) that results from the integration of dominate macro-level narratives and individual experience as critical analysis development.

Research Questions

Through this study, I will address the following questions:

1. How do young men who attend WC reason about poverty and being a productive worker in the U.S.?
2. Does race, class, and gender inform how these young men understand the social positions of those who are poor?
3. What role does WC play in informing how the four young men understand themselves as successful workers?

To answer my research questions and to guide the narrative analysis, I have developed the following analytical questions:

1. What dominant ideologies can be identified in young men's responses to questions about what causes poverty in the U.S. and about what can be done to address poverty in the U.S.?
2. What themes brought coherence to how participants narrated their reasoning around why people are poor and about what should be done about poverty in the U.S.?

Overview of Chapters

In Chapter 1, I have stated the goals of this dissertation, the rationale for this dissertation and the theoretical frameworks and concepts that will guide this dissertation. In Chapter Two, I review the literature on CC among white adolescents. I discuss critical analysis as a process of meaning making of dominate macro-level narratives that permeates context such as schools and how these messages eventually inform how young people make sense of their worlds and themselves in the world. In Chapter 3, I describe the data that I used, my decision for selecting the sample, and my process for conducting a narrative analysis. I report my findings in Chapter 4. In Chapter 5, I situate the results of this dissertation within with the broader literature on CC among youth, on class inequalities, and on the role that white male supremacy plays in school settings. Finally, I discuss the limitations of this study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

In the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (2000), Brazilian educator Paulo Freire conceptualized CC development as an active process of engaging and transforming the world through the dialogical processes of praxis. Praxis involves two inextricably and recursively related components: critical reflection (or analysis) and critical action. Freire defined critical reflection as an individual's analysis of unjust social conditions (e.g., poverty, and educational and health disparities) and he defined critical action as participation in actions that are intended to transform unjust social conditions (Freire, 2000). CC develops and emerges from actively engaging with, critically reflecting, and transforming one's environment to be more equitable. Freire conceptualized CC as a pedagogic strategy for working with people of Brazil who were disenfranchised/oppresed by poverty and corrupt political system.

One impact of these oppressive systems was manifested as high functional illiteracy rates among the poor, and he believed that this population needed to develop a critical "reading" of the unjust social conditions that produced their marginalization. Moreover, Freire (2000) viewed oppression as dehumanizing. He believed the process of iterative process of engaging with the world, reflecting and acting (i.e. praxis) based on the meaning made from the reflection and action is a humanizing process (Freire, 2000). Being fully human, in part, involves the ability to speak a "true word" and to critically "read" and "name" (or naming/analyzing) unjust social systems.

Although Freire (2000) suggests that reflection and action are inextricably linked, CC most scholarship focuses on critical reflection. There is a rapidly growing literature that explores CC development and the development of critical analysis among youth of color. However, less is

known about CC development and the critical analysis/reflection of white youth within the field of developmental science.

Feature of oppressive systems: Narratives ideology and stories

For youth in the U.S., speaking a “true word,” as Freire writes, means to embark on an iterative process that involves critically analyzing how young people’s developmental contexts are systematically inequitably resourced and function to funnel youth into various intellectual, social and physical locations within society (Bonilla Silva, 2015; Ginwright & Camarota, 2002; McLeod, 1987; Spencer et al., 2015; Watts, Diemer & Voight, 2011; Watts & Flanagan, 2007). Many intersecting cultural systems of power exist within the U.S. (e.g., hetero-patriarchy and imperialism). In this dissertation, I theorize about systems of power through the lens of white male domination as invisible and ubiquitous.

According to Helms (2017), “Whiteness is the overt and subliminal socialization processes and practices, power structures, laws, privileges, and life experiences that favor the White racial group over all others” (p. 718). Harris (1993) writes, in her theory of Whiteness as Property, that whiteness is the “legitimation of expectations of power and control that enshrine the status quo as a neutral baseline, while masking the maintenance of white privilege and domination” (p. 1715). Similarly, the culture of white heterosexual males of privileged socioeconomic classes, “formulates and maintains the rules for determining who has access to the booty of Whiteness and at what level” (Feagin, 2017; Helms 2016). White male domination includes ideological domination and the imposition of the dominant group’s culture on the target, non-dominant group (Pharr, 1997).

The effectiveness of white male domination is an invisible omnipresence. In other words, because white male culture “is diffused throughout society, in all its institutional and private

manifestations, informing political principles, and all social relations,” it is therefore consciously and unconsciously understood as the norm, and an objective standard by which all else measured (Femia, 1975, p. 30-31; see also: Fine & Weis, 1998; Helms, 2017; Hughey, 2011; Robinson, 2000).

Although the culture of white male domination is diffused through our country, white male domination, in all its features, is not universally accepted by every person (Bonilla Silva, 2001; Feagin, 2013). Rather, there is a range of understandings of white male domination and therefore a range of ways that people derive meaning from their personal experiences and macro-level tropes, scripts, and stereotypes that they receive from various levels of their context (from this point forward in this dissertation, I will call dominant stereotypes, tropes, and myths that support white male domination, *macro-level narratives*).

Human beings make meaning through various modes of expression (e.g., dance, writing, singing). As inherently relational and socially constructed beings (Feagin, 2013), people tell stories as a relational process to make meaning of their world and to construct an identity in relation to others in the world. Narrativizing, storytelling, and simply articulating through speaking is an inherently human mode of meaning making (Feagin, 2013). Therefore, “speaking a true word” or articulating one’s understanding and analysis of systems of power can be representative of the meaning made from negotiating their experiences with dominate macro-level narratives.

Narratives, Meaning Making, and Embodiment

McLean and Syed (2015) developed a useful theoretical model of identity development that describes a process for deriving meaning or alternative narratives from integrating master narratives and personal narratives. Personal level narratives — the stories we construct about

who we are — are the milieu for developing a coherent identity that integrates history, sociocultural beliefs, and personal experience (McLean & Syed, 2015). Developing an understanding of who one is in relation to others and the sociocultural world one lives in is a fundamental task of adolescence. Scholars have identified narrativizing as an important aspect of identity development for youth (Pasupathi & McLean, 2010). Similar to dominant macro-level narratives that organize our society, master narratives are broad, culture-specific stories that shape beliefs, behaviors, and values of a society or culture (Hammack, 2008, 2011; McLean & Syed, 2015; Thorne & McLean, 2003). Master narratives are not stories of individuals' lives; they are “stories that are available for individuals to potentially internalize and resist, both consciously and unconsciously” (p. 323, McLean & Syed, 2015). Master narratives are cultural tools that keep social order and are largely unconsciously internalized by the individual (Syed, 2016).

In addition, one's embodied experiences allows him or her to derive meaning of the narratives and lived experiences. Embodiment is the relational construct that integrates biology, person, and culture (Lerner & Overton, 2008). Embodiment is the body experiencing the world, actively engaged. Overton (2008) claims “a body actively engaged in and with the world necessitates that not only cognition and learning, but all emotions and motivations and all psychological functions are co-constituted by the sociocultural and environmental context” (p. 5). The body is a physical structure as well as an experiential milieu in which people make meaning from their lived experiences and their engagement embedded within the socio-cultural world.

Depending on what “type” of body people have, individuals experience the world differently (Overton, 1994). For example, due to the racial system of dominance that exists

within America, working class or poor white people are conferred racial privileges due, in part, to the “type” of body they have (e.g. skin color) (Feagin, 2013, 2017; Lerner, 1976, 1986, 2002, in press). However, they may experience systemic barriers to social mobility due to their socioeconomic status. This treatment is socio-culturally derived (ideologically, politically, economically, and behaviorally).

Many white Americans, may be unaware that the system of white supremacy confers privileges to them due to their race (Helms, 1984; 2017). However, poor and working class white people may be aware of the ways poverty or being low-income presents challenges to social mobility. White working-class people’s embodied experience may be that they see the barriers to social mobility that exist in society, but not the racial barriers that exist, because they don’t experience them or because they are conferred privileges. As a result, the embodied experience of white working-class people may inform how they make sense of macro-narratives, make sense of their social position, and, as well, make sense of the social positions of others.

Although this dissertation is not an investigation of embodiment or identity development, the work of McLean and Syed (2015) is useful. It highlights the processes involved in interpreting experiences in the world, through narrative inquiry, and, provides a window into how people make sense of their embodied experience and the embodied experience of others.

CC and schools as sites of meaning making and reproduction

As a pedagogical concept to develop an awareness of oppression, CC has been examined and researched, largely within educational contexts, such as schools. Schools are developmental contexts where students have opportunities to develop lasting relationships, develop a sense of identity and community, and contribute to themselves and others. At schools, students can explore academic and extracurricular likes, dislikes, and talents. In addition, youth and adults

may learn the skills, values, and norms needed to enter the workforce and to be successful in the workforce.

Despite the positive developmental opportunities that schools provide, schools and universities are not value-neutral or politically neutral spaces. Rather, schools reproduce dominant narratives which inform practices in which youth learn their “place” in society. Schools exercise power by influencing or shaping consciousness through myths, ideologies, and control of information (Lukes, 1974). This form of power is tacit and cultural and therefore determines how people perceive and view the world. Furthermore, schools exercise power by framing issues. With this form of power someone or an entity has the ability to decide what is valued, discussed, how the discussion is framed, and who participates. For example, most schools in the U.S. are, by and large, vehicles that promote White, male-centric, and Eurocentric pedagogies and epistemologies, values, ideologies, and cultural norms and, in turn, exclude and erase the multiplicity and complexity of histories, epistemologies, values, cultural norms and contributions of diverse communities (Kincheloe, 2007). Therefore, sites of education (e.g., those at elementary, high school, and university levels) are often places where the white male domination is reproduced, diverse histories and epistemologies masked, and places where values and practices funnel students into locations that reflect societal hierarchies (Anyon, 1980; Bonilla Silva, 2010; Ladson Billings & Tate, 1995).

On the other hand, sites of education may be places of resistance and transformation. For example, critical pedagogy challenges the very narratives, myths, and ideologies that rationalize and serve as the glue to maintaining the present social, political, and economic structures within the U.S that are manifested in schools (Kincheloe, 2007; Weiner, 2007). Therefore, schools can be structures that help youth develop narratives that counter or expose, and challenge hegemonic

majoritarian narratives that function to maintain inequitable systems of power (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).

In sum, schools are places where youth develop a sense of their social position in the world by deriving meaning from the macro-level narratives and their personal life experiences. Young people may develop a range of perspectives that may include possessing a critical analysis of white male domination, or they may develop perspectives that align with or counter macro-level narratives. Narratives or how people articulate their understanding of phenomena are an important means of analysis to explore the processes involved in developing a critical analysis. Therefore, in this dissertation, I will investigate how the young white men in the present sample articulate their perspectives about poverty in the U.S. by exploring how they integrate and or negotiate macro-level narratives with their personal experiences with poverty. Furthermore, I will examine the role that WC plays in informing how these young men understand poverty in the U.S.

Although CC and critical analysis have not been examined through a narrative lens within the field of youth development, CC and critical analysis has been studied within many scholarly traditions which have significantly contributed to what social science knows about CC development. In the next section, I will provide a brief overview of the CC literature and discuss how CC and critical analysis have been studied, specifically among white youth specifically.

An Overview of the CC Literature

CC has been studied by a range of scholars in relation to systems of power and domination in schools. For example, Black feminist scholars across several disciplines have examined the intersectional nature of systems of power (Collins, 2002; Crenshaw, 1991) within which CC operates/functions (hooks, 1994). Scholars from the Marxist tradition have explored

how developing youth become aware of their social position in relation to labor, schooling, and class (Foley, 1994; Larue, 2002; MacLeod, 1987; Willis, 1977). Furthermore, scholars have explored the strategies educators and practitioners may use to foster CC among youth in classrooms (e.g., Cammarota, 2016; Freire, 2000; hooks, 1994; Ladson-Billings, 2008), and how educators themselves may develop CC (e.g., King, 1991; Zion, Allen, & Jean, 2015). As a result of this work, the Freirean concept of CC has been considered an important way that youth can begin to develop the knowledge and skills to make sense of their social position in society, to understand systems of oppression, and to work independently and collectively to combat the deleterious effects of the various forms of oppression that continue to pervade U.S. society (Sanchez Carmen et al., 2015; Christens & Dolan, 2011; Conner, 2011; Diemer & Li, 2011; Diemer, Rapa, Voight & McWhirter, 2016; Ginwright & Cammarota, 2007; Kirshner, 2009; Mediratta, et al., 2009; Rogers & Freelon, 2012; Rogers, Mediratta & Shah, 2012; Terriquez, 2014; Watts & Guessous, 2006).

Over the last several decades, within the field of youth development, scholars have adopted and expanded upon Freire's conception of CC. Definitions have been expanded to include not only reflection and action, but also, motivation and spirituality (Diemer et al., 2014; Hope & Jagers, 2014; Sanchez Carmen et. al., 2015). Theoretical models have been developed. Scales have been created to test levels of CC (Baker & Brookins, 2014; Diemer, Rapa, Voight, McWhirter, 2014; McWhirter & McWhirter, 2016; Shin, Ezeofor, Smith, Welch, & Goodrich, 2016; Thomas et al, 2014). Furthermore, youth development researchers have explored how CC may be related to developmental outcomes, such as political and social activism, civic engagement, identity, academic achievement, well-being, and career pathways (Azzopardi & McNiell, 2016; Cameron Sanchez et al, 2015; Diemer & Hsieh, 2008; Diemer & Li, 2011;

Ginwright, 2011; Ginwright & Cammarota, 2007; Watts, Diemer, & Voight, 2011). In addition, developmental scholars have adopted Freire's concept of CC within various substantive areas, such as character (Seider, Tamerat, Clark, & Souter, 2017) and sociopolitical development and civic engagement (Watts, Griffith, & Abdul-Adil, 1999).

Finally, the field of CC research predominantly explores the psychological aspect of CC, which includes developing a critical analysis of socio-political problems, encouraging critical problematizing, and fostering collective identities (Watts & Hipolito-Delgado, 2015). Most of the studies of CC development among adolescents, particularly within the field of youth development, are conducted among a sample of marginalized youth of color. However, less is known about how white youth from working class backgrounds develop an evolving analysis of societal inequities.

The preoccupation on CC development of youth of color is warranted, as systems of power create inequitable experiences, opportunities, and outcomes for youth of color. For marginalized youth, understanding how and why they experience marginalization can help educators understand the role they want to play in creating change. Developing CC among youth of color helps them speak their truth, which makes their diverse experiences cultures and contributions of the communities visible. In a way, this approach can decenter the ubiquitousness of whiteness (narratives, stories, beliefs, practices, customs, etc).

On the other hand, the absence of studies that explore white male CC with a critical lens restricts the knowledge about the range of meaning making that is derived from integrating macro-level narratives with white young mens' personal lived experiences. This absence of information means that the fields lacks knowledge of the range of ways and processes that CC can develop among youth and in particulate, white men who tend to be in institutional positions

of power. Therefore, understanding their perspectives about CC can help developmental scientists learn about processes. Such knowledge can help them think more equitably and intersectionally about people, institutions, and power.

Studies of white youth CC development

Within the field of youth development, there is a small body of scholarship that examines white youth CC in relation to class inequalities. For example, Flanagan and colleagues (2014) explored how racially diverse youth from a range of socioeconomic backgrounds made attributions about why people were poor and why people were wealthy in America. Fifty-three percent of the sample was white and 57% of the sample was female. Participants were asked to write a response to prompts that asked them to give reasons why people are wealthy in the U.S. and why people are poor in the U.S. To analyze the complexity of the open-ended responses to questions about poverty and wealth, Flanagan and colleagues (2014) conducted an integrative complexity coding technique which examined the structure of the responses rather than just the content of the response. Among this sample, it was generally the case that youth made more societal than individual attributions about the causes poverty and more individual than societal attributions for the causes of wealth in the U.S. Female participants were more likely to make societal attributions for poverty.

This article sheds little light on how youth with various social positions of marginalization and privilege reason about poverty in the U.S. Although the sample was 53 percent white, they provided very little information about how white youth from both affluent and lower income backgrounds talk about poverty and wealth. Furthermore, the authors of this study conducted a complexity analysis to explore how complex the participants responses were. However, they never indicated or described what would make a complex response to the

questions of why people are poor and why people are rich. Finally, in their literature review, they failed to discuss the racialized and gendered nature of how attributions for poverty and wealth originated and why they persist.

Seider (2011) conducted a mixed-methods comparison study that examined how a semester-long high school literature course about poverty (defined as homelessness) impacted students' attributions for the causes of poverty in the U.S. Participants in the intervention sample (who took the literature course in the fall) were all white and slightly more than half were male. Pre-post surveys, interviews, and classrooms observations were conducted. Results of the study indicated that, although students in the experimental group developed more sophisticated understandings about factors that contribute to poverty, young people's understandings of the U.S.'s opportunity structures remained unchanged.

Howard (2010) conducted a qualitative study that examined how two white affluent students (one male and one female) both with schooling and life advantages, actively constructed privilege as a dimension of their identity. Specifically, Howard (2010) examined how the participants reasoned about the different educational experiences of low-income and affluent students. The results of the study revealed that participants, using various ideological narratives, justify their advantages, rationalize the disadvantages of "others," and establish within-class identities and between-class divisions.

The research described above is useful in that it adds to what is known about how white youth understand their social positions, the social positions of others, and the U.S. opportunity structure. Although, Flanagan and colleagues (2014) did not report any meaningful results about white youth understandings about poverty, Howard (2010) and Seider (2011) demonstrated that white youth possess complex and varying perspectives about the poor. One shortcoming of the

described studies is that white and affluence were talked about together. Howard (2010) presented literature that discussed whiteness. On the other hand, Seider (2011) did not sufficiently discuss the role of whiteness in constructing macro-level notions that inform perspectives about socioeconomic success. Furthermore, he essentially conflated whiteness and financial affluence and described the conflation as privilege. Despite their limitations, these studies are contributions to what is known about CC and critical analysis in the field of youth development.

Although there little literature that examines CC and critical analysis among white youth, civic knowledge and engagement (CE) is a construct from which scholars draw parallels to CC. CE has been studied among white youth populations (Anglin, Johnson-Pynn, & Johnson, 2012; Flanagan, Syvertsen, & Stout, 2007; Littenberg-Tobias, Cohen, 2016; Wray-Lake, DeHaan, Shubert, & Ryan, 2017; Zaff, Malanchuk, & Eccles, 2008). Both CC and CE engender skills (e.g., critical thinking, collective problem-solving, organizing, strategically writing to legislators and school administrators, writing petitions, and organizing protests, and voting, etc.) and knowledge (e.g., self-awareness, understanding of social-political institutions, command of history) that are important for young people's *developmental* competencies, such as social skills (e.g., group decision making), cognitive skills (e.g., critical thinking), and their capacity to materially affect positive change in their communities (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2007; Lerner, 2004; Watts, Griffith, & Abdul-Adil, 1999). Although there are similarities between CE and CC, CC requires that the individual possess an evolving critique of inequitable systems of power. As such, a person can be civically engaged *without* critically analyzing and working toward transforming inequitable systems of power for self and community betterment. However, studies exist, in the field of sociology of education, that provide in-depth analysis and theory about how

school contexts influence young people's critical analysis. This work will be useful for the present research.

Ethnographic Studies of CC among white young men

A small body of work explores the development of CC among white male youth in relation to cultural systems, particularly in relation to labor and social class production. For example, Willis (1977) conducted an ethnographic study that explored how young white working class European men's understandings of social class structure informed their behaviors and career aspirations. The Willis study was informed by Marxist frameworks of social class production and reproduction. Similarly, McLeod (1987) conducted an ethnographic study of young white and black young adults, with a focus on youth understanding of social class relations in connection to life outcomes, education, and employment. McLeod's work is also embedded within the Marxist tradition of understanding social class relations. Foley (1990) conducted an ethnographic study of a high school that explored the role of race, class, and gender in informing how traditional values are transmitted to high school-aged white and Mexicano youth through dating, sports, and relationships with each other and teachers.

Although conducted more than 20 years ago, these sociological ethnographic studies are important in examining the meaning making processes and behaviors that inform the development of outcomes that developmental researchers examine in their studies of CC. Furthermore, they demonstrate that schools are locations in where young people learn the dominant narratives that help to maintain social hierarchies in the U.S.

Although my dissertation is a narrative analysis of interview data and not an ethnography of WC, the present investigation is an exploration of the relationship between the narratives promoted in the WC context about hard work and success and young white men's analysis of

class inequalities in the U.S. WC possesses values of excellence, diligence, integrity, faith, and service which are associated with how to succeed at WC and in the trade industry. In addition, at the time of data collection for this study, WC applicants were selected on the basis of being able-bodied, U.S. male citizens. Although there were no racial admissions criteria, the administration as well as the student body comprised predominantly comprised of White men. In the present investigation, I will explore possible intersections between the participants' views on socioeconomic inequalities and race, class, and gender.

Critical analysis and the trade context

After the economic recession in 2008, jobs that were high-wage and required advanced skills were in high supply. However, there were not enough highly trained and skilled workers to fill these available positions. Many of these positions required at least some form of post-secondary training (e.g., a certificate, an associate's degree, or a four-year degree). Financing a four-year education is expensive, leaving students with the options to take out student loans that may leave them in debt for the duration of their life span. Career and technical education (CTE) education programs, which typically are shorter in duration and are less expensive than four-year programs, can train and equip students with the necessary skills to fill these jobs.

A range of technical jobs exists. Technical training can provide young people with a viable wage. Manufacturing and construction will need 5.7 million workers and 3.5 million workers, respectively (ACTE, 2015, 2016). These fields are typically associated with carpentry, physical technology, and machine technology, and the average salary associated with those jobs ranges between \$65,000 and \$75,000 (ACTE, 2015, 2016).

However, with the economic recession and with college education being so expensive, and with the need to make a living wage, positions such as trade jobs that were historically seen

as undesirable work are, at this writing, positions that are in demand and that yield competitive wages. Furthermore, students trained in CTE may out-earn those with more advanced degrees by 37% (Carnevale, Rose, & Hanson, 2012). Therefore, the WC context is an opportunity for young men, particularly young white men, to develop skills that are in demand in the labor market.

As a part of the broader education structure within the U.S., such schools may transmit ideologies and narratives that serve the dominant society. Although technical education is seen as peripheral to the broader educational structure, peripheral contexts can also shed light about the complexity of social systems, the unique ways systems of power are reproduced, and how young people make sense of the education in relation to their social position. The exploration of CC in relation to the roles of race, class, and gender can illuminate the range of ways schools socialize students to take their place and the ways that schools transmit ideologies, narratives, behaviors, and values to socialize students into social and physical locations and prepare specific students for certain roles in society. However, fewer developmental studies explore CC among students, regardless of racial identity, who attend post-secondary trade schools.

Furthermore, there are numerous combinations of individuals and contexts produce instantiations of person↔context relations that may inform people's CC development, as well as their trajectory across the life span (Bornstein, 2017; Lerner, 2012). Young people have various experiences that will inform how they negotiate, align with, or navigate dominant tropes about class inequalities. Therefore, I explore the narratives of four participants' reasoning about why people are poor.

Chapter 3: Method

The goal of this dissertation was to conduct a narrative analysis to explore if and how macro-level narratives about poverty and personal experience with poverty inform how the participants understood socioeconomic inequalities in the U.S. I used data from the Assessment of Character and Trades (ACT) Study, which was a collaboration between Tufts University researchers and administrators, teachers, staff, and students at the Williamson College of the Trades (WC; Johnson et al., 2015). The research team used a cohort sequential design to evaluate the WC's model of trade, civic, and character education.

Narrative analysis

Narrative inquiry is a relational method that considers that people lived storied lives. It considers how time, place (e.g., institutions), and sociality (the role that social dynamics play) inform how people narrative their lived experiences. Narrative analysis is an interpretive method that examines how participants compose, and if they bring coherence to, the stories they tell about a particular phenomenon (Clandinin & Connelly 2000). Narratives are idiographic. However, narratives provide insight into how the individual makes meaning in relation to sociocultural contexts. People integrate social stories into their understandings of themselves. In narrative inquiry tradition, narratives are understood stories of experiences lived through and interpreted. In other words, people attach and derive meaning from the events that happen in their lives.

Within this tradition, it is understood that participants decide what is salient to include in narratives. Therefore, researchers may consider themes, characters, plot, scene, endpoint, place, and tensions present in the narrative (Clandinin & Connelly 2000). In addition, researchers may

explore whether storylines interweave and interconnect, and identify themes which may appear and disappear (Clandinin & Connelly 2000; Mishler, 1986).

In this dissertation, I considered place, time, and sociality by exploring Wave 1 life narrative interviews to gain an understanding of who these young men are, why they chose to attend WC, and what peer, family, or adult relationships may have shaped who they are. Moreover, I explored whether attending WC and whether relationships, past and present, inform how these young men speak about the causes of poverty in the U.S.

According to Clandinin, Caine, Lessard, and Huber (2016), within narrative inquiry, also the inquiry into narratives is as much about the participants as it is about the researcher conducting the research. Clandinin, et al. (2016) suggests that, with narrative inquiry, the inquiry is about the researcher and his or her relation to the research. That is, researchers will document their relationship with the research participants, the places the research is conducted, and when the research is being conducted.

Narrative inquiry is ongoing reflectivity and reflective methodology on the part of the researcher (Clandinin, et al., 2016). As with all research, the process of conducting research and writing up the findings of the research is socially and subjectively constituted. Narrative inquiry is steep within the cultural and ontological viewpoint of the researcher (Clandinin, et al., 2016; Creswell, 2013). Therefore, who the researcher is and his or her worldviews, values, and potential biases are made clear as one conducts the research. Furthermore, narrative inquiry considers how the researcher is in relationship with the research and the data gathered from the researched. Moreover, it considers the factors that contribute to how and why researchers choose their lines of inquiry. As a facet of secondary data analysis, I documented my relationship with the data, because I have worked with the ACT interview data for several research inquiries.

Being in relationship with the data: Narrative reflexivity

I arrived at the present research questions after working with ACT data for several years. I joined this ACT Study in 2013, during the second year of its implementation. As a part of the research team, during Wave 2 data collection, I played a central role in developing critical consciousness questions for the qualitative protocol. I also played a central role in identifying quantitative items that assessed critical consciousness. The following year, I conducted Wave 3 interviews with WC participants. As a result, I went to the WC campus only twice during my doctoral career and I did not develop a relationship with participants.

Between the time Wave 2 data were collected and formally starting my dissertation process, I worked closely with a post-doctoral fellow to code and to thematically analyze the CC questions for the purpose of presenting our findings at a conference. We also coded and analyzed the data for a manuscript that was submitted for peer review. With regard to my coursework, I had completed or audited several critical theory courses and studied human development from a relational developmental systems (RDS) perspective. Therefore, I developed a lens through which to understand human development, structural racism, and other related systems of power, and I developed an understanding of how these systems (through person ↔ context relations) imbued contexts in overt and subtle manners.

In addition, I discovered narrative inquiry in the qualitative research methods course that I took as a part of my doctoral studies program. Originally, I was interested in conducting a phenomenological study of critical consciousness. However, the course professor suggested I use narrative analysis to investigate *how* the young men talked about causes of poverty in the U.S. After studying the narrative inquiry tradition, I realized that, by using this method, I would be able to move beyond simply investigating *what* young men said about poverty. I understood that

that this method provided me the tools to understand how time, place, and relationships informed *how* these young men interpreted (through spoken narrative) the causes of poverty and what, if any, macro-narratives informed their perspectives.

Therefore, the present study built upon a pilot investigation that I conducted with WC interview data as a part of a qualitative methods course in the Child Study and Human Development department at Tufts University. The culminating assignment was an unpublished report of my methodology and findings—Harris (2016). In Harris (2016), I conducted a narrative analysis using Wave 2 WC interview data investigating similar research and analytical questions that guided present analyses.

The results of Harris (2016) indicated that white men expressed a combination of individualistic, fatalistic, and structural attributions for why people are poor in the U.S. In addition, I found that personal experiences with poverty informed how the young men made sense of why people are poor in the U.S. Furthermore, none of the young men in the sample mentioned or demonstrated an analysis of systems of power. Findings from Harris (2016) informed the analysis plan for the present investigation.

The ACT Interview Sample

Demographic information collected from the entire sample included participants' race and date of birth. Participants also indicated whether they were born in the United States and, if not, in which country they were born and at what age they moved to the U.S. In addition, participants were asked about their living situation, their socioeconomic status (SES) growing up and their future SES aspirations. Forty participants from the ACT Study, who were first year students in 2013, were randomly selected for semi-structured interviews that took place at three time points during the course of the ACT Study (see Johnson et al., 2015). In the second-year of

this study, 35 of the 40 randomly selected students continued to participate in this study. At Wave 2, students were in the middle of their second year of post-secondary trade education at the time of their interviews.

Procedure

Interviews were conducted by six trained researchers from the ACT team. All participants gave their informed consent, and the interviews lasted between 30 to 90 minutes. Interview participants were compensated with a \$50 gift card. Each of the interviewers followed the same semi-structured interview protocol and met with each other on a regular basis before, during, and after conducting interviews to discuss the protocol. Interviews were audio recorded, professionally transcribed, and checked for errors and corrected accordingly. Full recruitment and study procedure details are reported in Johnson et al. (2015).

Interview Protocol

At Wave 1, interview questions explored students' experiences prior to attending WC, their goals for their futures, and what they expected their educational experiences to be like. At Wave 2, interviews explored what students had learned since beginning their experience at WC, how their goals for the future had changed, and their own views on how they changed personally since beginning their trade education. In addition, at Wave 2 the research team added a prompt and two open-ended questions that sought to elicit information pertaining to the critical reflection or analysis of socioeconomic inequalities in the United States; these questions were not asked at the first wave of interview data collection. Specifically, we aimed to elicit descriptions from participants about their views regarding the roots causes of socioeconomic inequalities in society, and about potential solutions to these inequalities. We asked participants about their views on socioeconomic inequalities in particular because we believed this topic would be the

area of injustice that was most familiar to them, given that they and their peers were from predominantly low-income and working class backgrounds. The prompt and questions were:

“Our last question has to do with your views of the world. Because you are in a post-secondary education environment you have important ideas about our country and the world that we want to learn from. So, for example, you may have heard that in this country we have a lot of people who live in poverty or are considered poor. The recent finding is that 46 million people in this country are considered poor. So, why do you think people are poor? What, if anything, should be done about poverty in the U.S.?”

Harris (2016): The Pilot Study

The Harris (2016) study involved a narrative analysis that explored the following questions: How are young men at Williamson College (WC) making sense of and providing coherence to their understandings of socioeconomic inequalities in America? Specifically, I explored the ways in which participants’ voices negotiated dominant American narratives about poverty in America. The eight participants in Harris (2016) were white, from Pennsylvania, had a mean age of 20 years, and were in the middle of their second year of post-secondary trade education at the time of their interviews. The interview protocol used in Harris (2016) was the same as the interview protocol used in the original sample.

Analysis Plan

Although my central organizing question for this project was “How are young white men in trade schools making sense of and providing coherence to their understandings of socioeconomic inequalities in America?” to guide my data analysis, I developed two data analytic questions: 1. What themes emerge as the young men share their understandings of what causes poverty in the US and what can be done to address poverty in the US? and 2. What

themes or mechanisms brought coherence to how participants narrated their reasonings around why people are poor and what should be done about poverty in the U.S.

To address my first analytical question, I implemented a thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). First, I open-coded the data for themes. Although I was familiar with these data due to analyzing data for different manuscripts, I tried to remain as open as possible to “seeing” new themes emerge. To document that process, I memo-ed after reading each transcript. I reread each transcript several times to reach saturation of themes. In addition to identifying themes, I looked for narrative threads that functioned to structure, complicate, or resolve the central questions being answered by the participants’ responses. Next, I compiled a start list of codes which helped me to organize chunks of data (Miles, Huberman & Saldana, 2014). Subcoding was used to account for data that enriched each major code (Miles, Huberman & Saldana, 2014).

Codes were organized based on the participants’ responses to the interview questions “Why do you think people are poor?” and “Should anything be done to address poverty?” Finally, a third category of analytical codes was developed, as I identified themes that helped to structure and bring coherence to participants’ narratives. To illustrate my findings to address analytical question one, “Why do you think people are poor?” the following codes were developed to label the dominant themes that emerged from the data: Charity, Individual Attributions, Luck/Fate, Disposition (attitudes about the poor), Contextual Attributions.

To address the second aim, and a way to understand how the narrative codes functioned to bring coherence to the participants’ narratives, I explored data looking at how the participant negotiated self-voice with meta-voice (Clandanin & Connelly, 2000). To do these analyses systematically, I assigned codes to chunks of data that I thought reflected the themes (such as the ones mentioned above) and examined if these themes were the participants’ thoughts and

perspectives (self-voice) or if the use of the theme more accurately represented the meta-voice (stereotypes and macro-narratives about poor people) within each case. Finally, I looked across the eight cases to determine if there were patterns in how participants narrated their responses.

Findings

The results of Analytical Question 1 revealed that individual attributions, fate, and contextual attributions were the predominant themes in the analysis of the data in response to the question “Why do you think people are poor?” In response to the question “Should anything be done to address poverty?” charity and disposition shifts were identified as predominate themes.

The results of Analytical Question 2 revealed that, in all eight cases, one or more of the major themes (individual attributions, contextual attributions, charity, and disposition) were present in participants’ responses. No structural critiques or attributions were made as sources of poverty. All eight participants cited the individual as the cause of poverty and a vehicle for addressing poverty. Importantly, six of the eight participants used personal experiences as the primary mechanism by which they brought coherence to their narrations about poverty. These stories were deployed to provide more evidence for their claims made about the cause of poverty.

In regard to how participants negotiated their voice (self-voice) and broader macro-stereotypes (meta-voice), at some point their narratives, the self-voice of most participants aligned with the meta-voice of individual effort and change as causes of poverty (i.e., poor people need more motivation or people are poor because of drug abuse). This process happened in nuanced ways. However, all participants referenced some form of individual attributions.

The Present investigation

For the present study, I selected four participants from the sample of eight that were investigated in Harris (2016), because they provided rich descriptions or stories of why they

think people are poor and because they made a combination of structural, individual, and fatalistic (i.e., attributing life outcomes to luck or chance) attributions about why people are poor in the U.S. A small sample enabled me to explore, in depth, the types of person-context experiences that might lead someone to make varied attributions about why people are poor in the U.S. By examining Wave 1 and 2 transcripts for life experiences and perspectives on being a successful worker, I was able to study if those perspectives informed how the young men speak about why people are poor in America.

Participants in this four-person sample were white men whose ages ranged from 20 to 21 years of age. As noted, the interview protocol used in the present investigation was the same protocol used in Harris (2016) and was the same as the interview protocol used in the original sample. I describe below the procedures relevant to the interviews data analyzed in the current investigation. See Table 1, which summarizes the demographic characteristics of this four-person sample.

Data Analysis Plan

The central organizing question for this research was “How are young white men in trade schools making sense of and providing coherence to their understandings of socioeconomic inequalities in America?” However, to guide data analysis, I developed two data analytic questions: 1. What themes can be identified among the responses of the young men that reflect their understandings of what causes poverty in the U.S. and what can be done to address poverty in the U.S.? and 2. What themes or processes brought coherence to how participants narrated their reasonings around why people are poor and what should be done about poverty in the U.S.?

To answer my research questions, I conducted a narrative analysis. Narrative analysis is an interpretive method that examines how participants compose, and if they bring coherence to,

the stories they tell about a particular phenomenon (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Narratives are idiographic. However, narratives provide insight into how the individual makes meaning in relation to sociocultural contexts. Within this tradition, it is understood that participants decide what is salient to include in narratives. Therefore, researchers may consider themes, characters, plot, scene, endpoint, place, and tensions present in the narrative (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). In addition, researchers may explore whether storylines interweave and interconnect, and identifying themes which may appear and disappear (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000).

Specifically, I explored how my sample narrativized their understandings of socioeconomic inequalities in response to the questions: “Why do you think people are poor?” “And what can be done about poverty in America?” As noted, narrative analysis is a qualitative approach that allows scholars to explore not only the content of participant’s response but also *how* construct their responses to provide coherent answers. Furthermore, taking a narrative approach allows one to think about and move back and forth between the micro (individual) and macro (school context) contributions that may counter or reify dominant ideological narratives (e.g., racial ideology, meritocracy). Put another way, “By representing both individual and structural factors as storied” it allows scholars to align “the two levels of analysis on the same metric and facilitates the ability to connect them and identify the critical processes that operate in between.” (McLean & Syed, 2015, p. 322).

“There is no standard approach or list of procedures that is generally recognized as representing the narrative method of analysis” (Elliott, 2011, p. 23). Within the narrative analysis tradition, researchers may use more than one analytical approach to exploring research questions. The process of conducting a narrative analysis largely depends on the type of analysis a researcher employed. For my dissertation, I conducted a thematic analysis to examine *what* the

young men say about class inequalities. I conducted a narrative analysis to examine *how* they articulate their understandings of class inequalities in the U.S.

Coding and memo-ing are the primary modes of data analysis and data organization for the present study. Coding is the process of categorizing, organizing, and assigning meaning to segments of data (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Memo-ing is a technique used to document the decision-making process throughout a study, and it is a technique to record reflections after interviews, observations and reading of data (Birks, Chapman, & Francis, 2008). Memos can be purely descriptive, or serve as a means for analyzing data, or as a means for documenting the progression and decision points of the study (Birks, Chapman, & Francis, 2008; Creswell, 2013).

The analysis was carried out in two phases. In the first phase, I conducted a thematic analysis answering the first two analytic questions: “What themes can be identified in young men’s responses to questions about what causes poverty in the U.S. and what can be done to address poverty in the U.S.?” In the second phase, I conducted a narrative analysis to answer the two analytic questions: “What themes brought coherence to how participants narrated their reasoning about why people are poor and what should be done about poverty in the U.S.?”

Phase 1: Thematic analysis. The purpose of the thematic analysis was to provide context about who these young men were. Such contexts may illuminate, more fully, why the young men in the present study held their beliefs about poverty in the U.S. In turn, this analysis provided context for analyzing the CC questions. In the thematic analysis phase of the present study, I familiarized myself with the data by reading and rereading Wave 2 transcripts in their entirety and then reading and rereading Wave 1 transcripts in their entirety. I wanted to know about these young men’s family and high school background, presence or absence of endorsing WC values, and perspectives on what it means to be a worker. Furthermore, I wanted to know

how race, class, and gender may inform their perspectives on being a productive worker in the U.S. Therefore, during the process of reading and rereading the transcripts, I applied deductive codes to themes that I identified: relations to family and friends, race, class, gender, successful work/worker. However, I also opened coded both Wave 1 and Wave 2 transcripts for inductive themes that I identified.

Phase 2: Narrative analysis. One result from the pilot narrative analysis in Harris (2016) was that some participants used personal stories or experiences to make sense of the position for why people are poor in the U.S. Therefore, in the narrative analysis phase of the study, I used the McLean and Syed (2015) theoretical model of narrative development to explore if the participants' beliefs align with or diverge from dominant narratives about poverty and how to succeed economically in the U.S. To conduct this analysis, I identified if a participant articulated alignment with or tension with dominant narratives about poor people in their responses to the CC prompt about why people are poor. Next, I identified passages or quotes that appeared to bring their articulations together. The passages that brought coherence could involve a range of themes or topics. For example, the passage could focus on participants' personal experiences with poverty or it could involve a participant observation, but not direct involvement with poverty. I examined if participants make any connections between their social position (e.g., race, class, and gender), the social positions of others, and how they might be related to class inequalities. I wrote analytical memos about the alignment, tension, and themes of cohesion that I identified in their responses to the CC question.

Validity. Validity concerns the accuracy of scientific findings. Within the interpretive traditions, external validity pertains to whether the comparability or components of the study are sufficiently described so that others can use the study as a basis of comparison for other studies

(LeCompte & Goetz, 1982). In addition, validity pertains to translatability, or the extent to which theoretical frameworks and constructs are accessible to other researchers within and across disciplines.

Threats to validity include researcher bias and researcher reactivity (Maxwell, 1992).

Researcher bias refers to the researcher making conclusions to fit preconceived notions.

Researcher reactivity is the influence the researcher has on the setting and or a participant.

Reactivity to researchers is something I cannot control for when conducting a secondary data analysis. However, this issue may impact the validity of conclusions that I make. To improve the validity of my findings I memo-ed and engaged in reflexivity.

Chapter 4: Results

The present research had two goals. The first goal was to explore how students who attend WC reason about socioeconomic inequalities in the U.S. I conducted a narrative analysis to explore the meaning making process involved in negotiating macro-level narratives and person level narratives. Further, I explored how they articulate their reasoning for why some people are poor in the U.S. The second goal was to explore whether family and peer relationships as well as the WC context played a role in informing how these young men understand poverty and economic success in the U.S. I conducted a thematic analysis to achieve the second goal of this dissertation. I will present the findings of this study by research question.

Research question #1: How do young men who attend WC reason about poverty and being a productive worker in the U.S.?

To answer the above research questions, I used the McLean and Syed (2015) theoretical model to identify dominate marco-narratives, personal narratives (operationalized as personal experiences), and emerging alternative narratives (operationalized as participants derived meaning from integrating personal experiences with dominate macro-narratives). The emerging narratives are identified and supported with quotations from participant's responses.

In addition, I conducted a thematic analysis of Wave 1 life narrative interviews. To present the findings of the Wave 1 narrative interviews analysis, I provide a brief narrative snapshot of each participant to better understand who the participant is and to provide context for understanding the participants responses to the CC questions. Narrative snapshots were informed by Wave 1 life narrative interviews. Each narrative snapshot provides a background description of the participant's life, the relationships that impacted the participants, as well as salient themes such as participants' perspectives about WC.

Liam: Narrative Snapshot.

Growing up, Liam lived with his two parents and sister. His father hurt himself on the job and, due to his injuries, his father had to collect disability. Although his mother worked at the time that his dad was receiving disability, Liam's father's disability check was so small that it made things financially difficult for their family. During high school, Liam took vocational classes and shared that he had a supportive vocational education teacher who was like a mentor to him. Liam knew in high school that the trade industry was a good match for his personality.

Liam knew about WC from an early age, and there were many factors that attracted Liam to WC. For example, the reputation of WC attracted him to WC. The father of one of Liam's childhood friends graduated from WC. Viewing his friends' father as a role model, Liam too wanted to become a "Williamson Man" (an attendee/graduate of WC who embodies WC character values). In addition, Liam stated that his family did not have the financial means to assist him with paying for college and that he did not want student loans. After reading Liam's Wave 1 life narrative interview, I did not identify a theme that clearly would inform his perspectives about the causes of poverty.

Emerging Narrative. The emerging alternative narrative from Liam's articulations of why people are poor is that poverty mostly is not the fault of the person in poverty. He opened his response to the question with:

I think most of the time it's not really their own fault. Sometimes they're just – feel like kicked out of a job like – most of the time I feel like when people get fired or laid off, it's not really their fault. It's the company. Unless it was something like big like you stole this and you get fired... I feel like half of 'em, they can't really help it. They lose their job; then they lose their house. It's hard to get back on your feet after you lost everything.

And then I feel like some of them just don't want a job. That's just their own personal thing. They can collect all the – all the whatever. There's unemployment checks. But I feel like most of the time, it's not really their fault.

It is clear in Liam's statement that he is hinting toward or identifying non-individual reasons that cause poverty. However, it is unclear if Liam is attributing losing one's job to fate or if he is attributing these events to more structural attributions such as the housing bubble which caused the economic downturn in 2008.

Liam shared that he had personal experience feeding the poor weekly with his friends before he attended WC. Liam's experience as a volunteer appeared to cultivate his alternative narrative. From talking with the poor, Liam identified experiences that countered dominant macro-narratives. Liam seems to speak directly against dominant macro-narratives about the poor "you hear their story, and you're like it doesn't sound like they did anything that was their fault. A lot of 'em aren't even like – weren't even drug addicts. They just lost their job and went bankrupt. So, they couldn't really help it, so. Just from that, I feel like most people, it's not their own fault."

When asked what should be done about poverty, Liam stated that he does not really know and struggles with the idea of helping those who "need" versus helping those who want to stay poor. He states: "I think something should be done [about poverty]. But I don't really know how to specifically help the people that need the help and then the people that don't really want the help. They kinda wanna be in that situation. I – not that they want to. But like I said like people just sit around and collect unemployment checks. I don't really know. It would be something that I have to like research to figure out. I don't know."

In his final statement, it appears that Liam reasons aloud, in the sense that he acknowledges that some people want to collect unemployment. However, he almost retracts that statement. It is unclear how Liam learned about people collecting unemployment checks. However, he is quite honest about what he does not know, stating that he needs to research the issue to figure it out.

Jeb: Narrative Snapshot

In his life narrative interview, Jeb shared that when growing up, he was a “bad” kid and gave an example fighting with his babysitter. Jeb shared that during high school, he had a lot of fun with friends and that the experience went very fast. Jeb played lots of sports, such as golf and basketball. He also used to spend his nights out drinking alcohol and using drugs with his friends. His parents did not approve of this behavior, but Jeb continued using substances and hanging with friends as he pleased. Jeb was attracted to WC because he believed that WC would make him a better and more disciplined person. His parents shared the same belief, that is, that that WC would reform his behavior. Jeb noted that he became aware of WC during his sophomore year in high school, and that his cousin attended WC. At the time of the interview, his friend from high school was his roommate at WC. The clear theme in this narrative is that Jeb endorsed WC and believed that it would be a good place for him to reform himself.

Emerging Narrative. The emerging alternative narrative from Jeb’s articulations of why people are poor is income inequality/redistribution. He describes people with million-dollar incomes (folks in the entertainment business) as greedy. He juxtaposes this point within a statement about those who lack basic resources. He enters into a line of questions that is somewhat critical. He states: “There’s just so many high-class – there’s so many people in the upper class in this country and so many in the lower class. There needs to be more just in the

middle class, but respectfully, not on a – like, every single person has to be the same, like we're under a dictatorship. But I just don't understand why the middle class isn't more popular, just more equal. It's just not fair, I feel like.”

This line of reasoning does lend itself to a structural analysis of socioeconomic inequalities in the U.S. However, when asked what can be done about poverty, Jeb shifts his gaze from questioning the economic structure, and he states that people need more drive:

I feel as if there's also a lot of people out there that like welfare. People are, you know, All right. Well, we're gonna make \$600.00 a week welfare check when I can get work in a job, busting my ass, making \$400.00.” Why not just sit on welfare? It just comes to laziness. I'm not saying that everyone's like that, but there's definitely people out there that are just collecting welfare because they don't have to do anything... They just need more of a drive, more of a something to work at.

It is unclear whether his perspective about welfare is his or if he is reciting dominate macro-narratives about the poor. With regard to Jeb's personal experience with poverty, he states: “Well, my family never really – we never really struggled. I mean, we did, but it wasn't like kids that I know and people I'm friends with, like, where you don't even have food on the table, you know what I mean?” Therefore, it is unclear what factors may have influenced his perspective on why some people are poor.

Furthermore, Jeb continued responding to the CC question in a fashion that appeared that he was reasoning aloud and trying to make sense of various factors that contribute to poverty aloud. He states: “Not everybody has [drive], I guess. I don't know. I don't know [if drive can be developed in people]. [Williamson helped me to develop drive]...I mean, it did work for me. I wasn't – I always worked in high school. I worked since I was, I think, 14, 14 ½. Yeah... But I

don't know. It's just hard to say. I don't know what – because not every single person can come to Williamson.”

He ends his response to the CC question with this statement Accordingly, there appears to be no resolve or statement that ties together the various contributions he made.

Tim: Narrative snapshot

As a first-year student at WC, Tim shared much about his life story up until the time of attending WC. From reading his Wave 1 life narrative interview, it was clear that Tim experienced family instability. Both his parents were unemployed for many years due to substance abuse. Tim eventually moved out of his parents' house because of the severity of his parents' substance abuse. Tim also shared that WC was a refuge from his home life and, as well, a vehicle through which he could earn credentials to secure a job that paid well enough to help his family financially. Tim was aware of WC because he had an uncle who graduated from WC. The WC values (especially the value of service) and the WC process were important to Tim. He believed that WC would make him a self-sufficient man.

Personal choice was a recurring theme that emerged from Tim's Wave 1 and 2 interview transcripts. Tim stated that his parents chose drugs over him. In a sense, Tim chose to attend WC because of his sense of responsibility to help his family. The theme of personal choice informs his perspectives about poverty.

Emerging Narrative. The emerging alternative narrative from Tim's articulations of why people are poor is the idea that people are in charge of their own lives and can create their own realities. Upon first reading Tim's transcripts, one would think that Tim's articulations mimic or align with dominant macro-narratives about drive and motivation in terms of poverty. However, after reading, there is evidence from Wave 1 and Wave 2 transcripts that Tim's beliefs

in personal choice and motivation stemmed from his personal need to stay motivated or possess the drive to transcend his experiences of financial instability when growing up. Both of his parents battled with substance abuse which destabilized his family structure and finances. He believed his parents made choices that had unfortunate consequences for his family.

From Tim's Wave 1 interview, he appeared to feel a sense of responsibility to help his family. He states:

“I want [WC] to know that I'm really serious and I want them to know that I'm willing to do whatever I need to do to take care of myself, take care of my siblings and take care of, whoever it is that I need to take care of because...other than my siblings I feel like I'm serving a higher purpose by fixing my life now so that I can help someone in the long run because my uncle helped me.”

In response to the Wave 2 CC questions, Tim states:

I think that everybody has a destiny and they can control it. I was born into a blue-collar family, which turned into living during the winters with no heat, no electricity, and no food because my parents chose drugs over me. I guess I was honestly blessed with some common sense and some drive or motivation, which is why I'm here.

Therefore, to survive, Tim “created” two choices for himself “if I wasn't here [attending WC], I was going into the Marines...That was 100%.” Again, he is returning to these notions of motivation and choice.

As Tim continues his articulations about poverty involving lack of motivation and drive, he shifts gears a bit and describes the role that resources play in securing employment. He states,

A lack of resources is a completely different ballgame. That's just my opinion; if somebody doesn't have the resources to do something... I think it's not fair to judge

somebody based on lack of resources. I mean if you don't have money you can't go to school. If you don't have your birth certificate or Social Security card and you don't have money, how are you going to buy one to prove that you're a citizen to get a job, you know what I mean?

In the above quote, Tim linked resources (money) to one's ability to pursue opportunities. Although, how he arrived at this line of reasoning is not clear, and hinted toward structural or contextual constraints to gainful employment. From his response, it is unclear how he thinks one becomes positioned with "lack of resources." However, his final words in response to the CC question were: "I mean if you wanted something bad enough, I really feel like anybody can do anything if they wanted it."

Bryan: Narrative snapshot

In his early life, Bryan lived with his mother and brother, who was nine years older than he. Eventually, his mother married his step-dad, and the four of them lived together until she passed away from breast cancer. Bryan was in elementary school when his mother passed away. Eventually, it was just Bryan and his step-father living together, and they experienced financial hardship. His step-father was not employed consistently. Eventually, they were evicted from one of their residences.

In addition, during his life narrative interview, Bryan spoke extensively about his dislike of the public education system. He shared stories about how he and his friends would attend school board meetings to hold the district and school administration accountable for the poor education the students were receiving. There were some teachers that Bryan appreciated, however. The teachers that Bryan appreciated held Bryan accountable and had appropriate expectations for him. For example, he liked his economics teachers and stated that, from his

economics class, he realized how misinformed he was about the economy. In addition, one of the teachers that Bryan appreciated was a WC graduate. Despite push back from his friends, Bryan attended WC, because he knew that attending a four-year college would not result in the type of job he wanted to have. After reading Bryan's Wave 1 life narrative interview, I did not identify a theme that would clearly inform his perspectives about the causes of poverty.

Emerging narrative. The emerging alternative narrative from Bryan's articulations of why people are poor is that all people want to work. Consequently, Bryan centers his response to the poverty question around his experiences with poverty. He writes that:

I go around a lot and I actually – one thing I started doing – ‘cause I’ve always been kind of broke myself. That’s obviously something I was born into. But one thing I always kinda did was I always went around – I couldn’t afford to give money to homeless people, but sometimes, I’d sit down and just talk with them, just to give them the time of day.

Bryan answered the questions by weaving together stories of his personal experiences.

Returning to the idea that people are not poor because they want to be, Bryan states:

I think there are a lot of different reasons that people are poor. I met a man the other day who had very bad drug problems. He was on cocaine, methamphetamines. He went to jail. He didn’t say what for, but he did spend quite a bit of time in jail. He’s moved back and forth between jail and being on parole because of drug issues. ‘Cause he originally came up to me asking me for change. That’s the thing. There are some people who are poor because of that. There are also some people – my dad, for instance, he’s broke, doesn’t have a home of his own. Years and years ago, he actually – he was an insurance agent. He was actually making good money. Unfortunately, he had a drinking problem, at

the time. So he tells me that to this day, he legitimately does not know what happened, but apparently, money disappeared at some point, somehow, and he – IRS caught on to that later, and they got him for theft by deception.

Bryan goes on to describe that, once his father had a felony on his record, no one wanted to hire him, despite his father's desire to work. In response to his father's unemployment, Bryan states: "I don't think people are ever poor because they're lazy or they're not in poverty because they're lazy."

It is clear throughout Bryan narrative that compassion for human beings and offering charity is how he understands combating poverty. When he was asked what could be done about poverty, he states:

I don't know how you would go about doing this...but I think that people just need to learn to be more accepting of other people 'cause I think it's very dehumanizing. 'Cause the thing is for a while, I didn't have a home of my own, but I always had a roof over my head. I always had a place where I could shower, clean my clothes and everything. But I can only imagine that it makes putting effort into anything, including getting a job, so much harder when people look at you as subhuman.

He ends his response to the CC question by stating that people should give to the homeless.

Synthesis of results of the narrative analysis

Findings from conducting this analysis revealed that, although all the young men were aware of dominate macro-narratives about poverty, they arrived at various perspectives about poverty. Three (Liam, Bryan, and Tim) of the four young men had personal experiences with poverty (living in poverty or working with the poor). Liam, Brian, and Tim shared perspectives about poverty that hinted about causes other than individual-level factors (e.g., lazy, drug

addicts, lack of motivation). Jeb, on the other hand, did not have first-hand experience with poverty. He reasoned about poverty in such a way that demonstrated critical questioning about income distribution and the availability of jobs that people are qualified for in the U.S. However, some of his perspectives aligned more closely with dominate macro-narratives about the poor (“it just comes to laziness”). Despite three of the four participants stating that poverty is not the individual’s fault, all participants spoke about individual attributes that would contribute to ending poverty.

In addition, the findings from the narrative analysis demonstrated that each of the four participants had a slip or a shift in their articulations. Furthermore, three of the four participants articulated an attribution or perspective about poverty and also shared an incongruent perspective. For example, Tim primarily talked about having drive and motivation to transcend poverty, but then he also shared that lack of resources was a “different ballgame,” meaning that lack of resources presented obstacles to securing jobs. Liam first articulated that poverty is not the fault of most individuals, but then a narrative shift occurred as he reasoned aloud that some people want to collect unemployment checks. Finally, Jeb reasoned that there were enough jobs for people, and questioned whether disparities in income distribution were causes of poverty; however his narrative shift occurred when asked how to address poverty. He identified individual deficiencies as the way to address the structural issues he spoke about earlier in his response. Bryan was the only participant who did not have a narrative shift in his response. However, personal experience with poverty appeared to be the factor that brought coherence (resolve or assuredness) to Tim’s, Liam’s, and Bryan’s perspectives about poverty.

Table 2 provides a summary of the results to the above research questions and is organized based on the following categories: Essence of Narration, Poverty Attributions,

Personal Experience (with poverty), Narrative Integration, and Coherence. The Essence of Narration includes a quote from participant's responses to the CC question that best highlights the predominate message of the participant's response to the poverty question. The Poverty Attributions category includes attributions the participants made. The Personal Experience category indicates whether the participant has had experience with poverty. For the Narrative Integration category, I describe the emerging alternative narrative in the participant's response. For the cohesion category, I present a quote that illustrates coherence (or lack thereof) in their responses.

Research Question #2: Does race, class, and gender inform how these young men understand the social positions of those who are poor?

References to race and gender as it relates to the social positions of those who are poor were not present explicitly or implicitly in student participant interview data. In this dissertation, student participants were not explicitly asked about race, class, and gender as it pertains to the existence of poverty in the U.S. Although the macro-narratives about poverty are racialized and gendered, the researchers asked no questions about poverty in relation to the social positions of racialized and gendered "others." Furthermore, the participants were not asked about their social positions as working class white men.

Research Question #3: What role does WC play in informing how the four young men understand themselves as successful workers?

To gain an understanding of WC's culture and understand how WC may influence their students' perspectives about economic success and labor, I reviewed eight teacher and administration interview transcripts. The interviews with teachers/administrators were conducted during Wave 1 data collection. Consequently, I did not interview any teachers/administrators.

There were participants in the present research whose identity could not be made anonymous or confidential. These participant's perspectives are important contribution to understanding the WC context. Therefore, I will share these participants perspectives. However, to protect their identities, I will weave their perspectives into my description of the WC context without using direct quotes. The following themes were identified from the teacher and administration interviews: WC values and rules, WC reputation, and Diversity perspectives.

Values, rules, and cultivating men of virtue. The data reveal that the WC culture of strict adherence to rules and a rigid schedule is meant to equip students with the cultural capital to be successful workers within the trade industry. Further, adherents to WC culture believe that partaking in the WC process of intentional "adversity" will produce men that possess character virtues of integrity, service, faith, diligence, and excellence. WC teachers and administration believe that the rules implemented, although rigid, will help their students develop the values that WC espouses and consequently equip students with the moral character to be successful tradesmen. When sharing ideas about the impact of WC on students a teacher/administrator said: "Williamson guy doesn't smoke, doesn't chew, doesn't fornicate, goes to church on Sunday and works every other day." From this interviewee's response, faith is an important part of becoming a WC man. In a separate interview, a teacher/administrator added hard work to the character virtues that WC school cultivates in students. This interviewee writes: "what we embed in our students is this character and work ethic that is what our customers say they appreciate about our graduates, and I think it's truly there." Finally, another teacher/administrator described the WC values and culture as philosophical change within students. The interviewee states:

I guess I see it as a philosophical change, and in some guys a spiritual change, in that how do we get these guys to understand that value in any kind of endeavor is not always

monetary, and that the path to success isn't making a lot of money, and then directing that to useful – down useful avenues? For me, the path to success is taking what God gave you, directing it down useful avenues to make society a better place, in little ways and in big ways.”

A few teachers/administrators likened the WC relationship to students to a parent-child relationship. Some believe that the school provides values that the young people are not getting at home. WC is teaching students how to be apart from the broader society, which lacks morals and values. For example, a teacher/administrator shared:

Honestly, in some cases – not all, but in some cases, we're sort of a de facto parent. We have to follow a code of discipline that, in some cases, maybe the parent wasn't able to do. We live in a society where parents sometimes are too much of a buddy to their child, instead of a parent.

In a separate interview with a different WC teacher/administrator, the analogy of WC as parent was mentioned. The teacher/administrator said:

I'm interested in the students not just artificially toeing the line of who we are and who we want them to be, but genuinely embracing the values for which we stand. It's like a parent. You love your children, and you want what's best for them, and you want them to share your values, but you can't make them share your values. You want them to share your values, share the values of the institution, but they're their own people, and they're gonna make their own decisions.

However, according to staff, students, especially first year students, perceive the enforcement of the rules as the teachers and staff being “out” to get the students. Infractions such as leaving trash in the trash bin in one's dorm room, failing to be punctual for roll call, or leaving

one's bed untidy means that students get points or demerits, often four points for each infraction. Four points means that students must clean the campus grounds for four hours on a designated Saturday. One teacher/administrator interviewee claimed that "There are lessons that we force the students to learn that are uncomfortable, but they serve a real purpose. In the meantime, frankly, I believe that there becomes very much an *us versus them mentality*." Another teacher/administrator shared that "Now Williamson, to the students, is much like jail,"

Conversely, student participants Tim, Bryan, and Liam shared that they were committed to the WC value of service in the form of volunteerism or charity. Liam explicitly stated that attending WC encouraged him to be more service-oriented. He stated:

Since going here that I've helped a lot more people. Now I really don't know how to describe that. But like if I see somebody that needs help in my neighborhood like moving something in their house, I would offer to do it." Liam also shared: "Here, they kinda like push you to help people more. Like one of their core values is service. So I guess just being here everybody's saying like, oh yeah, I helped this person. Like all the teachers are like – I guess their personal experiences. It makes you like wanna go out and help people kinda.

The WC reputation. In line with the notion that WC produces men of virtue, staff shared that WC has a regional reputation for producing professionally qualified and skilled workers who possess strong character. Each participant knew someone who attended WC before they applied for WC. Recruiters come to WC to recruit graduates for positions. As noted earlier, WC has a 98% job placement rate, and many graduates secure positions that yield competitive salaries ranging as high as six figures. One teacher/administrator states that the values that are

instilled in WC students translate to added value in the labor market. Consequently, WC has developed a reputation of producing desirable workers. The teacher/administrator states:

when [employers] hire these guys [WC students]... it has less to do with your skills that you learned in machine shop or carpentry or whatever, that's a piece of it, but what they're really looking for is somebody they can hire that has integrity, that they can trust, that they know is going to be there on time and be prepared to go who is going to be sober....So, that's why they have 80 companies that come here and pay \$100 a table when they know, in our little gym, and they know that there's only 70 graduates. I mean, and I believe that they're hiring the Williamson man, not necessarily the best carpenter or the best mason, or you know what I mean?

Diversity at WC. Diversity was discussed along the lines of racial and gender inclusion and culture. Class was not mentioned much aside from the fact that the young men who attend have to come from family backgrounds that made less than 250% of the poverty line. Further, city and rural youth were identified by one staff member as the two biggest geographic groups. Rural youth had more discipline than city youth and that the adjustment to WC can be difficult for students from cities because they tend to lack discipline, according to some staff.

Still other administrators and staff thought of diversity in terms of race. The surrounding Philadelphia area consisted of poor or working class black people. Yet, the number of black and other students of color is far lower than the number of white students at Williamson. Increasing the number of black and Latino students was a stated goal by some teachers/administrators. However, no clearly articulated processes were evident for creating an inclusive culture for non-white students or handling issues pertaining to race. At one point, WC developed a diversity committee; at the time of data collection, it was effectively defunct.

One articulated method for increasing diversity was that the presence of students of color will attract more students of color. However, WC possessed no institutional strategies for recruiting more students of color. For instance, a teacher/administrator stated:

“I won’t say we’re where we need to be, in terms of the African-American population, but we’re a lot closer to where we need to be. But the Hispanic community is just really hard. I think that one of the things – as we admitted more African-Americans, it became easier to attract more.”

Racial/ethnic, gender, and homophobic jokes also were reported to be a part of the WC context.

The results of thematic analysis of WC context in synthesis

The results of the thematic analysis of the WC teachers/administrators provided information about the social context in which the participants of this research lived. The results revealed that, through the imparting of values, discipline policies, and their regimented daily schedule, WC taught the young men the knowledge and skills to be a successful male worker in the trades. Being men that possess character values such as diligence, faith, excellence, service and integrity provided these men the cultural capital to have a competitive advantage in the job market. In addition, the results of the thematic analysis of the WC context revealed that WC had no articulated strategy for recruiting students of color despite the desire of teachers/administrators to attract more students of color. Furthermore, there was a culture of telling racialized and gendered jokes at WC.

It was not clear from the Wave 2 interviews if the WC culture impacted how the participants view themselves as workers. Each of the student participants believed that the WC process would make them better men. With the present data, no causal links can be made between the participant’s perspectives about poverty and the WC culture (e.g., its imparting

perspectives about poverty). However, through the daily schedule and discipline, WC taught students the ways of being a successful male worker.

Discussion

In this dissertation, I conducted a narrative analysis to examine whether participants showed evidence of critically reasoning about the causes of poverty in the U.S., and *how* these young men “narrativized” or spoke about their perspectives on poverty in the U.S. To explore the role that context may have played in shaping these young men’s perspectives, I examined the following: 1. The potential influence of family and peer relationships, 2. the role of personal experiences with poverty, and 3. the potential influence of the WC culture and values on how these young men made sense of poverty in the U.S. I examined the role of context by analyzing Wave 1 life narrative student interviews, Wave 1 teacher/administrator interviews, and Wave 2 student interviews.

The research conducted in this dissertation contributes to what is known about CC and, specifically, what is known about critical analysis among white youth. Within the field of youth development, CC and critical analysis have been studied primarily among marginalized youth of color in relation to their schools. Examining CC and critical analysis development is important for youth of color, because CC has been demonstrated to help youth of color connect historical forms of oppression to present day conditions and to motivate young people to act to address those unjust conditions (Azzopardi & McNiell, 2016; Cameron Sanchez et al, 2015; Diemer & Hsieh, 2008; Diemer & Li, 2011; Ginwright, 2011; Ginwright & Cammarota, 2007; Watts, Diemer, & Voight, 2011). However, systems of power affect the development of all people, but in different ways based a person’s race, class, gender, sexuality, religion, etc. Less is known about how CC develops among white youth and, as well, how white male domination of privileged classes (Helms, 2017) impacts the CC development of working class white youth in relation to schools.

Furthermore, CC and critical analysis are relevant in multiple contexts across the life span. Trade schools are a part of the broader education structure within the U.S. Although trade education may be viewed as peripheral to the broader educational structure, peripheral contexts can also shed light on the complexity of social systems, provide insight into how young people make sense of the education in relation to their social position, and may help reveal the various ways systems of power may be reproduced. Therefore, it is important to investigate whether trade schools influence how young people think about poverty and, by extension, what it takes to be a successful worker.

The results of the study were identified at the contextual level and the individual level. At the individual level, the findings of the study demonstrated variability in how young men derive meaning from their experiences to articulate perspectives about poverty. At the contextual level, WC conveys messages about being a successful male worker, race, and gender through processes such as admission practices, disciplinary policies, and daily schedule to which students adhere. Below, the results of the study and the significance of the findings are discussed in relation to CC and school culture literatures.

The Young Men

The findings from this study demonstrate that young white men of this trade school context demonstrate complexity in how they narrate and bring coherence to their articulations of socioeconomic inequalities in the U.S. The young men's analyses involved the process of negotiating dominant narratives about the poor with their experiences with poverty; they derived from this relationship their own perspectives of meaning around causes of poverty in the U.S. Furthermore, actually living in poverty brought coherence to the young men's articulations. For participants with first-hand experience with poverty, they tended to believe that poverty is caused

by factors other than individual level factors. Although poverty is a racialized and gendered concept in the U.S. (Gilens, 1996) participants of the present study did not discuss race or gender in their articulations of why people are poor in the U.S.

The results of this study echo the findings of Willis (1977) and McLeod (1987). Both of these authors demonstrated that young men (late adolescents to college age) developed “partial insights” into the link between the schooling structure and the economic structure that systematically funneled them (and young men like them) into working class jobs. Although this dissertation is not an ethnographic study of WC, I have used the data available to examine whether WC influences student’s perspectives about poverty. As stated in the Results section, WC teachers and administrators indicated that the WC culture of rules and scheduling is meant to teach students values and the work ethic needed to be successful workers. Although participants of this study generally believed that WC’s philosophy teach them how to be successful men on the job, their articulations of poverty did not explicitly hinge on the notion that people do not work hard enough. They mentioned that some people lack drive, but not all poor people are like this.

When studying CC, the “critical” in critical analysis suggests that youth need to be aware of the power dynamics involved in systemic poverty. When considering the work of Seider (2011) and Howard (2010), their participants’ social positions reflected two indices of privilege: white and affluent and, in some cases, male. The participants of those studies possessed notions about poverty that were consistent with dominate macro-narratives. In the case of the Seider (2011) study, only through intervention did participants develop more complex understandings of causes of poverty in the U.S. With the sample in this dissertation, the participants had two indices of privilege: white and male. However, for three participants, direct experience with

poverty offered them the tools to develop thinking that may not be considered reflective of Freire's critical analysis; but their responses reflected budding understanding of the complexity of the social systems in which they live.

The results revealed that three participants noted the importance of service in their lives and believed that the WC value of service was one to which they adhered. The participants shared examples of their service involving volunteerism and charitable acts, such as helping neighbors with lawn work free of charge. Being a contributing member of one's society in the form of service aligns with civic engagement (CE). However, participants' explanations of serving others did not include an analysis of power structures or power relationships. In Chapter 2, I noted that CC and CE have been written about and conceptualized in similar manners in the youth development literature. I noted that an extensive body of research exists that examines CE among white youth (for examples see: Anglin, Johnson-Pynn, & Johnson, 2012; Flanagan, Syvertsen, & Stout, 2007; Littenberg-Tobias, Cohen, 2016; Wray-Lake, DeHaan, Shubert, & Ryan, 2017; Zaff, Malanchuk, & Eccles, 2008). However, not all definitions of CE include an analysis of unjust social systems and a desire to change them for the better.

The results of this study suggest that personal experience with poverty helps to develop interpretations of root causes of poverty that counter dominate marco narratives about poverty. This finding aligns with social-psychological scholarship which suggests that exposure to out-group members reduces negative beliefs about outgroup members (for a meta-analysis see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Strategic service learning has been identified as a strategy for reducing negative perspectives about others among youth (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Service learning is conceptualized as an educational experience in which students learn and develop a range of skills through thoughtful reflection of social issues and active participation in organized

service that meets a community's need (National and Community Service Act of 1990; Nelson & Eckstein, 2011). Effective service learning programs align objectives of the classroom with the learning objectives of the service project. Service learning builds developmental assets and provides students with opportunities to reflect on their service experiences through critical thinking, discussion, and writing (Eyler, 2002; Nelson & Eckstein, 2011).

As a civically oriented educational strategy that aligns with the WC value of service, adding service learning classes to the WC curriculum and a project that analyzes socioeconomic inequality can help WC students develop a critical analysis of the complex ways poverty affects the social mobility of people belonging to a range of racial and gendered backgrounds. Hosting the service learning projects in communities in which WC students grew up, and discussing the structural role of government and philanthropic organizations on socioeconomic inequality, will help students develop an understanding of their social positionality (i.e., working-class, white young men). As WC students develop a critique of the class inequalities in their communities, they can begin to identify how socioeconomic inequalities differentially affect the opportunities and outcomes of others based on race and gender.

The WC Context

The present research found that teachers and administrators believe that the WC process of imparting values, requiring strict adherence to a code of conduct, and adherence to a rigid daily schedule will develop successful male workers. Moreover, the values and behaviors developed during WC attendance make WC graduates more attractive to employers, and therefore gives WC graduates a competitive advantage on the job market. The WC process reflects belief in the protestant work ethic. The protestant work ethic is a narrative or belief that, if an individual works hard, has faith, and is thrifty he or she will be successful; such success is a

sign of salvation (Kurian, 2013). The reputation of WC was found to be widely present among the communities within which the students in this research lived. Each of the four participants were aware of WC years before they applied to WC, because they knew of someone who attended WC previously.

Returning to Whiteness as Property theory (Harris, 1993), the results of the thematic analysis enabled me to identify aspects of WC context that align with two property functions of whiteness: the right to use and enjoy whiteness, and the right to exclude others from the privileges of whiteness. In the section below, I describe Whiteness as Property and discuss how features of this theory align with the WC context. However, I do not make causal claims. Schools do not function in a power vacuum. In other words, the WC context cannot be understood detached from the broader racialized and gendered society.

Therefore, it is necessary to describe WC as a powered environment within a broader powered society. Taking this critical perspective to inquiry allows researchers to describe a broader powered context from which to examine and understand the educational environment within which the participants are developing their own perspectives about social issues in the U.S. Finally, as noted in the Results section, there were participants in the present research whose identity could not be made anonymous or confidential. However, their perspectives inform my discussion of Whiteness as Property and the WC context.

Right to use and enjoyment. As revealed by the results of the thematic analysis, WC is not racially diverse. The students who attended and the teachers and administrators who were employed at the time were predominantly white men. The idea of Whiteness as Property involves the view that white domination creates opportunity for white people to enjoy the privileges of whiteness. In the case of WC white students, they attend a school that historically

served poor predominantly white men, and this attendance provided them an opportunity for social mobility.

At present, the white students of WC live and are educated in a space where they live, learn, and have leisure time with people who belong to similar backgrounds. Indeed, there is heterogeneity in all racial and ethnic groups; however, white students possess the privilege of being in a space in which the majority of the students look like them (are white) and possess similar cultural codes and patterns (Bourdieu, 1976; Larue, 2002). Furthermore, these poor and working class white students were being imbued with the cultural capital (e.g., the behavior practices codes and values), and given the skills and training, needed to access a job that provides competitive compensation (Anyon, 1980; Bourdieu, 1976; Larue, 2002). In addition, WC students receive full scholarships to attend the schools. As such, the opportunity for social mobility is free of charge for this predominantly white student body.

The results of the thematic analysis of the WC context also revealed that racial/ethnic and gender jokes directed toward people of color were commonplace at WC. Racial/ethnic jokes are a form of macroaggression that negatively affect the well-being of the person or people who are the target of the jokes (Delgado, 1993; Lawrence, 1990; Solórzano, 2000). Furthermore, macroaggressions create unwelcoming spaces for those to whom the macroaggressions are directed (Delgado, 1993; Lawrence, 1990; Solórzano, 2000). The jokes may have created an environment that was psychologically unsafe for WC students of color.

Absolute right to exclude. Furthermore, the lack of institutional strategies to increase the number of students of color who attend WC can be interpreted through the lens of the absolute right to exclude. Unlike gender, there is no racial restrictions about attending WC. Men of all racial and ethnic backgrounds who qualify were welcome to apply and potentially attend WC. As

on teacher/administrator noted, few students of color attended WC, despite the fact that the cities surrounding WC were comprised of predominantly youth of color who fit Isaiah Williamson's definition of an underprivileged target group. The predominance of white men attending WC could be due to informal social networks. The results of this study revealed that each of the four student participants had a family member who attended WC or knew a WC graduate before they applied to WC. It may be that because so few students of color attended WC, there may be fewer WC graduates of color to inform prospective students of color about the WC opportunity.

Currently in the U.S., it is not legal to exclude people of color from attending institutions. At present, exclusion of people of color occurs through less apparent processes, such as informal networks, a hidden curriculum (Anyon, 1980; Larue, 2002), or maintaining a racially unwelcoming place. Bonilla Silva (2001) writes that our nation's current racial hierarchy is in part, maintained by the "token" inclusion of minority people. The presence of a "token" few students of color at WC can lead to the line of reasoning that WC possesses a racial climate that is conducive to attracting students of color; and therefore, no intentional institutional strategy for attracting students of color is a necessary priority.

In sum, human development is derived from inextricably linked person ↔ relations (Overton, 2015). Therefore, understanding the WC context can illuminate some of the contextual beliefs and practices that may inform the critical analysis of the students who attended WC. The present research examined CC development of white young men by conceptualizing systems of power as white domination—the invisible omnipresence of culture that confers privileges to white people. The analysis of the WC context provides *some* insight for understanding the racial and gender climate of WC, the inclusiveness of WC, and if this climate informed the student's perspectives about race, class, and gender.

Implications and Future Research

Freire (2000) theorized that all people, including those who hold power can develop a critical analysis of systems. Scholars who study CC debate whether Freire's concept was meant for those belonging to super-ordinate racial, gender, socioeconomic groups (e.g., Deimer, Rappa, & Voight, 2016). There is a body of information about the CC development of youth of color, but not white youth of poor work working class backgrounds. This dissertation enhances existing research by taking a multidisciplinary approach to white youth CC development by exploring how they reason about socioeconomic inequalities. Below, I will discuss the implications of my research on the development of CC among white youth in schooling contexts and directions for future research.

Implications for CC on white youth development research

The present study has several implications for the study of CC among white male youth. When studying CC, the "critical" in critical analysis suggests that youth need to be aware of the power dynamics involved in systemic poverty. It remains unclear whether the student participants were critically aware of their whiteness. In this dissertation, student participants were not explicitly asked about their racial identity, and whether or not they were aware that whiteness confers privileges unto white people or to them as white men. As mentioned earlier, there is much less research within the youth development field that examines how systems of power affect outcomes such as the well-being, identity development, academic achievement, and critical consciousness of white youth.

Furthermore, when white youth development is studied, the focus is generally outside of an analysis of how systems of power (i.e., the cultural white supremacy) affects their development. Therefore, if researchers want to study CC among white youth, they need to

develop and incorporate an understanding of how whiteness shapes the development of white youth. Specifically, researchers need to possess an analysis of the powered, racialized, and gendered nature of white supremacy and how the social, economic, and political relations that reproduce white supremacy inform schools, neighborhoods, and society more broadly. Without possessing an analysis of systems of power, what is known about CC development among white youth will be limited in its capacity to move the field of CC forward.

In addition, to understanding the processes involved in CC development among white youth, researchers must examine how systems of power (white supremacy) influence how youth experience and view the world reflexively. As mentioned earlier, whiteness is omnipresent in U.S. society in general and in schools. Because whiteness is ubiquitous, often, white people do not observe or readily understand the ways in which whiteness confers privileges to them because of their white skin color (Helms, 1984, 2017). Moreover, because of the lack of awareness that society distributes resources (e.g., social privileges) asymmetrically, white people are often unaware of the ways that whiteness marginalizes others (Helms, 1984, 2017). Consequently, this lack of awareness, in part, perpetuates white domination (Helms, 1984, 2017). Therefore, exposing white supremacy is a central starting place for the study of CC development among white youth. Highlighting and interrogating the beliefs that inform practices and patterns of domination may have the potential to disrupt inequitable social systems.

Achieving the goal of exposing white domination and fostering CC among white youth can happen in school contexts, even in trade school contexts. Critical pedagogy is a philosophical approach that recognizes that power relations imbue schooling contexts (Coghlan & Brydon-Miller, 2014). It examines how education can be an oppressive force, and how outside oppressive forces shape the purpose of education (Coghlan & Brydon-Miller, 2014; Freire,

2000). Within the critical pedagogy tradition, knowledge is understood to be created within a historical context, and all decisions about pedagogy and education are inherently political decisions (Coghlan & Brydon-Miller, 2014; Kincheloe, 2007).

In traditional four-year liberal arts institutions of higher education, a critical pedagogy lens can be used to teach several social science, political science, and education courses. However, taking a critical pedagogical approach may not appear necessary within the trade context. However, in the case of WC, socioeconomic inequality as it relates to the mission of WC could be a topic of discussion, given that WC admits students based on income status. In addition, just as WC and other institutions of higher education have made civic engagement a part of their mission and values (Franco, 2002; Gibson, & Levine, 2003), promoting equity using a critical lens can be made part of the values and mission of post-secondary institutions as well. One way to show that commitment is to employ staff members whose sole role is to promote diversity and inclusion, such as a Chief Diversity Officer. A Chief Diversity Officer could implement a strategic plan to foster a climate of inclusion and diversity.

Limitations

This study has several limitations. This dissertation involves secondary data analysis. The interview protocol for the ACT study was developed to understand the WC theory of change and the development of character virtues among men who attend WC. As a first-year student, I was able to include a question about poverty in the interview protocol, one that provided sufficient responses about poverty from participants. Nevertheless, the poverty line of inquiry in the protocol was underdeveloped. Our team did not systematically develop follow-up questions or probes along with our poverty question. Having follow-up questions would have provided

opportunities for participants to further explicate their perspectives on why people are poor, thus providing the researchers more data to understand participants' perspectives.

Another limitation of this study is that we did not provide participants a definition of poverty. Nor did we ask them to define poverty in their own words. Participants of this study did provide brief descriptions of what they considered poverty to be as they answered the question about poverty. However, without a clear definition of poverty established during the interview, it is unclear if the participants and the researchers were talking about the same construct.

Threats to internal validity involve researcher reactivity or the influence the researcher has on the setting and or participant. As an exercise in secondary data analysis, attending to researcher reactivity in the present investigation was not possible. However, I am mindful that who we were as a research team could have influenced participants' responses. All interviewers were women, thirty years of age or younger, and the team was mostly white (two interviewers were not white) and from a university setting. Our research team had not built strong relationships with the WC community, in the sense that the community had become used to our presence on campus. We visited WC a couple of times per year. Participants may not have believed that their viewpoints would be appropriately represented. Therefore, conducting interviews in an all-male context and asking questions about poverty (and gender) could have elicited responses from the participants that they believed were "appropriate." Within inquiries that involve secondary analysis, such as the present study, one can no longer make provisions to guard against researcher reactivity or social desirability.

Conclusions

Critical consciousness is an important developmental competency for all youth to develop. Findings from this study may be the impetus for studying how white youth make and

articulate meaning about social inequities through narratives. Furthermore, the study of CC requires an analysis of systems of power and how they affect people differently based on their social positions. In most CC work, CC is understood in relation to how systems of power create marginalization for youth. The present research shifts the investigative lens by exploring whiteness and how it confers privileges to white youth and how whiteness might shape their critical analysis of socioeconomic inequalities. However, given the limitations of this dissertation as a secondary data analysis project, the major contribution of the present research will be its impetus for future studies about the impact of whiteness on CC development among white youth.

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Table 1: Participant Sample

	Tim	Liam	Jeb	Bryan
SES	Family financial instability due to addiction	Working class	“We never really struggled”	Grew up poor
Age	21	21	20	20
Trade	Power Plant	Power Plant	Machine Shop	Machine Shop

Table 2: Data display: Do young men from WC bring coherence to their understandings of socioeconomic inequality in the United States?

Case	Essence of Narration	Poverty Attributions	Personal experience	Narrative integration	Coherence
Bryan	<i>“but I don’t feel that there are people who are just unwilling to work. I think that’s actually something all people wanna do.”</i>	Individual, multiple reasons, but provides no structural reasons; charity and disposition to address poverty;	Yes. People make mistakes	Alternative narrative- Counts the macro narrative that poor people don’t want to work. Uses personal experience to tie his narrative together. He concludes that poverty needs to be address on a social, humanistic, and compassionate level. Makes mention of not enough jobs and people with skills for jobs.	<i>Presence of Coherence</i> <i>Personal experience with poverty brought coherence.</i> <i>“Cause the thing is for a while, I didn’t have a home of my own, but I always had a roof over my head. I always had a place where I could shower, clean my clothes and everything. But I can only imagine that it makes putting effort into anything, including getting a job, so much harder when people look at you as subhuman.”</i>
Liam	<i>“I think most of the time it’s not really their own fault.”</i>	Combination: things happen; people get laid off (fate); people want to stay in their situation (individual)	Yes.	Alternative narrative- He was resolved that most of the time, poverty was not people’s fault. Has personal experience as a volunteer feeding the poor and listening to their stories. However, he grappled with the idea that poverty “is not their fault” vs. “They kinda wanna be in that situation.”	<i>Lack of Coherence between his ideas</i> <i>“I think most of the time it’s not really their own fault.”</i> <i>“I think something should be done. But I don’t really know how to specifically help the people that need the help and then the people that don’t really want the help. They kinda wanna be in that situation. I – not that they want to. But like I said like people just sit around and collect unemployment checks. I don’t really know. It would be something that I have to like research to figure out. I don’t know.”</i>

*Alternative narrative is defined as the emerging conclusive narratives of the participant after he negotiations personal narratives (personal experience) with macro narratives.

Table 2: Data display continued: Do young men from WC bring coherence to their understandings of socioeconomic inequality in the United States?

Case	Essence of Narration	Poverty Attribution	Personal experience	Narrative integration	Coherence
Jeb	<i>“But I just don’t understand how there’s so many greedy people out there that make so much money, and there’s people that don’t even get to eat or shower. A big thing is sports and entertainment industry.”</i>	Combination personal drive and income redistribution Critical questioning	Yes. <i>“I always worked in high school. I worked since I was, I think, 14, 14 ½. Yeah.”</i>	Alternative narrative- Unfair income distribution. Aligned with macro narratives (stereotypes) with regard to poverty and the need to work hard to transcend poverty. Had lines of questioning that had the potential to be critical. However, he aligned his perspectives about solutions to poverty with dominant tropes (people need drive to escape poverty). Used personal experience to justify drive; drive can be developed.	<i>Lack of Coherence between his ideas</i> <i>“There’s just so many high-class – there’s so many people in the upper class in this country and so many in the lower class. There needs to be more just in the middle class, but respectfully, not on a – like, every single person has to be the same, like we’re under a dictatorship. But I just don’t understand why the middle class isn’t more popular, just more equal. It’s just not fair, I feel like.”</i> <i>“I feel as if there’s also a lot of people out there that like welfare.”</i>
Tim	<i>“I’m not saying that everybody has the resources, but I think that there’s a lack of will and a lack of motivation.”</i>	Combination motivation and controlling destiny; lack of resources	Yes.	Alternative narrative- Motivation and drive were identified as key factors for transcending poverty with the exception of lack of resources. Used personal experience to justify his perspective. No structural analysis. No critical questioning.	<i>Presence of Coherence</i> <i>Personal experience with poverty brought coherence.</i> <i>“I’m not saying that everybody has the resources, but I think that there’s a lack of will and a lack of motivation.” “I guess I was honestly blessed with some common sense and some drive or motivation, which is why I’m here. And if I wasn’t here I was going into the Marines...That was 100%,” “So there’s two options right there that I set up myself before I even graduated high school.</i>

*Alternative narrative is defined as the emerging conclusive narratives of the participant after he negotiations personal narratives (personal experience) with macro narratives.