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ABSTRACT

Engagement is a potentially useful construct for organizing strategies to support adjustment, achievement and retention in school, particularly among our most vulnerable student populations. Even if high quality schooling is available, high levels of achievement will implicitly demand engagement on the part of students. This initial analysis, drawn from the larger project, concentrates on a set of individual and interpersonal influences on engagement for a multiethnic sample of high school students. This definition of engagement comprises two components, behavior and affect. Using quantitative and qualitative indicators, the researchers assessed perceived teacher support, perceived ethnic relations, future expectations, and behavioral and affective engagement in a high school sample of Latino and Anglo students. It was hypothesized that student engagement, school climate, and student expectations would be related in specific ways, and those relationships would differ for Latino and Anglo youth. Findings indicate that perceptions of relationships with teachers are significant influences on student engagement, achievement, and expectations. (Contains 36 references and 3 tables.) (Author)

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Student Engagement, School Climate, And Future Expectations in High School

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Abstract

Engagement is a potentially useful construct for organizing strategies to support adjustment, achievement and retention in school, particularly among our most vulnerable student populations. Even if high quality schooling is available, high levels of achievement will implicitly demand engagement on the part of students. This initial analysis, drawn from the larger project, concentrates on a set of individual and interpersonal influences on engagement for a multiethnic sample of high school students. Our definition of engagement comprises two components, behavior and affect. Using quantitative and qualitative indicators, we assessed perceived teacher support, perceived ethnic relations, future expectations, and behavioral and affective engagement in a high school sample of Latino and Anglo students (N = 190). We hypothesized that student engagement, school climate, and student expectations would be related in specific ways, and those relationships would differ for Latino and Anglo youth. Findings indicate that perceptions of relationships with teachers are significant influences on student engagement, achievement, and expectations.

Student Engagement, School Climate, And Future Expectations in High School

Students must feel motivated to engage in and persist with schooling if they are to take full advantage of whatever educational opportunities are available to them. Even if high quality schooling is available, high levels of achievement will implicitly demand engagement on the part of students. Across a range of stakeholders including parents, educators, policymakers, and researchers there is broad agreement that active participation in, persistence with, and enjoyment of academic tasks are necessary although not sufficient for maximizing student achievement and minimizing school dropout. We have collected data on student motivation during middle and high school to examine a range of factors that may impact achievement, college plans, dropout, and antisocial behavior in school. This initial analysis, drawn from the larger project, concentrates on a set of individual and interpersonal influences on engagement for a multiethnic sample of high school students.

School Engagement

We use the construct engagement to identify the persistence and quality of students' involvement in learning activities. When used in connection with learning in school, engagement is a construct that links the individual student to the classroom or institutional context of school. Our definition of engagement comprises two components, behavior and affect (Skinner & Belmont, 1993). Behavioral engagement represents what students do to remain involved in learning. For example, such engagement at school would be reflected by low rates of disciplinary problems (Ekstrom, Goertz, Pollack, & Rock, 1986) and absenteeism (Hudley, 1995) and high rates of task completion (Conchas, 2001; Hudley, 1995). Affective engagement represents attitudes or feelings about the pursuit of learning (Skinner & Belmont, 1993). Students who are affectively engaged at school hold positive

attitudes toward academic activities and achievement striving. Affective engagement is similar to intrinsic motivation, as an intrinsically motivated student will perceive the learning task to be a source of enjoyment (Deci & Ryan, 1987).

Recent research has demonstrated that school engagement is related to a variety of student outcomes. Engagement is related to emotional adjustment in middle school (Roeser, Eccles, & Sameroff, 1999) and academic achievement in secondary (Finn & Rock, 1997) and elementary (Furrer & Skinner, 2003) students. Related research on intrinsic motivation suggests that engagement is linked to higher level reasoning (Grolnick & Ryan, 1987) as well as feelings of emotional well-being (Deci & Ryan, 1987) across a broad range of ages. Early school leaving, which forecloses traditional opportunities for school achievement and negatively impacts youths' career trajectories, may be the final act for high school students who have become progressively disengaged from school (Alexander, Entwistle, & Kabbani, 2001; Conchas, 2001). Conversely, active engagement may be a significant protective factor that promotes achievement for those at greatest risk for school failure (Becker & Luthar, 2002). Thus, engagement is a potentially useful construct for organizing strategies to support adjustment, achievement and retention in school, particularly among our most vulnerable populations. Because ethnic minority students are most likely to leave high school early (NCES, 2002), understanding how ethnicity moderates school engagement seems especially important.

Student Support and Student Beliefs

We have begun to examine two interrelated factors that may enhance or constrain engagement and reflect different levels of the student's ecology, perceived school climate and students' future expectations. Our focus has been on two specific elements of perceived climate: teacher support and cultural sensitivity.

Climate. Those who study classroom climate have defined teacher support as a nurturing, respectful attitude toward students that conveys a personal interest and expectations for success (Blumenfeld, 1992; Wentzel, 1997). Thus teacher support comprises both emotional warmth and academic validation for students. Prior research indicates that perceived teacher support is related to both behavioral and affective engagement in middle school (Wentzel, 1997) and elementary school (Furrer & Skinner, 2003), and this is particularly true for ethnic minority adolescents (Hudley, 1995, 1997, 1998; Murdock, 1999). These effects are evident even when controlling for general motivational orientation (e.g., control beliefs) and overall adjustment (Furrer & Skinner, 2003; Wentzel, 1997).

We are especially interested in possible ethnic differences in the relationship between perceived support and engagement, given the troubling reality that teachers' views of students vary by student ethnicity (Gollnick, 1992). For example, research in multicultural education has found that teachers across all grade levels may perceive African-American and Latino students as more behaviorally (i.e., discipline problems) and affectively (i.e., don't care about education) disengaged than other groups, regardless of similarities in actual behavior across groups (Kalin, 1999; Katz, 1999). Evidence for a similar bias has been found in preservice teachers as well (King, 1991).

Biased attitudes may reciprocally influence engagement to the extent that they create a school climate that is perceived as unsupportive. Consider the example of a student who perceives her ethnic group to be unfairly treated or marginalized in school. This student may resist academic instruction, leading to a cycle of low school staff expectations, progressive disengagement from school, reduced achievement, and increased behavioral problems (Cummins, 1996). Prior research is suggestive of just such a possibility with

findings that a culturally supportive climate promotes academic achievement among Latino high school students (Tan, 2001; Trueba, 1988) and more positive relations across ethnic groups generally for both students and teachers (Tatum, 1997). Examining how ethnicity moderates engagement may be useful for understanding the mechanisms linking climate variables to student outcomes.

Expectations. Engagement is also linked to students' own beliefs about schooling. Classic theories of motivation posit that people engage in tasks that provide some expectation of success (Weiner, 1991). For example, limited expectations (i.e., what I believe I am likely to achieve) of academic and career success prompt many adolescents to leave high school early (Franse & Siegel, 1987). Further, some ethnic groups may be especially vulnerable to a range of other social forces that negatively impact their ability or willingness to engage in school and their expectations, including poverty, language barriers, and discrimination (Children's Defense Fund, 2002; Kalin, 1999). In sum, student engagement may also be related to expectations and thus later life chances in ways that are debilitating to already vulnerable populations (Rumberger, 1995).

The Current Study

The current study includes measures of perceived teacher support, perceived ethnic relations, future expectations, and behavioral and affective engagement in a high school sample of Latino and Anglo students. Open-ended focus group interviews provided us with a qualitative understanding of our quantitative measures. This initial analysis is intended to add to research on student engagement in several ways. We have pursued these investigations initially in our sample of high school students; research on engagement to date has concentrated on middle school students. Further, we focus on interpersonal processes that intersect with social address variables. This strategy may provide additional

insights for a dropout prevention literature that has concentrated on social address variables (Finn & Rock, 1997). As well, prior work exploring racially diverse samples has left Latino youth relatively understudied, although this population has the highest dropout rate (Finn & Rock, 1997).

Three hypotheses were addressed in this initial analysis. (1) We anticipated that a perceived supportive climate would be positively related to school engagement and achievement for all high school students, but the pattern of relationships would vary for Latino and Anglo students. (2) We further expected all high school students' perceptions of climate and measured engagement would be related to their expectations for postsecondary education. (3) Finally, we expected student reported engagement to predict expectations after controlling for prior demographic variables (gender, ethnicity, class), achievement levels, and perceptions of school climate.

Method

Sample and setting. Data were collected in a small, coastal community in Southern California with a single public comprehensive high school. Participants (N = 190) attended the public high school (grades 9-12), which enrolled 810 students (53% Latino) in the 1999-2000 academic year. The sample was approximately equally balanced by ethnicity (46%Latino and 54% Anglo) and gender (53% girls and 47% boys); the gender balance was similar across ethnicity. We also conducted focus group interviews with a subset of our sample (Latino n = 34 and Anglo n = 20). The interview sample was evenly divided by gender.

The community comprises 38% Latino residents, 59% Anglo residents, and 3% other. The per capita annual income for employed Anglo residents in the community at the time was the state average of $22,000. The comparable figure for Latino community residents

was $12,000, nearly half that for Anglo residents (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). Using free lunch status as a proxy for SES, 45% our Latino students and 4% of Anglo students received free and reduced price lunch. Thus ethnicity and class were substantially confounded in our sample.

Procedures. Each student with informed parental consent and student assent was administered a paper pencil survey in English classes in a single 30 minute session. Students also provided demographic information (age, grade, gender, ethnicity). At the same time, classroom teachers rated participating students' attitudes and behaviors. As well, we collected attendance, disciplinary, and achievement data from student records.

Interviews were conducted in groups of 3-4 students; groups were homogeneous in both gender and ethnicity. Each focus group interview lasted approximately 45 minutes or one class period and was conducted during participants' English class in a setting away from the regular classroom. The open-ended interview protocol allowed all students to share their thoughts and opinions related to their own academic performance, the nature of the classroom and school climate, and their college and/or career plans.

Survey measures. We measured behavioral engagement with a combination of teacher report and archival data. We asked each participant's English teacher to rate 2 behaviors on a 4 point Likert scale ranging from "never" to "very often": how often the student got "in trouble because of inappropriate behavior" and how often the student failed to complete class assignments. These questions were combined into a single teacher index (α = .73). A review of school records yielded days of detention and suspension, which were combined into a single discipline index (α = .85). We also collected days absent for the preceding 12 month period.

Affective engagement was measured by a combination of teacher and student report. Teachers rated students on a single item asking how often the student "enjoys learning new things". Students responded to 11 items assessing attitudes toward achievement (e.g., "I like to do easy assignments; I think it is interesting to do work in science"), adapted from the School Attitude Measure (SAM) (Wick, 1990) and the Children's Academic Intrinsic Motivation Inventory (CAIMI) (Gottfried, 1986). Responses were measured with a 4-point Likert scale that ranged from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree" (α = .68).

Perceived teacher support was assessed with 7 items (α = .69) tapping both emotional warmth ("this teacher really cares about us") and academic validation ("my teacher thinks I am a good student"). We measured students' perceptions of ethnic relations with 5 items (α = .67) covering both teacher ("some teachers don't like it when students speak Spanish") and peer ("I have friends at school who are of different ethnic groups than my own") interactions. All responses were measured on a 4-point Likert scale that ranged from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree."

Students also responded to one question each tapping college ("If you could do anything you wanted when you graduate, how possible is it that you will go to a 4 year college or university") and career ("If you could do anything you wanted, how possible is it that you will have a professional job that requires college training") expectations, each measured on a 4 point Likert scale. We collected students' GPA's for the prior academic year as indicators of achievement.

Results

Preliminary analyses examined mean differences among groups by dividing the sample into Anglo, Latino mid-SES and Latino low-SES. Means for engagement, teacher

support, perceived climate, expectations, and achievement are displayed in Figure 1. The three groups differed on four of five measures of engagement, one measure of perceived school climate, both measures of expectations and GPA. Generally, but not uniformly, low income Latinos had the most negative ratings, followed by mid-SES Latinos and then Anglos. The latter two groups were more similar in self-report measures and the former two groups were more similar in teacher and archival measures.

Climate and engagement. Using Pearson's correlations across the full sample, we next examined the relationship between climate variables and student engagement variables. Perceived teacher support was related to affective engagement ($r = .51$, $p < .001$), absences ($r = -.20$, $p < .01$), the teacher index of behavioral engagement ($r = -.20$, $p = .01$), and student GPA ($r = .17$, $p < .05$) but <u>not</u> the teacher report of affective engagement ($r = .08$, *ns*) or the discipline index of behavioral engagement ($r = -.11$, *ns*). We then analyzed teacher warmth and academic validation separately and found that the discipline index related to academic validation ($r = -.19$, $p = .01$) but not to warmth ($r = -.05$, *ns*). Similarly, teacher report of affective engagement related to academic validation ($r = .20$, $p = .01$) but not to warmth ($r = .04$, *ns*). Finally, GPA now strongly related to academic validation ($r = .38$, $p < .001$) but not to warmth ($r = .09$, *ns*). Thus, the significant element of teacher support seems to be academic for the full sample.

We next examined these relationships separately by ethnicity and class status and found several significant differences. For all Latino youth, perceived teacher support was unrelated to the teacher index of behavioral engagement ($r = -.06$, *ns*); the full sample relationship was accounted for entirely by Anglo youth ($r = -.40$, $p < .001$). Similarly, GPA was unrelated to Latino students' perceptions of teacher support but related for Anglo youth ($r = .05$, *ns* and $.34$, $p < .001$, respectively). Conversely, attendance was related to

teacher support only for Latino students ($r = -.32$, $p < .01$ and -.11, *ns*, for Latino and Anglo students respectively). We again separately analyzed warmth and academic validation and found that only warmth was related to absences for Latino students, and this relationship was stronger for low income ($r = -.43$, $p < .001$) than for middle income ($r = -.31$, $p < .05$) students. Similarly, academic validation related to the discipline index only for low income Latino youth ($r = -.36$, $p < .01$). Conversely, academic validation was related to teacher reports of affective engagement only for Anglo ($r = .20$, $p < .01$) but not Latino youth ($r = .04$, *ns*). See Table 1 for comparisons of correlations across the three status groups (i.e., middle income Latino, low income Latino, Anglo).

These correlations are supported by responses from our open ended interviews. All students readily described their teachers. However, Latino students were more likely to discuss interpersonal characteristics (68% of interpersonal comments came from Latino students) of the teachers that they liked ("he gives me advice about things"; "she is always there for you"; "he cares about me for myself"). Anglo students talked relatively more about classroom styles (59% of these comments came from Anglo students) and learning activities ("he is so interested in what we are reading in class"; "he tells you everything that will be on the test").

Turning to our other climate measure, for the full sample perceptions of ethnic relations were significantly related only to affective engagement ($r = .15$, $p < .05$). Separate analyses by ethnicity and class revealed that perceived ethnic relations significantly related to affective engagement for Anglos and low income Latinos ($r = .24$, $p < .05$ and .21, $p = .05$ respectively) but not middle income Latinos ($r = .04$ *ns*). Perceived climate related to our discipline index differentially as well. For all Latinos but not Anglos, the more positive the perceptions of ethnic relations, the fewer discipline incidents were recorded ($r = -.19$, $p =$

.05; $r = .02$, *ns*). See Table 1 for comparisons of correlations across the three status groups (i.e., middle income Latino, low income Latino, Anglo).

Again in our qualitative data, relatively few students talked about a teacher who treated them unfairly. However, when they did, Latino students were much more likely to say that they would "give the teacher a bad time" (61% to 39% of responses). Anglo students were more likely to say that they would "ignore it" (57%) or "work less in that class" (59%).

To further understand these patterns of relationships between climate and engagement, we then conducted a series of stepwise regressions. Demographic variables of ethnicity, class, and gender were entered on the first step. Our perceived climate variables were entered on the second step, and measures of engagement and achievement served as the first set of outcome variables. The model was significant for GPA, the discipline index, and self reported affective engagement. Teacher support was the only significant predictor across all of these measures of engagement. For GPA only, perceived ethnic relations as well as ethnicity and gender also remained in the model as significant predictors (see Table 2).

Expectations. To assess our second hypothesis, we again computed correlations for the full sample. Both college and career expectations were significantly related to teacher reported behavioral engagement ($r = .21$, $p = .01$ and .27, $p < .001$), affective engagement ($r = .24$, $p = .001$ for both measures of expectations), and GPA ($r = .37$, $p < .001$ and .41, $p < .001$). However, analyses by ethnicity and class revealed that teacher reports of behavioral engagement were significant for both expectation measures only for middle class Latino students ($r = .56$, $p < .001$ and .43, $p < .001$). Neither relationship was significant for low income Latinos; only career expectations were significantly related to teacher reports of

behavioral engagement for Anglos ($r = .26$, $p = .01$). This pattern of relationships was repeated with teacher reported affective engagement. GPA was significantly related to both measures of expectations for middle class Latino ($r = .51$, $p < .001$ and .35, p =.01) and Anglo students($r = .32$, $p = .001$ and .39, p <.001), but for low income Latino students only college expectations ($r = .27$, $p < .05$) related significantly to GPA. As well, only for low income Latino students were perceptions of ethnic relations related significantly to college expectations ($r = .25$, $p < .05$). See Table 1 for comparisons of correlations across the three status groups (i.e., middle income Latino, low income Latino, Anglo).

Turning to our qualitative data again, all students said at some point that they wanted to go on to college. For students who did not expect to go on right away, only Anglo students discussed delaying college for volitional reasons ("We are going to Europe after graduation"; I am going to work for awhile in my Dad's office"). Economic delays were cited by Latino students more often that Anglo students (59% to 41%).

Hypothesis three was assessed in subsequent regression analyses. We used demographic and prior achievement (step 1), climate (step 2), and engagement (step 3) variables to predict expectations. For college expectations, as we anticipated, perceived climate and two measures of engagement remained in the equation, while demographic predictors did not. Prior achievement remained our most robust predictor at all steps. The results differed somewhat for career expectations. Prior achievement again remained as the most significant predictor, as did all measures of affective engagement. However, no measures of perceived climate predicted career expectations (see Table 3).

Finally, to deconstruct this finding concerning career expectations, we conducted an ANOVA, using career expectations as the dependent variable, and ethnicity, GPA and engagement as grouping variables. The three way interaction was significant, as expected

(F [8, 154] = 3.21, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .12$). For Latino students, greater self reported affective engagement enhanced career expectations more strongly at higher levels of GPA. For Anglo students, engagement enhanced career expectations more strongly at lower levels of GPA. In general, low achieving Latino students had lower career expectations regardless of self-perceived engagement, while high achieving Anglos had high expectations, regardless of self-perceived engagement (see Figure 2).

Discussion

These preliminary analyses support our first hypothesis; perceived climate had a differential relationship with engagement for our three groups of students. For example, perceived relationships with teachers relate differently to engagement for Latino and Anglo students in several ways. Teacher warmth was important to Latino students, while academic validation was somewhat more important than warmth to Anglo students. Latino culture has often been described as more interdependent, one that places great value on personal relationships (Marin & Marin, 1991). Thus, a warm relationship with teachers may be particularly important in sustaining classroom engagement for these students. Conversely, if teachers do not provide a positive interpersonal relationship, Latino students may become more negative in the relationship, giving the teacher a "bad time." Anglo students, on the other hand, who come with a culture that is much more individualistic and competitive, seem to simply discount the relationship altogether. Given that the great majority of teachers are also Anglo, interpersonal warmth may represent a mechanism through which cultural mismatch impacts engagement and achievement for Latino students.

However, perceived ethnic relations related to engagement for Anglos as well as low income Latinos. This finding may seem to counter our interpretation of differential cultural values impacting engagement, since the finding was not significant for middle class Latinos. One possible interpretation is that high school students are more conscious of issues of equity and fairness as these concerns move again into the center of public debate in California and the country. However, consistent with Ogbu's (2003) theorizing, middle class Latino students may feel that ethnic climate is not critical to engagement and academic striving. Rather, school is a place for them to gather the tools for success, irrespective of whether people in the context have their best interests at heart. Ogbu would suggest that these middle and low SES Latinos might have adapted to their minority status in different ways.

Our other salient differences between Latino and Anglo students relates to expectations. Ethnicity was an important predictor of career expectations. Our subsequent ANOVA clarified the moderating influence of ethnicity, achievement, and engagement on expectations of future career success. Lower achieving Latinos had more pessimistic expectations for career success, even when they perceived themselves to enjoy school learning. Conversely, high achieving Latino students were more optimistic if they also enjoyed school. The relationship was reversed for Anglos. Even low achieving Anglos were optimistic if they enjoyed school; all high achieving Anglo students were optimistic. This finding may again be interpreted in the context of the larger society. Expectations can be powerfully influenced by student achievement as well as by the larger social context beyond school. Anglo students may have a broader range of social networks from which to draw, including a larger number of more successful family members who can more easily

sponsor them into the opportunity structure. Latinos, regardless of class, may face greater barriers when attempting to access the opportunity structure.

For college expectations, recall that perceived ethnic climate rather than ethnicity *per se* was an important predictor, along with teacher support and two engagement measures. Although these data cannot speak to causal direction, they are consistent with prior research that culturally supportive environments seem to encourage achievement striving among Latino students (Tan, 2001; Trueba, 1988). Such an environment may be an important buffer for students who are receiving messages counter to achievement striving from sources outside of school. Current societal stereotypes concerning competence and the probability of success are quite maladaptive for some ethnic minority youth, yet negative stereotypes can persuasively influence both students and those who educate them (Ogbu, 2003).

In sum, our data suggest that the glue binding students to school can be found in the quality of the relationships between teachers and students, and this holds true across ethnicity and class. Perceived relationships with teachers seem to relate strongly to engagement, achievement, and expectations of future education. Although the mechanisms of the relationships differ for different groups of students, the importance of relationships stands out. Thus, teacher preparation as well as inservice training might profitably focus on motivating students through the power of personal relationships.

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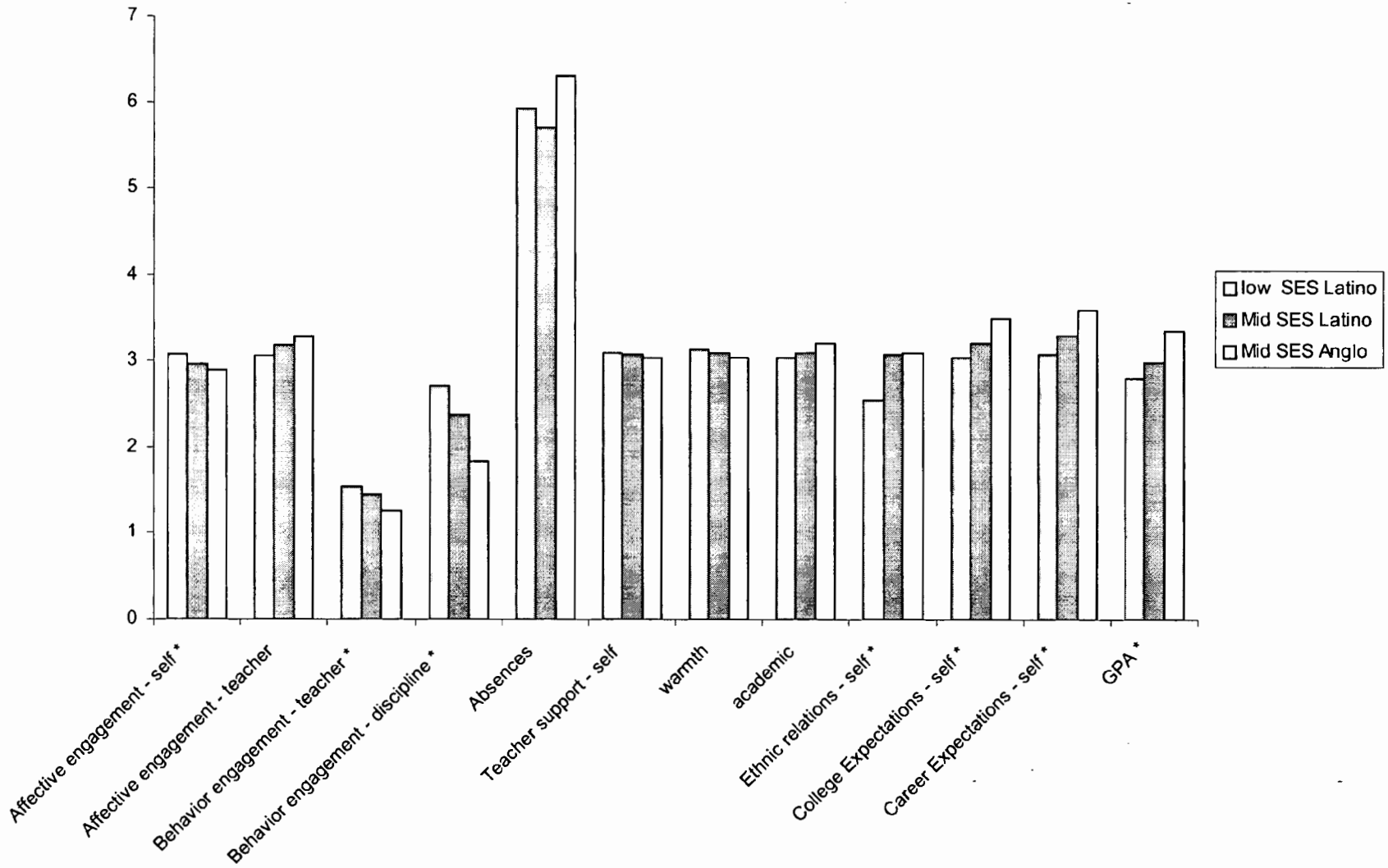
Figure 1
Means by class and ethnicity for all variables



Note. Higher numbers denote more positive ratings **except** teacher ratings of behavior, discipline, and absences
* $p < .05$

Table 1

Correlations for selected variables reported by status group

	1	2	3	4	5	6	6a	6b	7	8	9
1. Aff eng - self	-										
2. Aff eng - tch	-.23* -.07 .09	-									
3. Beh eng - tch	.17 -.01 -.09	-.67* -.57* -.52*	-								
4. Beh eng - disc	-.28* -.14 .10	-.33* .04 .05	.57* .02* .26*	-							
5. Absences	-.18+ -.03 -.08	-.23* .14 -.17+	.37* .07 .19*	.28* .11 .23*	-						
6. Teacher supp	.59* .43* .49*	.10 .23* .17+	-.10 .04 -.40*	-.40* .01 -.09	-.32* -.29* -.09	-					
a.warmth	.31* .44* .46	.15 .16 .10	-.04 -.05 -.02	-.39* -.07 -.07	-.43* -.31* .09	-	-				
b.academic	.41* .23* .48	.11 .04 .20*	-.13 .09 -.53*	-.36* -.07 -.08	-.10 -.13 -.14	-	.20+ .40* .36*	-			
7. Ethnic rela - self	.21* .04 .24*	.01 .13 -.14	.07 -.02 -.08	-.25* -.16 .02	.06 -.14 .02	.26* .35* .21*	.15 .20+ .19+	.34* .10 .10	-		
8. College ex – self	.13 .29* .17+	.12 .49* .20*	-.06 -.56* -.12	.19+ -.05 .05	.12 .14 -.10	.06 .11 .09	-.14 .15 .07	-.18+ .27* .12	.17+ .02 .25*	-	
9. Career ex - self	.20+ .27* .13+	.01 .43* .25*	-.07 -.43* -.26*	.02 .14 .04	.12 .04 .02	.15 .05 .08	-.08 .08 .05	.11 .10 .19+	.12 .11 .03	.55* .65* .44*	-
10. GPA	.40* .28* .16+	.29* .39* .43*	-.50* -.58* -.62*	-.47* -.23* -.42*	-.43* -.16+ -.34*	.12 .03 .34*	.08 .27* .19+	.29* .44* .45*	.09 .12 .06	.27* .51* .32*	.16 .35* .39*

Note. In each cell, the first value represents low SES Latino, the second mid SES Latino, and the third mid SES Anglo.
* $p < .05$, + $p < .10$

Table 2

Predictors of engagement

Dependent variable	Step 1		Step 2	
Affective engage		β		β
	SES	-.09	SES	-.10
	gender	-.03	gender	-.03
	ethnic	-.15	ethnic	-.13
			teach. sup	.45*
			ethnic rela.	.06
Behavior engage –discipline		β		β
	SES	.08	SES	.06
	gender	-.14	gender	-.13
	ethnic	- .11	ethnic	-.12
			teacher sup	-.27*
			ethnic rela.	.05
GPA		β		β
	SES	.01	SES	-.02
	gender	.20*	gender	.20*
	ethnic	.29*	ethnic	.35*
			teacher sup	.20*
			ethnic rela.	.14+

* $p < .05$, + $p < .10$

Table 3

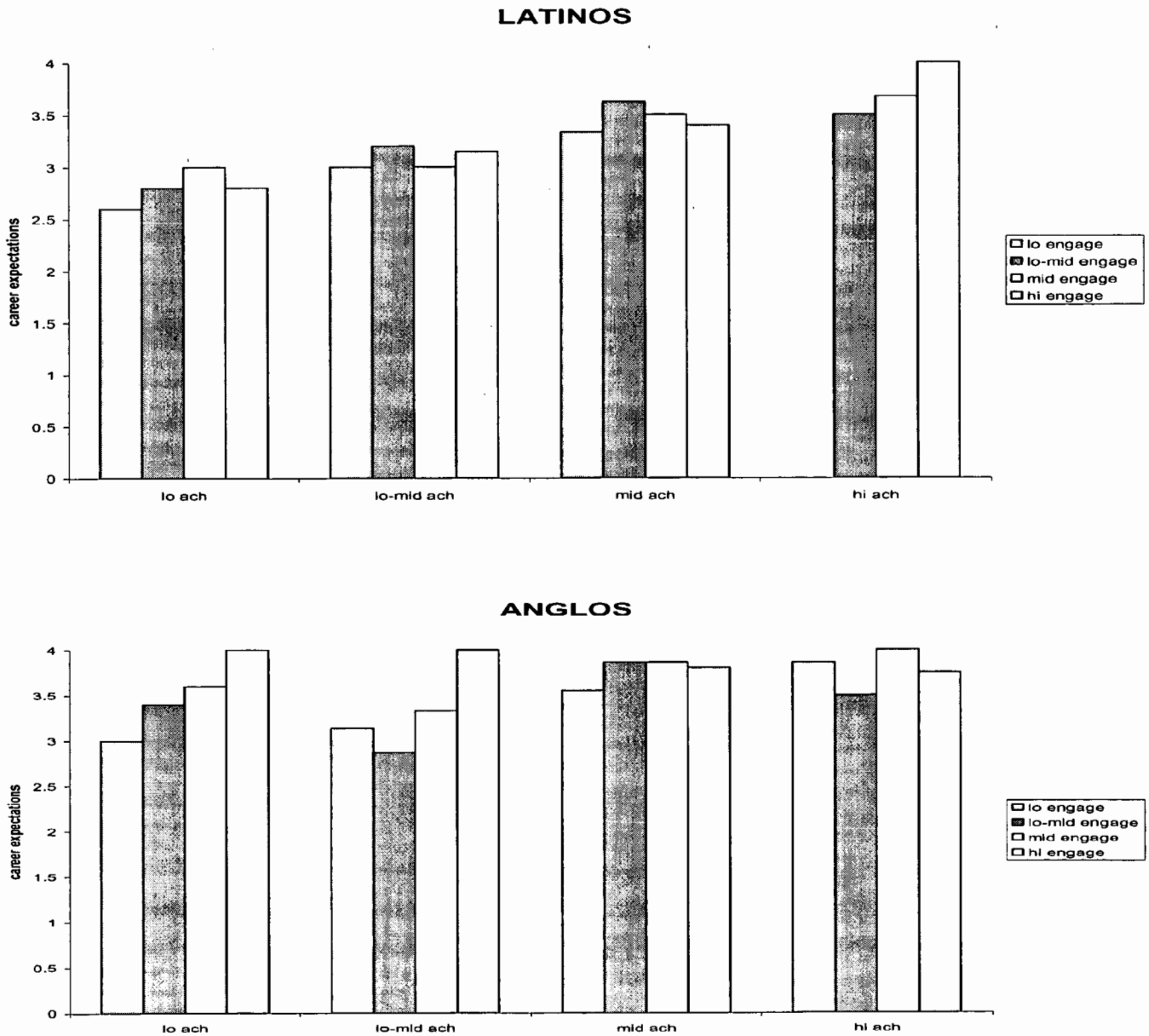
Predictors of expectations

	Step 1		Step 2		Step 3	
College expectations		β		β		β
	SES	.03	SES	.02	SES	.01
	gender	.01	gender	.02	gender	.03
	ethnic	.09	ethnic	.08	ethnic	.10
	GPA	.35*	GPA	.34*	GPA	.34*
			teacher sup	.07	teacher sup	.14+
			ethnic rela.	.21*	ethnic rela.	.18*
					affect eng.	.16+
					teacher beh eng.	-.10
					beh eng. – disc.	.15+
Career expectations		β		β		β
	SES	.09	SES	.08	SES	.09
	gender	.04	gender	.06	gender	.05
	ethnic	.12	ethnic	.11	ethnic	.13+
	GPA	.30*	GPA	.31*	GPA	.26*
			teacher sup	-.04	teacher sup	.11
			ethnic rela.	.03	ethnic rela.	.01
					affect eng.	.18*
					teacher beh eng.	-.16+
					beh eng. – disc.	.17*

* $p < .05$, + $p < .10$

Figure 2

Career expectations by ethnicity, achievement, and engagement



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