NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

"When We Bring in Our Positionalities, We Make the Space Inclusive": Organizations, Identities, and Belonging in Racially Diverse Contexts

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

for the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Human Development and Social Policy

By

Sebastian Castrechini

EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

SEPTEMBER 2023

Abstract

The literature on racial/ethnic diversity in schools largely shows evidence of positive academic outcomes for students in diverse schools relative to segregated schools. At the same time, there is ample research demonstrating the discrimination and marginalization that students of color experience in desegregated schools. In this dissertation, I seek to understand this incongruence in the literature by examining the organizational conditions that shape youth's experiences and development in racial/ethnically diverse schools. Across three studies, I examine the ways that schools as organizations create the conditions that influence students' sense of belonging, intergroup interactions, and their feelings of salience and regard for their identities. In the first study, I examine school belonging and its relationships with school organizational features. I find that belonging is associated with demographic composition in combination with the ways schools organize their staffing, values, and discipline, with these combinations differing for each racial/ethnic group. For the second and third studies, I draw on a year-long ethnography of an afterschool debate program. In the second study, I find that the organizational cultures of debate teams both enabled and constrained how and if youth had positive interactions with peers of different racial/ethnic groups. In the third study, I examine youth's experiences of their ethnic-racial identities and find that the context—including the racial/ethnic composition as well as the specific content with which youth were engaging—factored into how youth saw race/ethnicity as salient in their interactions. I also find that youth drew messages about other's regard for their identities from peers' reactions and particularly from the reactions of adults with power in the organization. These findings together demonstrate the importance of organizations and the way that they are racialized in understanding the linkages between school racial/ethnic diversity and youth development.

Acknowledgements

It was truly a privilege to be able to complete a doctorate, and I am grateful for so many people who helped to make a dream that I had deferred for many years a reality.

I am deeply indebted to my advisor, Jim Spillane, who for the past five years has been incredibly generous with his time, advice, data, feedback, and support. He has patiently listened to my incoherent ideas and helped guide me to coherence with many hours of meetings and thorough comments on countless drafts. His dedication to students and to scholarship is something I aspire to emulate as I move forward in my career.

I also wish to thank my other dissertation committee members, Simone Ispa-Landa and Mesmin Destin, who have both been incredibly helpful mentors in this process. Simone has been unshakingly supportive of my work since I entered this program, always forthcoming with her advice and pushing me to make my work better. Mesmin has been incredibly patient as I made uninformed leaps into psychological theory, helping guide me to more informed stances with thorough, generous, and gentle feedback along the way.

So many other informal mentors have helped pave my way to and through SESP. Cynthia Coburn helped bring me to Northwestern and has been an incredible influence on my scholarship, teaching, and career planning. I am deeply grateful to Cynthia for the generosity she has shown me in always making time and space for me when I have needed it. Richard Paquin Morel was instrumental to helping me navigate both the department and life as a student with kids in Chicago. Naomi Blauschild has so openly shared her work and experiences with me anytime I needed to know how something works in the department. Heather McCambly has always been there for me in guiding me through the hidden curriculum of academic life and the job market anytime I had questions, including the ones I didn't know to ask.

This dissertation would not be what it is without the friendship and intellectual partnership of Claire Mackevicius. Over the last three years, Claire has reviewed draft upon draft of my writing and held me accountable when I produced no writing. She has also been an unwaveringly positive presence in our family throughout our time in Chicago and beyond. Her feedback has pushed me to do better work and reminds me to center my values in that work.

I owe a huge debt to all the youth I have worked with along the way in my career in Baltimore, Los Angeles, and Oakland. Even though I was the teacher in these settings, I learned so much more from my interactions with you all than I think you learned from me. I particularly want to thank the WCUDL debaters and staff who so graciously welcomed me into their community and gave their time and insights to help me with this dissertation.

Most importantly, I wish to thank my family, who allowed me the space to go on this doctoral journey. To my wife, Miriam Zuk, thank you for enduring a cross-country move, re-building a community of friends, cold winters, hot summers, and still being by my side and supporting me as I lived out my dream. Thank you for all the times you took the kids so that I could work on my dissertation. Thank you for all the feedback you gave me on my work. Thank you, above all else, for the love I felt from you even when I was down on myself.

Serafino e Eyal, voi non saprete mai come siete stati importante per me in questo viaggio. Voi siete l'ispirazione per me perchè voi mi avete fatto ricordare il perchè più importante di questo mestiere che faccio. Io sopporatutto volevo mostrare a voi che non si deve rinegare ai sogni mai. Mi dispiace per tutte le volte nei precedenti anni che sono stato troppo stanco o stressato per essere presente con voi. Vi voglio tantissimo bene e spero che, qualsiasi cosa scegliete di fare nella vita, che sia il vostro sogno.

Table of Contents

List of Tables and Figures

I. Introduction

Motivation

Five years ago, I entered a doctorate program as the father of twin two-year-old white boys. As my partner and I considered our move from the San Francisco Bay Area to Chicago, one of our greatest points of optimism was that our children would have the opportunity to learn and grow in a more diverse setting than they had in rapidly gentrifying and increasingly unaffordable community we were leaving. Like in so many US cities, patterns of housing segregation translated into school segregation (Frankenberg, 2013), and, despite our best efforts to find a diverse preschool in our community, our children had attended a virtually all-white school. In the racially and socioeconomically diverse neighborhood where we settled in Chicago, we managed to find the diverse setting we desired for our children. However, the ideals we held around integrated schools met the reality of a diverse but divided school. We quickly found that our kids primarily made friends with the other white kids in their classes, just as we easily fell into becoming friends with the other white parents of their white friends. We witnessed the extra leniency that teachers gave our kids when they acted out compared to the Black and Latinx boys in their classes. Notwithstanding our intentionality and my own expertise on school diversity, we fell into the same patterns of racialized schooling, constrained by both our positionalities and the organizations that were navigating, that we sought to avoid.

My story reflects the current discourse and tensions around racial/ethnic diversity in schools. In the beginning of the desegregation era, the focus of diversifying schools was for the benefit of minoritized students who suffered the effects of the long-standing "separate but equal" doctrine. As the *Brown v Board of Education* (1954) opinion states, "To separate them [Black children] from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in

a way unlikely ever to be undone." Since then, the framing of diversity has extended beyond the benefit of minoritized students to also white students and the broader society. As Orfield et al. (2008, p. 103) explain, desegregated schools are essential , "…not only on preparing students academically, but in promoting cross-racial understanding and tolerance among all groups and improving the life opportunities of all students. Policies that promote these skills and opportunities in turn foster social cohesion and reinforce democratic values in our diverse citizenry." Mickelson and Nkomo (2012) further this argument in their review of the school diversity literature by framing the role of desegregated schools in decreasing prejudice and improving academic and life outcomes for minoritized youth as essential to a democratic society.

Since the desegregation era, many studies have examined the effects of desegregated schools on youth. Although some older reviews of research showed mixed results of school integration (e.g. Cook et al., 1984), more recent scholarship synthesizing the years of outcome studies related to integration has argued that racial diversity has positive effects on students' academic achievement, attainment, and future life outcomes (R. C. Johnson & Nazaryan, 2019; Mickelson & Nkomo, 2012; Wells et al., 2016). Yet, qualitative studies in racial/ethnically diverse schools have consistently demonstrated that there is not a simple pathway from desegregating schools to positive experiences for all students. From preschool (Van Ausdale & Feagin, 2001) to high school (Lewis & Diamond, 2015), the literature is teeming with evidence showing that minoritized students are treated differentially or separated from white or high-SES peers in integrated settings. This happens through a variety of mechanisms like academic tracking (Diamond, 2006; Oakes, 2005) and disproportionate application of harsh discipline (Diamond & Lewis, 2019; Townsend, 2000). Research has also shown that teachers hold minoritized students to lower expectations and value their contributions to class less (Tyson,

2003). Minoritized students in diverse schools, particularly girls, can experience social exclusion by their peers (Holland, 2012; Ispa-Landa, 2013). This body of work demonstrates the distinction between desegregation, or the removal of barriers to students of different backgrounds attending school together, and integration, where youth of different backgrounds are welcomed and accepted (Lewis et al., 2015).

Research Questions

What creates the dissonance between the ideals of integration and the reality of desegregated schools is the puzzle I set out to examine in this dissertation. Across three studies, I examine the connections between the organizational settings in which youth interact with diverse peers and their feelings of belonging and identity in those settings. This dissertation sets out to answer two overarching research questions:

1. How do youth experience their identities and belonging in racial/ethnically diverse educational organizations?
2. What role does the organization of racial/ethnically diverse educational spaces play in shaping youth's experiences?

One challenge in the literature on school racial diversity is that it is fragmented across disciplines that separately study school inputs, social interactions, and human development. Studies from economists of education that focus on school inputs—the funding level, experience of teachers, and racial diversity of peers—tend to find positive results related to integration (Brunn-Bevel & Byrd, 2015; Gamoran & An, 2016; R. C. Johnson, 2011; Reardon, Kalogrides, et al., 2019; Reardon, Weathers, et al., 2019; Reber, 2010). However, these studies do not examine how staff notice, negotiate, and utilize resources and how students interact with them, making these input-output models of education limited for examining how these inputs affect

youth's experiences with diversity. Many sociological studies of racially integrated schools do examine ways that schools utilize and stratify resources through tracking (Lewis & Diamond, 2015; Wells & Serna, 1996), discipline (Capers, 2019; Diamond & Lewis, 2019; Freeman & Steidl, 2016; Lewis & Diamond, 2015), and special education designations (Saatcioglu & Skrtic, 2019). However, what we miss from this perspective is an understanding of how these experiences affect youth's social, emotional, and cognitive development. Psychologists have examined the relationship between school diversity and socioemotional outcomes, including depression, belonging, safety, vulnerability, and cognition (Benner & Crosnoe, 2011; Conway-Turner et al., 2020; Douglass et al., 2014; Graham, 2018; Kogachi & Graham, 2020; Morales-Chicas & Graham, 2017), but few of these studies focus on or measure the organizational contexts in which these outcomes develop.

Conceptual Framework

I use a multidisciplinary approach, drawing on organizational, sociological, and psychological theories, to understand how the organizational arrangements of schools affect students' experiences of diversity and how those experiences affect their sense of belonging and identity. I bring these perspectives together using the frame of sensemaking (Weick, 1995; Weick et al., 2005). Sensemaking theory examines the ways that individuals in organizations assign meaning to events, a process that involves reflecting on the congruence of one's own identities with the organizational culture (Weick, 1995; Weick et al., 2005). Moments of trauma or identity threat, such as instances of discrimination, can trigger sensemaking (Maitlis, 2009; Weick, 1995), making it especially applicable to this study. Sensemaking is not only about individual cognition but about the ways that the organizational context shapes the understanding and response of people situated in organizations. For this reason, sensemaking is a useful frame

for my dissertation in that allows me to examine the interconnections between the organization and the individual through specific lived experiences.

However, the organizational literature has traditionally looked at organizational processes as neutral of race/ethnicity, class, and gender (Acker, 2006; Nkomo, 1992). Recent work from organizational scholars has highlighted the fact that societal hierarchies of race/ethnicity, gender, and class are embedded in organizations (Acker, 2006; Ray, 2019; Wooten & Couloute, 2017). I focus on racial/ethnic hierarchies in organizations, considering when and how the racialized nature of organizations plays into the organizational context in which sensemaking. Ray (2019) argues that there are four main ways in which racial/ethnic hierarchies are perpetuated in organizations: providing differential agency based on race/ethnicity, legitimating differential access to resources, selectively decoupling rules from practice, and using behaviors associated with whiteness as a credential for advancement. I look throughout this dissertation for these practices as signals of racialization of the organizations I study. I combine this with a sensemaking lens to examine how aspects of the educational organizations I study—the norms, values, leadership, and resource distribution—communicate racialized messages that youth take away about their identities and how well they belong in those spaces.

Overview of Studies

Across three studies, I examine the relationships between racial/ethnic diversity, organizations, and youth's sense of belonging and identity in those organizations.

In the first study, I examine the ways that schools as organizations create the conditions for belonging amidst differing racial/ethnic compositions. Using qualitative comparative analysis (QCA), I examine combinations of organizational features of schools that are associated with high and low student-reported sense of belonging for each of the four largest racial/ethnic groups

in a large urban district. Consistent with prior literature, I find that students felt a higher sense of belonging when they were in schools with a higher proportion of same-race peers. However, the demographic composition of schools was never sufficient for belonging but also required school practices around staffing, discipline, and equity focus. The specific combinations of factors that were associated with belonging were different for each racial/ethnic group, which is itself an important finding pointing to the need for research and policy to be mindful of groups' unique experiences rather than treating all configurations of diversity as equal.

In the second study, I turn to afterschool spaces to understand how youth and adults in a high school debate league construct organizational culture and how that culture affects intergroup interactions amongst youth from different racial/ethnic backgrounds. Over a year of field work as a participant-observer in three debate teams, I interviewed coaches, staff, and students and observed practices and competitions. Using organizational culture (Hatch, 1993; Schein, 1996) and sociocultural activity theory (Nasir & Hand, 2006; Sannino & Engeström, 2018) lenses, I examine how the interactions that youth and adults have around artifacts communicate the norms and values of the space. I find that there was a norm of being courteous and helpful to others in the league, and this norm facilitated positive relationships amongst students across racial/ethnic lines. At the same time, I found that several of the staff cultivated a cultural value for a traditional style of debate that encouraged students to make arguments regardless of their own beliefs and experiences, which discouraged students from learning about out-group peers in debate rounds.

In the third study, I examine how the youth in my field site experience their ethnic-racial identities (ERI) (Phinney & Ong, 2007; Rivas-Drake et al., 2014; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014) in the interactions they have during debate. I use interviews and observations where students make

sense of interactions to understand in what situations their ERI is salient to their sensemaking and what messages they take away about the regard others have for their ERI. I find that students' sensemaking incorporated both the demographic context (the perceived ERIs of others in the space) as well as the content (the specific material or topics that were being discussed). In instances where ERI was salient, youth made sense of regard for their ERI through the reaction of peers but especially the reactions of those with authority in the organization, such as coaches or debate judges.

Overall, this dissertation shows that diversity, in and of itself, is insufficient to realizing the ideals of integration. Rather, the processes linking diversity and youth experiences implicate the organizations in which youth encounter diversity as they shape the everyday interactions between youth and adults that give meaning to identities, communicating which identities do and do not belong within an organization. One student in my study proclaimed in a debate round, "When we bring in our positionalities, we make the space inclusive." What I seek to show in this dissertation are the ways that organizations facilitate the inclusiveness for which this student boldly advocated. Educational spaces in which all students can bring their positionalities is the ideal of integration. The findings of my dissertation, alongside my continued struggles to manage my own children's interactions within schools that are diverse but not integrated, demonstrate that organizing educational spaces in ways that make youth feel safe to be their whole selves has to take a more prominent role in the policy debates about diversifying schools.

II. Study 1: Organizing for Diversity: How the Organization of Schools and Racial Diversity Relate to Student Belonging

Abstract

In this paper, I examine the ways that the organization of schools—the decisions that schools make about how to configure curriculum, students, and the school environment—relate to students' sense of belonging in the presence of racial/ethnic diversity. Using Qualitative Comparative Analysis, I analyze school-level data to understand combinations of organizational characteristics and school racial/ethnic composition that create the conditions for high and low student-reported sense of belonging. First, I show that across racial/ethnic groups, same-race representation of peers, staff, and the surrounding neighborhood was important but never a sufficient condition for belonging. Rather, belonging required combinations of school demographic composition and equity-oriented practices. Second, I find that combinations of same-race representation and school structural arrangements present in high- and low-belonging schools are different for each major racial/ethnic group. Based on these findings, I argue that attention is needed to schools as whole organizations, rather than isolated elements of the organization, in the study of diversity and belonging. My findings also highlight the need for future research to break down white/nonwhite binaries and examine the ways that racial/ethnic groups experience diversity and school organization uniquely.

Organizing for Diversity: How the Organization of Schools and Racial Diversity Relate to Student Belonging

A growing consensus from studies school diversity studies shows that students who attend diverse schools have better academic achievement, are more likely to graduate, and have better life outcomes, on average, than those who attend segregated schools (Guryan, 2004; R. C. Johnson & Nazaryan, 2019; Mickelson & Nkomo, 2012; Wells et al., 2016). However, qualitative, ethnographic studies of racially diverse schools demonstrate many ways that students of color experience racism, social exclusion, and marginalization (Holland, 2012; Ispa-Landa, 2013; Lewis & Diamond, 2015; Oakes, 2005; Saatcioglu & Skrtic, 2019). Coupled with this is evidence from psychological studies that show both positive socioemotional outcomes associated with exposure to school diversity (Douglass et al., 2014; Graham et al., 2014; Juvonen et al., 2018; Kogachi & Graham, 2020; Wilson & Rodkin, 2011) as well as the benefits from having more same-race peers (Bellmore et al., 2012; Benner & Graham, 2013; Cheon et al., 2020; Seaton & Douglass, 2014). This mix of evidence leaves the field with a puzzle as to why we see divergent results in the school diversity literature across disciplines and outcomes.

Current policy conversations are focused on how to achieve numerical diversity, despite a long tradition of authors who have brought attention to the inequities that minoritized students face in diverse schools, from Du Bois (1935) to Black leaders of the Civil Rights era like Malcolm X (1964) and Stokely Carmichael (1966) to contemporary scholars (Burkholder, 2017; Horsford, 2010; Lyons & Chesley, 2004; Walker, 2009). These critical perspectives are largely silenced as econometric analysis holds hegemonic influence over educational policy discourse (Berman, 2022; Jabbar & Menashy, 2022). Considering the array of different results and perspectives that show both positive and negative results of school integration, increased

attention to what diverse schools do and how they affect youth development is needed to better understand how diverse schools can organize to be positive spaces for all youth.

In this paper, I examine the ways that the organization of schools—the decisions that schools make about how to configure curriculum, students, and the school environment (Hallinan, 1987)—relate to students' sense of belonging in the presence of racial/ethnic diversity. I investigate the following research question: *How do different school racial/ethnic compositions combine with the organization of secondary schools to contribute to student sense of belonging, and how do these combinations differ across racial/ethnic groups?* I use qualitative comparative analysis (QCA), a method that examines whole cases as combinations of variables and their relationships to outcomes, to understand how combinations of school diversity and the organization of schools' resources, staffing, and discipline are associated with belonging for each of the four largest racial/ethnic subgroups in a large urban district in the Western US. I organize my results around two main findings. First, I show that across racial/ethnic groups, same-race representation of peers, staff, and the surrounding neighborhood was important but never a sufficient condition for belonging. Rather, belonging required combinations of school demographic composition and equity-oriented practices. Second, I find that combinations of same-race representation and school structural arrangements present in high- and low-belonging schools are different for each major racial/ethnic group.

Based on these findings, I argue that examining school belonging through an organizational lens is critical to understanding students' experiences in racially diverse settings. Rather than treating school belonging as a feeling for youth to develop, I show how schools as organizations create the conditions for belonging. I argue that the combination of a schools' racial composition along with schools' choices of core values, discipline policies, and staffing

communicate to youth the boundaries around who does and does not belong at school. Therefore, understanding the effects of diversity requires more than a focus on interactions among students and staff. Rather, it is important to also turn the lens on how schools, and the totality of their decisions about how to organize, recreate, or disrupt, societal hierarchies. Although most prior studies focus on individual school policies or practices amidst diversity, this study is among the first to examine combinations of these factors across multiple schools in a district. Also, this study builds on a small, recent research base examining organizations' role in fostering belonging and applies that frame to school diversity by connecting the study of organizations to a crucial youth developmental process.

I begin with a review of the literature relevant to school diversity and the organization of schools as a theoretical lens for the analysis. Next, I detail my sample, data sources, and methods, offering a description of the QCA method and the data calibration and analysis strategies I use. I then present my results around the two main findings discussed above, presenting QCA model results with the first and then offering more detailed qualitative examples of specific schools' data to illustrate the second. I end with a discussion of the theoretical and practical implications of this analysis as well as limitations of this study.

Literature Review

In this section, I review the literatures on sense of belonging and schools as organization, focusing my review specifically on studies that examine belonging or organization in relation to school diversity. I then offer a conceptual framework for examining intersections between belonging and schools as organizations.

Sense of Belonging and Diversity

Students' sense of belonging, the fundamental need of individuals to feel accepted, valued, and connected through stable, pleasant interactions with other members of a community, is important to their engagement and success at school (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Osterman, 2000). School belonging has been conceptualized in many different ways, including attachment, safety, engagement, and connectedness to peers and adults at school (Libbey, 2004). Several studies propose theoretical models that place belonging as a mediating or moderating variable between racial/ethnic diversity and school outcomes like achievement and attendance (Faircloth & Hamm, 2005), which are the focus of much of the quantitative literature on school diversity. Belonging is also associated with school practices and policies (Osterman, 2000), making an organizational approach appropriate for investigating the relationships between diversity and belonging.

Recent research has begun to theorize the role of organizations in creating belonging. From this perspective, belonging is fundamentally about one's perceived fit with a setting (Walton & Brady, 2018). Gray, Hope, and Matthews (2018) have furthered this notion of belonging by putting the onus on the organization as the actor creating the conditions for belonging. Focused specifically on Black youth, their framework proposes three elements of what they call the *opportunity structure* for belonging: the interpersonal (facilitating positive ties among peers and adults), the instructional (providing access to high-quality, culturally relevant curriculum and pedagogy), and the institutional (counteracting societal oppression with policies that promote equity). An important part of this framework is recognizing the agency of school staff in creating or counteracting belonging vulnerability by how they show support for students and reflect their values in instruction (Gray et al., 2020). Conversely, discrimination from adults

at schools is associated with lower school belonging, particularly among Black youth (Montoro et al., 2021).

Research has shown that students in schools with more same-race peers have a stronger sense of belonging at school, which is in turn associated with exhibiting fewer externalizing behaviors like aggression or opposition (Benner & Crosnoe, 2011). Research specifically focusing on the transition from elementary to middle school or middle to high schools shows that decreasing presence of same-race peers across these transition points can hurt students' sense of belonging (Benner & Graham, 2009; Morales-Chicas & Graham, 2017). However, school diversity, operationalized as having representation from multiple groups instead of one dominant group, reduces students' feelings of being marginalized or vulnerable at school (Graham, 2018). While the research largely show that same-race representation is important to student belonging, the extent and type of diversity and the context in which youth experience diversity matter to how it affects belonging (Yip, Cheon, et al., 2019).

Schools as Organizations and Racial/Ethnic Diversity

School organization shapes experiences that foster belonging or alienation for youth. By school organization, I am referring to the structures, rules, hierarchies, and norms that schools put in place to reach their goals. Organizations embed and perpetuate race, class, and gender hierarchies from the broader society through the rules and processes by which they distribute resources, reward or punish individuals, and selectively decouple policy from practice (Acker, 2006; Ray, 2019; Wooten & Couloute, 2017). Studies of racial diversity exemplify multiple ways in which this happens. For example, several studies have found a negative effect of academic tracking on minoritized students in diverse schools (Mickelson, 2015; Oakes, 1995, 2005; Tyson, 2011; Wells & Serna, 1996). Others have examined the role of inequitable resource

distribution within diverse schools or across schools with different racial/ethnic compositions (Gamoran & An, 2016; Jackson, 2009). These studies show that the decisions schools make over individual elements of their organization can make a difference in the effects of diversity on students.

Studies of diverse schools have shown that the organization of schools can also shape the extent to which they foster student belonging. For example, students' perceptions of fairness and attitudes toward cross-race peers improve when the racial/ethnic diversity of students' core academic classes is proportionate to the school-level diversity, indicating a lack of racialized academic tracking (Juvonen et al., 2018). When schools track academic classes such that certain classes become synonymous with race, minoritized students who attempt to cross boundaries can have a hard time cultivating belonging with both their same-race and cross-race peers (Carter, 2006; O'Connor et al., 2011). Outside of the school day, sports and other clubs can create opportunities for students to create connections with peers, but long commutes to school in areas where desegregation involves busing of minoritized students into white communities can limit those opportunities (Holland, 2012). If, as many studies have posited, positive interracial contact builds students' sense of belonging at diverse schools (Graham, 2018; Mikulyuk & Braddock, 2018; Wilson & Rodkin, 2011; Yip et al., 2013), the ways that schools organize resources, staffing, discipline, and curriculum plays a large role in whether and under what conditions those interactions happen.

Framework: Belonging as an Organizational Construct

Psychologists conceptualize and measure belonging as the feeling of value and acceptance within a community (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Osterman, 2000). This approach acknowledges the role of settings but emphasizes the individuals' feeling. However, by focusing

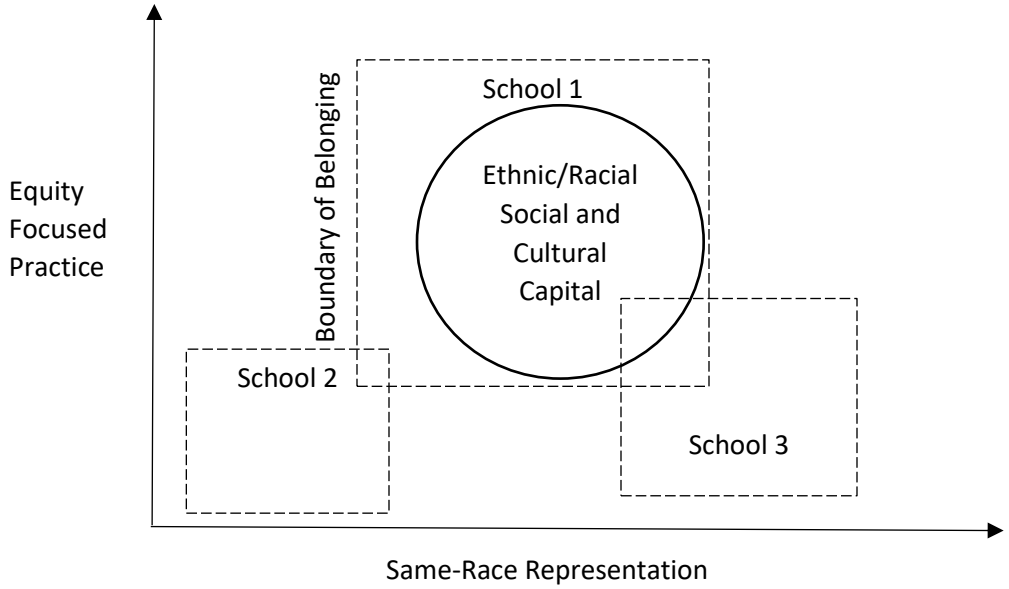
on the organization, I build on recent work shifting the onus from belonging as a developmental task for youth to something for organizations to communicate to youth (Gray et al., 2018). While I do not claim that the differences in belonging are entirely about race/ethnicity, prior research on belonging shows that race is one, albeit not the only, dimension on which belonging at school varies (Faircloth & Hamm, 2005). Thus, I center the ways that schools assign value judgments to difference through the ways that they organize, using students' feeling of belonging for youth as a reflection of their status within the societal racialized power hierarchy that schools uphold or disrupt.

In this paper, I consider how combinations of racial/ethnic diversity and equity-focused practices communicate the boundaries of belonging at schools to students. Specifically, I consider how school racial/ethnic composition, including the students, staff, and surrounding neighborhood of schools combine with equity-focused school practices, like racially proportionate application of discipline, emphasis on equity in the espoused values and mission of the school, and investments in professional development to support equity work. This is clearly not a clean separation, as schools' approaches to instruction may attract and retain certain types of students or teachers, but it is useful as a way of examining the relationship between the composition of schools, organizational characteristics, and belonging. I consider how the combination of school demographic composition and practices shift the boundaries to communicate which specific groups of students belong, as depicted in Figure 1. The figure depicts three hypothetical schools that create their boundaries of belonging through a combination of demographic composition and practices, and as a result each has a varying level of overlap with the expressions of cultural or social capital from a given racial/ethnic group. In the figure, School 1 has the broadest boundaries of belonging, completely encompassing the

social and cultural capital of the racial/ethnic group in the circle. However, School 2, with its low levels of equity-focused practice and representation, has created boundaries of acceptable cultural and social capital that do not overlap at all with the racial/ethnic group depicted in the circle. Similarly, School 3, with high representation but little equity-focused practice, has created boundaries with only slight overlap. Students' perceptions of those boundaries determines how well they see themselves belonging within them.

Figure 1.

Conceptual model for student belonging and organizational processes



Data

In this section, I first describe the study location and then provide detail on each variable that I include in my analysis, along with the literature that motivates inclusion of the variable. The details of how I calibrate each variable for QCA analysis are in the analytic strategy section that follows this section.

Sample

This study is based on data from a large urban school district in the Western US. I include all district-operated middle and high schools (n=30). All data are from the 2018-19 school year, which was the last year that data were available before schools were closed for the COVID-19 pandemic. Based on the advice of district staff, student survey data on sense of belonging from the pandemic years had low response rates and were not reliable, which is why I opt to use this historical data. I focus on one district because of my familiarity with the setting, allowing me to capitalize on one strength of QCA, which allows researchers to mix quantifiable data with deep qualitative knowledge of local realities (Rihoux & Lobe, 2009).

Measures

Student sense of belonging. Students' self-reported sense of belonging at school is the outcome of interest for this study. These data come from the district's annual administration of a culture and climate survey to all students in grades 5-12. One advantage of using these data is that schools administer it to all students, obtaining a response rate of over 80%. The survey scale I use for this study measures students' sense of belonging at school. The five-item scale (see Appendix A for the items comprising the scale) is drawn from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health, which has been administered to a large, nationally representative sample of adolescents since 1994 (Resnick et al., 1997). This measure of belonging is wide-ranging, covering connection to school and perceived fairness, but has been shown to have high reliability across demographic groups (Mahecha & Hanson, 2020).

Percent of same-race peers. Studies consistently find that racially minoritized youth being in a small numerical minority within a school can be detrimental to those students and negate any potential benefits that come from diversity (Benner & Crosnoe, 2011; Benner & Graham, 2013; Fisher et al., 2015; Graham, 2018; Morales-Chicas & Graham, 2017; Parris et al.,

2018; Walsemann et al., 2011). Therefore, I use the percentage of same-race peers within the school as an indicator of the extent to which students are isolated or not within their schools.

School diversity. Because some racial/ethnic groups have relatively low representation in my sample, I also use measures of school diversity in models predicting belonging. Although many studies of school diversity use the Simpson's diversity index as a measure of school diversity (Juvonen et al., 2018), the schools in my sample had little variation on this measure, with nearly all ranging between .5 and .75, indicating very low levels of racial isolation. Therefore, I opt to use the percent of students belonging to the largest racial/ethnic group in a school as a measure of school diversity. This decision is consistent with literature indicating that students can feel threatened when there is a clear majority group of which they are not members (Graham, 2018).

Organizational equity focus. The priorities that leaders communicate create coherence around teachers' work in schools (Bryk, 2010; Mehta & Fine, 2015). When that focus is social justice and equity, leaders can create school climates that make minoritized students feel welcomed (Khalifa et al., 2016). To understand the extent to which schools in my sample orient toward equity, I examine bi-annual school planning documents in which schools describe their goals and plans for upcoming school years as well as articulate their mission and vision statements. I analyzed these documents to develop two measures of the organizational commitment to equity.

First, I identify whether schools center their professional development plans for teachers around equity-focused topics, such as ethnic studies, culturally relevant pedagogy, or anti-racist teaching, all of which are linked to students' connection to school (Bonilla et al., 2021; Byrd, 2016). Second, I examine schools' stated mission and vision statements, which are important

vehicles for setting and communicating norms (Murphy & Torre, 2015). I look for language indicating that the school puts equity, diversity, and social justice at the center of its work. I differentiate statements acknowledging the demographic diversity of the school (e.g. "One of our biggest assets is our diverse student population…"), which I do not code as equity-centered, from statements that communicate a commitment to working toward equity (e.g. "Make social justice a reality…"), which I do code as equity centered.

Disproportionate suspensions. Based on prior literature indicating disproportionate application of discipline for minoritized students in racially diverse schools (Capers, 2019; Diamond & Lewis, 2019; Eitle & Eitle, 2004), I include data on student suspensions, disaggregated by race/ethnicity. I use the percentage of each subgroup suspended subtracted from the overall suspension rate as a measure of the equitable application of discipline. Negative scores indicate that a given subgroup was suspended less than the school average, and positive scores indicate that the subgroup was suspended at a higher rate than the school overall.

Staff racial/ethnic composition. The presence of school staff that come from the same racial/ethnic background can contribute to students' sense of belonging (Bates & Glick, 2013; Battey et al., 2018). I also include the percentage of same-race administrators at each school as there is a literature showing that racial match of administrators can matter to student outcomes (Davis et al., 2016). I rely on publicly available data from the state department of education on school staff demographics.

Neighborhood racial/ethnic composition. Going to school in a neighborhood where a student is a racial/ethnic minority can make students feel alienated or marginalized (Anderman, 2002; Holland, 2012; Ispa-Landa, 2013). Therefore, I include the percent of same-race residents of the neighborhood surrounding each school. I use tract-level data from the US Census

American Community Survey 2019 5-year estimates, joining the location of school sites in my sample to the census tract in which it belongs and then merging tract-level racial composition to each school. I construct a variable for each racial/ethnic subgroup at the school of membership in the group of schools in which that subgroup is a majority in the surrounding census tract.

School size. Although the research on school size shows varied and non-linear relationships with student outcomes, depending on the outcome of interest, the preponderance of evidence suggests that students feel more connected to peers and adults in smaller school settings than larger ones (V. E. Lee et al., 2000; Leithwood & Jantzi, 2009). Therefore, I include the number of students enrolled, which I access from publicly available school enrollment data from the state department of education.

Analytic Strategy

In this section, I detail my approach to this analysis using QCA, a method designed for understanding causality by exploring the combinations of conditions present in cases that share an outcome (Ragin, 1999, 2000). I first explain the rationale of using QCA and its advantages over other forms of quantitative analysis before detailing the steps of calibrating data for QCA analysis and constructing QCA models. Detailed descriptive statistics for each variable are provided in Appendix B.

Rationale of QCA

Rather than trying to isolate the contribution of a single variable or parse the variance among a set of predictors, QCA examines combinations of conditions that exist with a given outcome (Ragin, 1999). Methods of assessing causality that focus on isolating the effect of one variable from all others limit our understandings of complex systems like organizations, where variables are interconnected and there may be more than one way to cause an outcome (Mahoney

et al., 2013; Ragin, 1999). QCA's focus on combinations of conditions makes it a good methodological fit for this study of schools as organizations with multiple interconnecting features and practices. Organizations include combination of rules, routines, values, resources, and hierarchies, an idea Lee (2010) calls *organizational configurations*. Traditional regression-based methods, which attempt to isolate the effects of variables rather than understand how they work in configurations, do not reflect this complex reality (Fiss, 2007). A small but growing number of educational studies have used QCA (Cilesiz & Greckhammer, 2020; Cox et al., 2021; Trujillo & Woulfin, 2014).

By choosing QCA, I am able to offer a few distinct contributions to the school diversity literature. First, the existing literature that examines the organization of diverse schools tends to focus on one aspect of the school, such as tracking (Kogachi & Graham, 2020; Oakes, 1995), resource distribution (Brunn-Bevel & Byrd, 2015; Jackson, 2009), or discipline policies (Davis et al., 2016; Freeman & Steidl, 2016). QCA allows for the examination of diverse schools as whole organizations, rather than individual policies or practices in isolation of one another. Research on the organization of schools and coherence suggests that the alignment of practices, policies, and programs, all under a shared vision for the school, is vital (Bryk, 2010; Cohen & Mehta, 2017; Mehta & Fine, 2015; Newmann et al., 2001). For example, a coherence lens might suggest that a school that professes an equity-driven mission and sends teachers to diversity trainings but continues to segregate academic tracks or disproportionately suspend minoritized students might see limited benefit to minoritized students. Relative to ethnographic studies of diverse schools that do take a more holistic look at schools as organizations (e.g. Lewis & Diamond, 2015; Siegel-Hawley, 2020), QCA offers the advantage of allowing for comparison across more cases. QCA is designed for studies with numbers of cases too small for statistical

significance in traditional quantitative analysis but too large for in-depth case studies (Ragin, 1999).

Calibration

I use fuzzy set QCA for all reported results. Fuzzy models relax the need to collapse variables into dichotomous indicators of the presence or absence of a condition by allowing for continuous membership scores ranging from 0 to 1. For each variable, I use Ragin's (2008) direct calibration method, which creates continuous values of "truth scores" that indicate the degree of membership in a given condition. The first step in the direct calibration method is using theory and existing literature to determine values that define full membership, full non-membership, and a crossover point at which cases are more in than out of a set. It is challenging to draw meaningful cut scores for QCA from the extant literature because most quantitative studies use correlational methods that show linear relationships rather than thresholds that matter to an outcome (Sebastian et al., 2014). Where available, I use prior literature to inform cutpoints, but in most cases I set cutpoints by examining the distribution of the data within my sample to create variability, such that there is a distribution of cases that are members and non-members of the set.

For each case, I subtract the value from the crossover point to get a deviation score and then convert this to odds of membership (the degree of membership/1-degree of membership). I then scale these to a value between zero and one by multiplying by the ratio of the crossover point to the full membership score. Although I rely on fuzzy set models for this paper, I conduct all analyses using both crisp and fuzzy methodologies as a robustness check to be sure that any cutoff points I assign to calibrate variables do not inadvertently create false distinctions. Below I detail the calibration of each variable included in models (summarized in Table 1).

Table 1.

Calibration of variables included in QCA models

Variable	Definition of Membership	Full Non-Membership	Cross-Over	Full Membership
Sense of Belonging	Schools where a racial/ethnic subgroup reports a high sense of belonging	< 50%	56%	> 62%
% Same Race Enrollment	Schools with a large proportion of same-race peers	< 5%	25%	> 50%
Enrollment share of Largest Racial/Ethnic Group	Schools with no predominant majority group	> 75%	50%	< 25%
Organizational Equity Focus	Schools that organize their work around equity	0 (Mission and professional development not focused on equity)	.5 (no equity mission and some mention of equity-focused professional development)	1 (equity is at the center of the mission of professional development)
Suspension Proportionality	Schools where members of a racial/ethnic group are suspended at or below the school average	> 5 points above school average	0 (at the school average)	< -5 points below school average
Same-race staff	Schools with a large proportion of same-race staff	0%	10%	> 33%
Same-race administrator	Schools with a large proportion of same-race administrators	0%	33%	75%
High-representation Tract	Schools located in census tracts with a high number of same-race residents	0%	10%	> 33%
Small School	Small schools	> 1500 students	1000 students	< 500 students

Sense of belonging. I define the outcome variable as membership in the set of schools in which students from each racial/ethnic group report a sense of belonging at least equal to the district average. To arrive at this variable, I subtract the subgroup average for the school from the district average for positive responses to the sense of belonging scale (56% for both middle schools and high schools). To calibrate this variable for QCA, I code any school in which the racial/ethnic subgroup score is one standard deviation about the district average (62%) as a full

member of the schools in which the subgroup has a high sense of belonging and schools one standard deviation below the district average (50%) as full non-members, with 56% as the crossover point.

Percent of same-race peers. I define the outcome variable as membership in the set of schools where at least 50% of the students are of the same racial/ethnic group. I code non-membership as schools with less than 5% enrollment of the same ethnic group and 25% as the crossover point.

School diversity. Studies that examine diversity as the presence of a single majority group range in their cutoff scores from 40% (Douglass et al., 2014) to 60% (Seaton & Douglass, 2014). I choose a value in between these, calibrating this measure using 50% as the crossover point for membership in the set of schools with no single majority group, a score of less than 25% as full membership, and 75% as full non-membership.

Organizational equity focus. To calibrate these data for QCA analysis, I use the indirect method, in which cut scores are based on categorical values assigned to indicate the presence or absence of a condition (Ragin, 2008). I divide schools into three categories of organization around equity. I code schools where the professional development and mission are all centered around equity as a 1; schools where there is some mention of equity-focused work amidst a broader agenda of efforts as 0.5; and 0 if there is no mention of equity-focused work.

Disproportionate suspensions. I calibrate the suspension rate for each racial/ethnic group into membership in the set of schools where suspensions are low for a subgroup, with 5 percentage points less than the school average being full membership, 5 points over the school average being full non-membership, and 0 being the crossover point.

Staff racial/ethnic composition. I define full non-membership as no same-race staff members, full membership as having at least 33% of staff being same race, and 10% as the cross-over point. It is important to note that most schools in my sample have very low Latinx and Black staff percentages and very high white staff, leaving little variation in this measure. Similarly, I make a separate variable for same-race administrators. To construct a membership score for schools with primarily same-race administrators, I use cutoff values of 0 being full non-membership, .75 as full membership, and .33 as the cross-over.

Neighborhood racial/ethnic composition. To calibrate this variable into a membership score in the set of schools where students of each racial/ethnic group are in a neighborhood with substantial same-race representation, I use the cutoff values of 33% as full membership, 0% as full non-membership, and 10% as the crossover point.

School size. I calibrate this variable into membership of the set of small schools, with schools with less than 500 students having full membership, schools over 1500 students as full nonmembers, and 1000 students, which a synthesis of the school size literatures suggests should be an enrollment limit for diverse schools (Leithwood & Jantzi, 2009), as the crossover point.

Model Construction and Selection

I create separate models to understand combinations that are associated with high and low belonging. A core tenet of QCA that separates it from variable-based correlational methods is that it allows for asymmetry, meaning that a combination that associated with an outcome does not necessarily imply that the opposite set of conditions is associated with the inverse of the outcome (Ragin, 2008). Therefore, I report for each racial/ethnic group just the conditions associated with high student sense of belonging or low sense of belonging. For each model, I test combinations of variables in the model and select a final model that yields the highest

consistency with the fewest number of variables. For this current study with 30 cases, a QCA analysis could include up to seven predictors and still yield reliable results (Marx, 2006), but none of the final models I construct had more than five.

After selecting variable for inclusion in each model, I examine the resulting truth tables (Miles et al., 2014), which show the distribution of schools belonging to each possible combination of variables that are present in the model. From here, I collapse the combinations into more concise solutions by examining counterfactuals to remove variables that are inconsequential to the outcome (Ragin & Amoroso, 2011), a process known as "logical minimization" (Ragin, 1999, p. 1233). For example, if two combinations that produce the same outcome differ only by the absence or presence of one condition, that condition is deemed irrelevant and dropped from the solution. This process ends with a simplified solution that includes only variables relevant to the outcome.

I select combinations to include as solutions using each combination's consistency score, which provides a measure of how often cases with a given combination yield the outcome. I generally consider only those with consistency of at least 0.80 and that are present in more than one case (Ragin, 2008). Suggested consistency cutoffs range in the QCA methodological literature between 0.75 to 0.85, and I choose 0.80 because in most cases that value provided a clear break between cases above and below the threshold. However, in two instances (low Latinx belonging, Appendix C2, and low Black belonging, Appendix D) I include configurations that have consistency scores just below 0.80, following Ragin's (2008) suggestion that a sharp break in consistency scores can represent a meaningful cut point for inclusion. For each racial/ethnic group, I test different configurations of variables and report the one that provides the highest

level of consistency of results with the fewest number of variables. Therefore, the list of variables that I include in truth tables reported varies slightly for each racial/ethnic group.

Results

Based on my analysis, I present two main findings in this section about the combinations associated with high or low belonging for each of the four largest racial/ethnic groups in my study district. First, I show that student belonging depended on both school demographic composition and equity-focused practices. Across racial/ethnic groups, neither presence of same-race peers, staff, and/or neighbors nor schools' focus on equity were sufficient alone to belonging. Second, I show that the combinations of school diversity and organizational conditions associated with belonging differ for Asian American, Black, Latinx, and white students. The solutions for high and low belonging for each racial/ethnic group are provided in tables for each group separately in this section. I focus on highlighting major themes in the findings rather than walking through all combinations and the process for logical minimization. For detailed truth tables with each combination of organizational characteristics from QCA analyses, please see Appendices C-F.

School Diversity and Equity-Focused Practice, in Combination, are Important to Belonging

Representation of same-race peers, neighbors, or staff was part of nearly every combination I find for high and low belonging. However, being surrounded by people of the same-racial/ethnic background was never sufficient for high belonging, nor was the lack of representation ever sufficient for low belonging. Rather, high belonging required representation of same-race peers or high diversity *alongside* equity-focused practices (proportionate suspensions and equity-focused organizing). Similarly, low belonging required the combination

of school diversity, or lack thereof, along with the absence of equity-focused school practices. I describe this finding for each racial/ethnic group below.

Table 2.

QCA Solutions for Latinx Student Belonging (n = 29)

	High Belonging	**Low Belonging**	
Factor	(1)	(2)	(3)
High Same Race Enrollment	●	●	Ⓧ
No Majority Group			
High Same Race Staff			
High Same Race Admin			
High Same Race Tract	Ⓧ		
Small School	●	Ⓧ	Ⓧ
Proportionate Suspensions		Ⓧ	Ⓧ
Equity Focused Organization		Ⓧ	
Consistency	0.87	0.88	0.76
Coverage	0.48	0.26	0.21

Note: ● = Presence of the condition; Ⓧ = absence of the condition

For Latinx students, presence of same-race peers was a necessary condition for high belonging, but even high-Latinx schools reported low Latinx belonging when those schools lacked in equitable practices. For high Latinx belonging, I find one solution: high same-race student enrollment in combination with small school size and being in a low-Latinx neighborhood (solution 1, Table 2). Although the role of low-same race neighborhoods in Latinx student belonging may seem counterintuitive, it is consistent with prior research suggesting an inverse relationship between connections to their neighborhoods and connections to school for Latinx youth (Maurizi et al., 2013). Equity-focused organizing did not factor into the solutions for high belonging as it was present in four of the schools with high belonging and absent in the other four (Appendix C1). However, lack of equity focus and disproportionate suspensions were factors in combinations for low Latinx belonging. Latinx students in schools with high Latinx student representation but large school size, disproportionately high suspensions for Latinx

students, and a lack of organizational focus on equity reported low belonging (solution 2, Table 2). In schools with low Latinx student representation, disproportionate suspensions and large school size was associated with low belonging, with organizational equity focus not factoring into the solution (solution 3, Table 2).

Table 3.

QCA Solutions for Black Student Belonging (n = 20)

	High Belonging	**Low Belonging**	
Factor	N/A	(1)	(2)
High Same Race Enrollment			
No Majority Group			Ⓧ
High Same Race Staff			
High Same Race Admin		Ⓧ	
High Same Race Tract			
Small School			
Proportionate Suspensions		Ⓧ	Ⓧ
Equity Focused Organization		Ⓧ	Ⓧ
Consistency		0.82	0.81
Coverage		0.52	0.44

Note: ● = Presence of the condition; Ⓧ = absence of the condition

For Black students, the combination of low same-race representation with lack of equity focus and practice were necessary conditions for low belonging. Only seven schools had high belonging for Black students, and I am unable to find any combination with adequate consistency for these schools. However, I find two unique solutions for low belonging among Black students. Black students reported low belonging in schools where there was a single majority racial/ethnic group (which in no schools were Black students), disproportionately high suspensions for Black students, and a lack of equity focus (solution 2, Table 2). Also, regardless of the racial diversity of the school, Black students experienced low belonging in schools with disproportionate suspensions, a lack of equity focus, and few Black administrators (solution 1, Table 2). In other words, Black students experienced low belonging when they are significantly

outnumbered in either the student body or school leadership and when they attend schools that do not focus on equity and suspend same-race peers disproportionately. These findings are largely consistent with prior research showing that numerical minorities in a school perceive an imbalance of power that can make them feel alienated (Juvonen et al., 2018), positive effects of racial match between principals and students (Davis et al., 2016), and suspension disproportionality relating to Black student belonging (Bottiani et al., 2017). However, my findings suggest that the effects of any of these factors depends on how they combine in schools, rather than any factor alone.

Table 4.

QCA Solutions for Asian Student Belonging (n = 21)

	High Belonging	**Low Belonging**	
Factor	N/A	(1)	(2)
High Same Race Enrollment		●	●
No Majority Group			
High Same Race Staff			
High Same Race Admin		●	●
High Same Race Tract			
Small School		Ⓧ	●
Proportionate Suspensions			
Equity Focused Organization		Ⓧ	●
Consistency		0.85	0.91
Coverage		0.35	0.28

Note: ● = Presence of the condition; Ⓧ = absence of the condition

Contrary to other groups, Asian American students experienced low belonging in schools with high same-race student and staff representation. As with Black students, I am unable to find a combination with sufficient consistency for high sense of belonging. Of two solutions I find for low belonging, both involve combinations with high same-race enrollment schools with same-race staff. These two solutions differ in the combination of school size and equity focus, with Asian American students experiencing low belonging in both large schools without an equity

focus (solution 1, Table 4) as well as small schools with an equity focus (solution 2, Table 4). Although prior research has demonstrated that Asian student belonging is less affected by school diversity relative to other racial/ethnic groups (Parris et al., 2018), I find that diversity does not necessarily matter less but that same-race representation, in combination with other contextual factors, actually relates to low student belonging.

Table 5.

QCA Solutions for White Student Belonging (n = 19)

	High Belonging		**Low Belonging**
Factor	(1)	(2)	(3)
High Same Race Enrollment			
No Majority Group	Ⓧ	●	
High Same Race Staff			
High Same Race Admin			●
High Same Race Tract	●	●	●
Small School	●	Ⓧ	Ⓧ
Proportionate Suspensions			
Equity Focused Organization	Ⓧ	●	Ⓧ
Consistency	0.85	0.85	0.79
Coverage	0.31	0.30	0.53

Note: ● = Presence of the condition; Ⓧ = absence of the condition

As with other groups, combinations of diversity, school size, and equity focus were associated with white students' belonging. I find two solutions for high belonging for white students. Diverse schools without a single majority group required high same-race neighborhoods, large enrollments, and an equity focus (solution 2, Table 5). In schools with a single racial/ethnic majority group (which was never white in any schools in my sample), the combination of location in high-white neighborhoods, small school size, and lack of equity focus was associated with high belonging (solution 1, Table 5). School diversity was not part of the solutions for low white belonging. The one solution I find for low belonging among white students combined location in high-white neighborhoods with the presence of same-race

administrators, large school size, and a lack of equity focus (solution 3, Table 5). Although white students are outnumbered in all schools in my sample, the relationship between small school size and lack of equity organizing in high student belonging suggests that white students might be less likely to experience racial threat (Blalock, 1967; Freeman & Steidl, 2016) when the absolute number of cross-race peers, rather than the share of enrollment, is relatively large and when the school is not centering equity for minoritized students. Across all solutions for both high and low belonging, location in a high white tract was a necessary condition. This is likely due to the rarity with which white students go to school in predominantly nonwhite neighborhoods in my sample.

The Combinations that Create High and Low Belonging Differ Across Racial/Ethnic Groups

No two racial/ethnic groups in my study had the same combination of organizational conditions for high or low sense of belonging. The solutions for models of high and low sense of belonging included different variables for reach racial/ethnic group, and sometimes the absence of a condition had the same outcomes for one group as the presence of the condition for another. In this section I highlight differences in the solutions presented in the previous section using detailed descriptions of the data from three schools. In so doing, I illustrate the importance of considering subgroups' unique experiences with diversity rather than treating all minoritized groups as a monolith.

First, the role of equity focus in school organization differentially impacted student belonging. The lack of equity-focused organizing played a part in solutions for low belonging among Black and Latinx students. However, one of the combinations for low Asian American belonging involved school equity focus, and one of the combinations for high white belonging involved a lack of equity focus. Los Cerros Middle School, a school of approximately 1,000

students, including 40% Asian, 10% Black, 21% Latinx, and 16% white, illustrates this contrast. The school's mission and vision statements mention the need for equitable supports for Black and Latinx students. However, the rest of the document emphasizes values of grit and personal responsibility, and their professional development plan lists culturally responsive pedagogy among several other initiatives, making this a school that I coded as mentioning but not organizing around equity. At Los Cerros, 56% of white students reported a sense of belonging to the school compared to 47% of Black students. This gap in belonging at Los Cerros shows how a lack of equity focus can be a part of combinations for low belonging for one group but high belonging for another.

Part of how equity-based organizing affects belonging relates to its combination with school size. For Latinx students, small schools were a necessary condition for high belonging, and large schools were a necessary condition for low belonging. However, for Asian students, one of the solutions for low belonging was the combination of being a small school with an equity focus. The opposite condition (being a large school without an equity focus) was a part of one of the causal recipes for low belonging among Latinx students. Frederick Douglass High School, a small high school of 452 students (54% Latinx and 20% Asian) illustrates this contrast. Douglass High communicates an explicit focus on equity in its values, including language about equity and social responsibility in its mission statement. Douglass's professional development plan centers around culturally relevant pedagogy and inclusive practices for diverse learners in its school plan, making it a school with an equity focus. Only 55% of Asian students reported a high sense of belonging compared to 72% of Latinx students at Douglass. This example illustrates how the same conditions in one school can create both high belonging for one group and low belonging for another.

Another important difference was the role that suspension proportionality played across groups. For Black and Latinx students, disproportionately high suspensions were a necessary condition for low belonging, whereas for white and Asian American students, suspensions did not play a role. The importance of suspensions for Black and Latinx students was evident at Blake Middle School, a school of about 700 students located in a traditionally Latinx neighborhood that has become majority white due to gentrification. The school enrolls approximately 61% Latinx students and 9% Black students. However, two of three administrators at the school are white. Blake communicates a strong equity orientation, grounding their school mission around fostering a new generation of civil rights activists and centering equity gaps for the Black and Latinx students in their school plan. In addition, culturally responsive pedagogy training is a centerpiece of the school's professional development plan for teachers. However, there is a stark disparity in suspensions, with 22% of Black students and 6% of Latinx students suspended. The rate of Latinx students reporting belonging to school was near the district average at 55%, but only 44% of Black students reported feeling belonging at school. Despite Blake having a combination of conditions that otherwise favored both Latinx Black belonging, the gap in suspensions rates and gap in sense of belonging between the two groups illustrates the importance of suspensions for Black and Latinx students.

Discussion and Conclusion

As many policy advocates focus on rolling back the regression to racially segregated schools that the US is experiencing, attention to how diverse schools create a space where everyone belongs is also needed. My analysis shows that diverse schools can foster both high and low sense of belonging for student racial/ethnic subgroups, depending on the ways that schools organize their staffing, use resources, administer discipline, and communicate values.

Examining 30 middle and high schools across a large urban school system, I find that students' sense of belonging is associated with the combination of school racial composition and the ways that schools organize, specifically their orientation toward equity-based values, school size, discipline practices, and staffing. Neither representation of same-race peers, staff, and neighbors nor schools' practices are independently deterministic of belonging but work in combinations that differ for Asian American, Black, Latinx, and white students.

I argue based on these findings that understanding the ways that school diversity affects students' sense of belonging requires attention to how schools' characteristics and practices work in combination to communicate belonging differentially to racial/ethnic subgroups. In line with others who have focused on the role of organizations and settings in understanding belonging (Gray et al., 2018, 2020; Walton & Brady, 2018), my findings show that focusing the lens on organizations can illuminate how decisions about school resources, staffing, discipline, and vision impact student belonging. This attention to organizations is relatively new in the literature and is a shift from the individual-focused views of belonging that are dominant in the education literature. For example, Faircloth and Hamm (2005, p. 294) argue in their analysis of belonging and racial/ethnic identity that "in order to engage and be successful in school, it is essential that students from ethnic minority as well as majority groups develop a sense of belonging in the school setting." While I do not explicitly refute this claim, my findings provide empirical evidence supporting recent work calling for a reframe of belonging from something that students develop to something for which schools as organizations create the conditions (Gray et al., 2018). As others have noted, minoritized youth often need to temper their expression of non-white cultural capital to fit in (Lewis & Diamond, 2015; Steele, 2011). Particularly in the context of racially diverse schools, research and policy need to consider how decisions about how to

organize school, in combination with the racial composition of the school, communicates what racial/ethnic subgroups' social and cultural capital hold value. The combination of these decisions create boundaries for who does and does not belong at school, and it is crucial to attend to these alongside any measurement and analysis of student belonging.

This paper contributes to the school diversity literature by adding an empirical example of how school racial/ethnic composition interacts with school organizing. My findings about the importance of either having high rates of same-race peers for Latinx students or being in schools without a single majority group for Black and white students are consistent with balance of power theory, which state that students feel less vulnerable when they see more people like them in a school (Juvonen et al., 2018). While same-race peers were important, my findings also show that same-race representation of school administrators and the surrounding neighborhood also play a role in students' sense of belonging. As Khalifa (2016) warns in his work on culturally responsive leadership, a racial match between principals and students does not guarantee culturally relevant leadership. However, it is possible that administrators value the social and cultural capital of same-race students, as work on same-race teachers has suggested (Capers, 2019), or that students feel more connected when people in power look like them. However, staffing, enrollment, and location cannot be considered in isolation. Rather, research should consider how decisions about school assignment and staffing work in combination to create conditions for youth to feel a sense of belonging. My findings show that context cannot be distilled into a single variable. It is a mix of policies and practices that create context, and those need to be considered as combinations rather than isolated as independent variables.

An important implication of this research is that, aside from the racial composition of students, staff, and neighborhoods—factors over which school leaders have limited influence—

decisions about how to organize can shift the power hierarchy in schools. The importance of disproportionate suspensions for Black and Latinx students' low sense of belonging indicates how inequitable application of discipline can signal the devaluation of these group's cultural capital (Lewis & Diamond, 2015). Decisions about disciplining students are influenced by individuals' racial biases but are legitimated by the presence of seemingly race-neutral organizational discipline routines (Diamond & Lewis, 2019). Also, the importance of equity-focused organizing suggests that schools' efforts to articulate values and invest in professional development for equity can signal a shift in power. In many cases, a lack of equity-focused organizing was detrimental to groups' belonging when they were numerical minorities at a school. However, for white and Asian students, the presence of an equity focus in schools where they were not outnumbered was associated with low belonging, which could be a sign of racial threat (Blalock, 1967) if those students see initiatives like culturally relevant pedagogy and anti-racist teaching, which were commonly named in school planning documents, as threatening their position in the hierarchy.

Finally, the uniqueness of each racial/ethnic groups' experience has implications for research and policy. My findings showing that organizational factors leading to belonging differ by racial/ethnic group is consistent with prior research on belonging that has shown that the predictors of belonging differ across ethnic/racial groups (Faircloth & Hamm, 2005). However, this reality is not often reflected in school diversity policy discourse, which continues to be framed around white/nonwhite binaries (Mickelson, 2014). As I illustrate in the findings, the ways that schools organize may lead to higher belonging for members of one group and less belonging for others. As others have noted (Bonilla-Silva, 2004; Mickelson, 2014), more nuanced thinking about race/ethnicity is necessary to make policy that addresses the needs of

specific groups. Similarly, my findings show the need for more targeted research on individual racial/ethnic groups separately rather than lumping together minoritized groups. While there are many studies that have focused on Black students and their experiences in diverse schools, fewer studies have focused on Asian American, Latinx, Native American, or Pacific Islander youth. There are common themes in my findings that cut across groups about the importance of both same-race representation and school practices, but there are also differences for each group that need to be better understood and theorized.

For example, the lack of a consistent solution for high Asian American belonging in spite of this being the largest group numerically in my sample is notable. These findings about Asian American youth resonate with the literature showing the struggles that Asian American youth face with race-based peer discrimination (Rivas-Drake et al., 2008), which may explain their low levels of school belonging despite being in high numbers. Even though Asian American students may face more discrimination from peers, there is evidence that they are looked on more favorably by adults at schools (McGrady & Reynolds, 2013). Black and Latinx students' perception of Asian American preferential treatment from adults at school can add to resentment and discrimination (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). My findings about the combination of school size and equity focus for Asian American students suggest a potential interaction between numerical power and organizational power. In other words, it is possible that at small schools, Asian American students do not feel threatened by large numbers of cross-race peers, which means that an organizational focus on equity is also not a threat. However, at larger schools where there are more cross-race peers, the sense that the school is focused on helping other students may create a sense in Asian American students that they face discrimination from both peers and from adults. It is problematic to generalize across ethnic groups of Asian origin (Ngo

& Lee, 2007), and further research would be necessary to examine these dynamics in more detail.

Similarly, my findings suggest that, because different groups had differing relationships between belonging and same-race representation, school policies should consider not just the isolation of any single group but the specific configurations of diversity. Although much of the historical desegregation literature focused on schools that were primarily Black and white, the dynamics can be different in multiracial schools. Schools may need to organize around the specific racial/ethnic balances that they serve. For example, knowing that Black students are more vulnerable to feeling discriminated against by school staff whereas Asian American students are more susceptible to peer victimization (Rivas-Drake et al., 2008; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004), schools serving a mix of these two groups may find that it is more important to recruit Black staff and leaders at the school but to also invest in bullying prevention curricula and training to prevent the victimization of Asian American students. At the same time, school assignment policies aiming to reduce segregation should consider the specific demographic composition of schools rather than just generalized racial diversity indices. For example, as my findings show that same-race representation was particularly important to Latinx students but not to Asian American students, creating school boundaries in ways that try not to disperse Latinx students in small numbers across schools could aid in building belonging.

Limitations and Future Research

This exploratory, hypothesis-generating study has several limitations. One of the key limitations of this study is that I rely only on school-level data. Research on sense of belonging indicates that belonging is context-specific (Osterman, 2000). This means that I do not capture in this study how students' sense of belonging differs across classrooms and other spaces at school

in favor of an effect that students consider across the school. While my aim here was to build theory at a school level, future research that investigates more specific settings within schools will be beneficial in understanding how practices and policies build belonging. Similarly, I rely on data from school plans about the presence of equity-based values and resources, such as investments in professional development. This approach misses the nuance of how those resources are understood, distributed, and utilized in practice (Cohen et al., 2003). Future research can build on this analysis by examining in more micro settings how students experience belonging and diversity and how the organizational features of those settings affect their experiences.

In addition, the limits of my sample and the available data imposed restrictions on the combinations of student and organizational characteristics I could investigate. The student survey data I use were not available at an individual level and were only aggregated to pan-ethnic groups within which there is wide variation. Using these data offered the advantage of being able to examine organizing, belonging, and diversity across an entire district, but data further disaggregated by SES, gender, or other demographics characteristics were not available, limiting my ability to consider intersectional identities and sense of belonging in this analysis. Research on diversity and school belonging shows that the intersection of race/ethnicity and SES is particularly important to students' experiences at school (Benner & Wang, 2014). Finally, the amount of variation in my sample limits my ability to draw some conclusions. For example, the finding that Latinx students experience high belonging in schools located in low-Latinx neighborhoods likely stems from most schools in my sample being located in low-Latinx neighborhoods. Also, low numbers did not allow for an investigation into smaller subgroups such as Pacific Islanders and Native Americans. Future research in settings with different

racial/ethnic composition and geographies will allow for investigating combinations that showed up in numbers too small in my study district to investigate.

III. Study 2: Organizational Culture and Intergroup Contact in a Racially Diverse Afterschool Urban Debate League

Abstract

Many studies on school racial/ethnic diversity have framed the benefits of diversity stemming from intergroup contact. However, there is also a wealth of evidence showing that minoritized students in diverse schools often experience racism, discrimination, and marginalization. Little research exists on racial diversity in afterschool programs, which are important spaces for students to develop connections to peers. In this study, I examine intergroup contact in a racially diverse afterschool competitive debate league. Using ethnographic observations and interviews, I find that the organizational culture of debate teams within the league promoted intergroup contact through norms of courteous interaction and sharing information to help competitors. However, I also find that coaches and judges in the organization cultivated a value for a traditional debate style that discouraged students' expression of their own beliefs and experiences, limiting engagement with and learning about outgroup members during debates. This study contributes to the literature on school diversity by showing how the organization of educational spaces, specifically the norms and values that staff cultivate, can create or inhibit the conditions for positive intergroup contact.

Organizational Culture and Intergroup Contact in a Racially Diverse Afterschool Urban Debate League

Amidst renewed popular attention to the resegregation of American schools (Collette, 2015; Hannah-Jones, 2016; Oliver, 2016; Orfield et al., 2012), research on school diversity presents conflicting evidence across multiple disciplines. Economists of education find mostly positive impacts of integration on academic outcomes (Angrist & Lang, 2004; Guryan, 2004; R. C. Johnson, 2011). However, many sociologists document stratification by race through academic tracking (Oakes, 1995), disproportionate suspensions (Diamond & Lewis, 2019), and social marginalization (Holland, 2012; Ispa-Landa, 2013). Also, psychologists who study diversity and socioemotional outcomes show a mix of benefits (Graham, 2018; Knifsend & Juvonen, 2014) and harms (Benner & Graham, 2013; Seaton & Douglass, 2014). This dispersion of evidence across different outcomes and disciplines makes it difficult to understand how, and under what conditions, racially diverse schools become positive spaces for minoritized youth.

School diversity research pays limited attention to afterschool programs, which are important spaces for youth to develop connections to peers, adults, and their own identities (Jones & Deutsch, 2011; McLaughlin et al., 2001; Nasir & Hand, 2008). Afterschool programs are often more segregated than the schools where they operate (Hynes & Sanders, 2011; Knifsend & Juvonen, 2014), and minoritized youth are more likely to interact with adults from similar backgrounds in afterschool than during the school day (De Royston et al., 2017). The racial composition of afterschool settings matters because youth in afterschool programs develop narratives of who they are and how they belong based on the representations they see of people like themselves in those settings (Pinkard et al., 2017). Existing studies that do consider racial/ethnic diversity have examined whether individual or school-level demographics matter to

student outcomes (Knifsend et al., 2018) but do not illuminate the lived experiences within those spaces. Much of the existing literature that looks at afterschool programs and racial identities focuses on racially homogenous settings in which youth build connection to peers with similar backgrounds (De Royston et al., 2017; Nasir & Hand, 2008). Therefore, afterschool programs are important but understudied sites for understanding the effects of racial/ethnic diversity on youth's social development.

In this paper, I examine the role of organizations where youth interact with peers of different racial/ethnic backgrounds. The specific research question guiding this study is: *What are the norms and values that program staff and youth cultivate within a racially diverse debate program, and how, if at all, do these norms and values influence the conditions for intergroup contact amongst debaters?* I draw on an ethnographic study of a high school debate program, including observations of debate practices and tournaments as well as interviews with coaches and youth. I find that coaches constructed, and students largely conformed with, an organizational culture that encouraged courteous and supportive comportment in debate rounds. This made space for competitors to have friendly interactions around common goals and interests across racial/ethnic differences. At the same time, coaches also fostered a value for a traditional style of debate that encourages students to argue anything to win, regardless of one's beliefs and experiences around a topic. By discouraging students from self-expression in debates, I find that this traditional style of debate limited opportunities for discourse in which students could learn about cross-race peers, one of the conditions for positive intergroup contact. Based on these findings, I argue that the organizational culture of educational spaces plays a critical role in facilitating or inhibiting the conditions for positive intergroup contact.

Literature Review

Intergroup Contact in Diverse Schools

Research on school diversity often cites intergroup contact theory as a motivation for why diverse schools are important (e.g. Holme et al., 2005; Knifsend & Juvonen, 2014; Mickelson & Nkomo, 2012; Yip et al., 2010). Intergroup contact theory posits that exposure to cross-race peers builds positive feelings and reduces prejudice about people from other backgrounds (Allport, 1954). However, Allport argues that intergroup contact can shift racial attitudes only when certain conditions are met. The contact must be between individuals of equal status, in pursuit of common goals, providing opportunities for seeing commonalities, and supported by institutional norms (Allport, 1954). Later work has brought additional nuance around these conditions under which intergroup contact is beneficial. For example, Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) found in a meta-analyses of intergroup contact studies that, while Allport's conditions help to facilitate positive intergroup experiences, it is not necessary that they all be present in a setting. However, a re-analysis of these data showed that culture played a significant role in moderating the effects of intergroup contact, with studies in more egalitarian cultures showing more positive results of intergroup contact (Kende et al., 2018).

Beyond the conditions surrounding intergroup contact, other research has sought to understand the pathways to improved racial attitudes. The process begins with learning about other groups through intimate rather than trivial forms of contact, disrupting the existing ways that people think about outgroup members (Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). These interactions, particularly when people of different groups openly self-disclose information about themselves, reduce the anxiety or mistrust that often occur in contact with outgroup members about which one holds negative stereotypes, (R. N. Turner et al., 2007). Over time, these interactions that individuals come to associate with positive emotions facilitate the disruption of

individuals' categorization of outgroup members (Hewstone et al., 2002; Pettigrew, 1998). Finally, people's explicit beliefs and categories about outgroup members are replaced with new beliefs (Pettigrew, 1998; R. N. Turner et al., 2007). Although this is a longitudinal process that takes time to develop, much of the research on intergroup contact has been based on cross-sectional surveys and experiments (Al Ramiah & Hewstone, 2013; Pettigrew, 1998).

Several authors have linked intergroup contact with positive socioemotional outcomes for students in diverse schools. Exposure to diversity at school may promote positive cross-racial relationships and improved attitudes about people of different racial/ethnic groups, helping minoritized students feel more connected at school (Graham, 2018). School racial diversity has been linked to less segregated friendship networks for Black students, which is associated with being more liked by white peers (Wilson & Rodkin, 2011). Other authors have theorized that the social integration that comes with greater exposure to cross-race peers makes students less prone to feeling victimized at school (Graham et al., 2014) or anxious (Douglass et al., 2014). However, there is evidence indicating that the role of school composition in these processes of belonging depend on intra-school dynamics. For example, having racially diverse classes within racially diverse middle schools—an indicator that schools are not tracking students in ways that create intraschool segregation—are associated with students' sense of belonging (Kogachi & Graham, 2020) as well as feeling safer, less victimized, and less lonely (Juvonen et al., 2018).

However, some have also argued that racially diverse schools recreate societal hierarchies that lead to negative interracial attitudes and discrimination. For example, Capers (2019) explains disproportionally high levels of suspension for minoritized students through the lens of cultural congruence, showing that racial mismatch between teachers and students, which is more likely to occur in diverse schools, was associated with higher suspension rates for minoritized

students. In addition, sociological work examining minoritized students' experiences of being bused into predominantly white schools shows that racial stereotypes of minoritized females makes it particularly difficult for them to feel socially accepted at school (Holland, 2012; Ispa-Landa, 2013). Having fewer same-race peers at school, which becomes more likely as students attend less segregated schools, may be associated with perceiving more discrimination and a negative racial climate (Benner & Graham, 2013), particularly for Latinx students (Bellmore et al., 2012). Discrimination, in turn, plays a role in heightened risk of depression for Black students in predominantly white schools (Seaton & Douglass, 2014; Walsemann et al., 2011). Experiences of discrimination and feeling isolated at school potentially mediate the relationship between percent of white students at a school and Black students' experiences of depression (Walsemann et al., 2011).

Given the importance that the literature places on creating friendships across racial/ethnic differences in diverse schools for forging connection and belonging, more attention is needed to diversity and intergroup contact in afterschool settings. Afterschool programs are an important space for students to develop relationships with peers and adults (De Royston et al., 2017; Jones & Deutsch, 2011; Nasir & Hand, 2008). However, few studies have looked at students' experience with racial/ethnically diverse peers in afterschool programs. Some evaluations of programs that specifically aim to foster intergroup dialogue show promising results when program staff utilize pedagogies that facilitate explicit conversations about members' differences (Griffin et al., 2012; Kennedy et al., 2022). However, these are niche programs that are not representative of the many sports, arts, academic, and recreational afterschool programs that predominate in US schools. Therefore, more research is needed to understand the ways that

intergroup contact happens in afterschool spaces to inform the broader literature on diversity in education.

Theoretical Framework

The literatures on diversity in school and afterschool programs leave open questions as to the conditions under which diverse spaces can foster positive youth development, particularly for minoritized youth. With the mix of evidence about the benefits and harms that minoritized youth experience in racially diverse settings, it is important to better understand how the organization of these spaces facilitate, constrain, and influence intergroup contact. By organization, I am referring to the ways that educational spaces allocate resources, create and reproduce norms for behavior, decide the content of classes and programs, and structure the roles of individuals, all of which fundamentally shape the interactions that youth have with peers, staff, and resources in their environments (Bidwell, 2001). These organizational characteristics undergird the pedagogical choices of staff, which are the focus of much of the literature on diversity in afterschool programs (Kennedy et al., 2022; Simpkins & Riggs, 2014). Although I focus on race/ethnicity, prior scholarship shows that organizations embed not only racial/ethnic but also gender and class hierarchies into their structures and processes (Acker, 1990, 2006; Nkomo, 1992; Ogbonna, 2019; Ray, 2019; Wooten & Couloute, 2017). Therefore, an organizational lens is especially important for diverse situations in which people of different backgrounds are interacting.

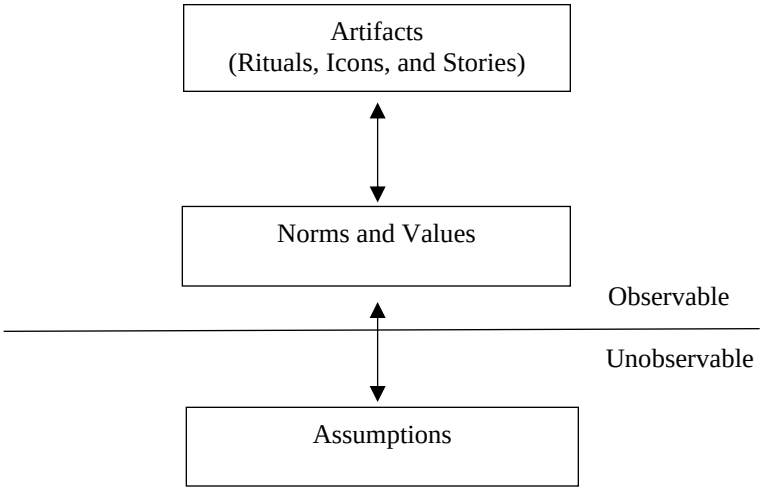
Organizational culture. I draw on organizational theory to examine how afterschool programs as organizations create, or fail to create, conditions for positive intergroup contact across racial/ethnic groups. I focus on organizational culture—the "taken-for-granted, shared, tacit ways of perceiving, thinking, and reaction" within organizations (Schein, 1996, p. 231).

Culture is notoriously difficult to operationalize and has been defined in multiple ways across the organizational and sociological literatures (Horne & Mollborn, 2020; Martin, 2002; Schein, 1996). In this study, I operationalize the "empirically based abstraction" (Schein, 2004, p. 7) of culture by focusing on the visible manifestations of it in everyday organizational life.

In Schein's (2004) framework (Figure 2), culture is made up of a set of underlying *assumptions* about how things ought to be. While those assumptions are not directly observable, organizational members surface them through observable *norms* and *values*, shown in the middle of the figure. As opposed to formal, written rules, norms take the form of "unwritten and informal expectations that influence behavior" (Hoy, 1990, p. 158). Members of an organization or network enforce norms through the ways that they evaluate behaviors and sanction those who do not follow them. Although similar to norms, organizational values entail socially desirable beliefs rather than behaviors (Horne & Mollborn, 2020). The values that organizational members share and live may differ from those that organizational leaders espouse or aspire to, but all of these values guide the behaviors of organizational members by informing how they evaluate and select actions (Bourne & Jenkins, 2013). Organizational members use *artifacts* to codify and communicate norms and values (Schein, 2004), shown in the top layer of Figure 1. Artifacts include not only physical objects (*icons*) but also *rituals* and *stories* that organizational members use to communicate values and assumptions (Hoy, 1990).

Figure 1.

Conceptual model of organizational culture



Note: Adapted from Schein (2004)

The culture of an organization can reify societal racial hierarchies within the organization by punishing and rewarding members in ways that are racialized, gendered, and/or classed (Acker, 1990, 2006; Ray, 2019; Wingfield & Alston, 2014; Wooten & Couloute, 2017). For example, school climates that prioritize blame, punishment, and surveillance of students can lead to disproportionate exclusionary discipline for Black students independent of individual teachers' biases (Owens, 2022). Much of the research on organizational culture focuses on what is shared (Martin, 2002). However, in organizations with diverse membership, it is likely that not all members understand or share the organizational norms and values, or their underlying assumptions, leaving them to be determined and communicated through conflict within organizations (Martin, 2002). This emphasis on what is shared in organizational culture and in strategies to alter organizational culture can marginalize minoritized people within organizations (Ogbonna, 2019).

Sociocultural Activity Theory. Organizational culture theory has two main shortcomings as a lens into racial/ethnic diversity and intergroup contact. First, the organizational culture literature offers little insight into variation in and resistance to organizational culture or the role of race, class, and power (Ogbonna, 2019; Ray, 2019). Second, organizational culture theorists have used the organization as the unit of analysis, which does not allow for both stable characteristics, dynamic elements, and the agency of individuals to change and make meaning of culture (Spillane et al., 2009). Organizational scholars have theorized about the ways that organizations change or maintain their cultures (Hatch, 1993) but largely not considered the role of race/ethnicity in culture. Organizational sociologists have focused more attention on the ways that racialized stratification happens within and between organizations (Watkins-Hayes, 2011; Wingfield & Alston, 2014; Wooten & Couloute, 2017). Sociologists' work on organizational culture have examined the roles of interactions within organizations as a means of negotiating culture (G. A. Fine, 1984). Power hierarchies play a key role in these negotiations by giving everyday objects and practices symbolic meaning and legitimacy, helping them to endure (Bourdieu, 1989; Hallett, 2003, 2007).

For this analysis, I integrate sociocultural activity theory (Nasir & Hand, 2006; Sannino & Engeström, 2018) to analyze the interactions that create and negotiate culture over time. Although similar to the sociological perspectives focused on interactions and symbols within organizations, sociocultural activity theory places more emphasis on individuals' cognition and the learning that they take from those interactions. The underlying tenet of sociocultural activity theory is that cognition is not a merely psychological process but is mediated by cultural artifacts in the environment (Sannino & Engeström, 2018). Sociocultural activity theory examines how individuals interact with one another, using artifacts, toward an objective, within a social,

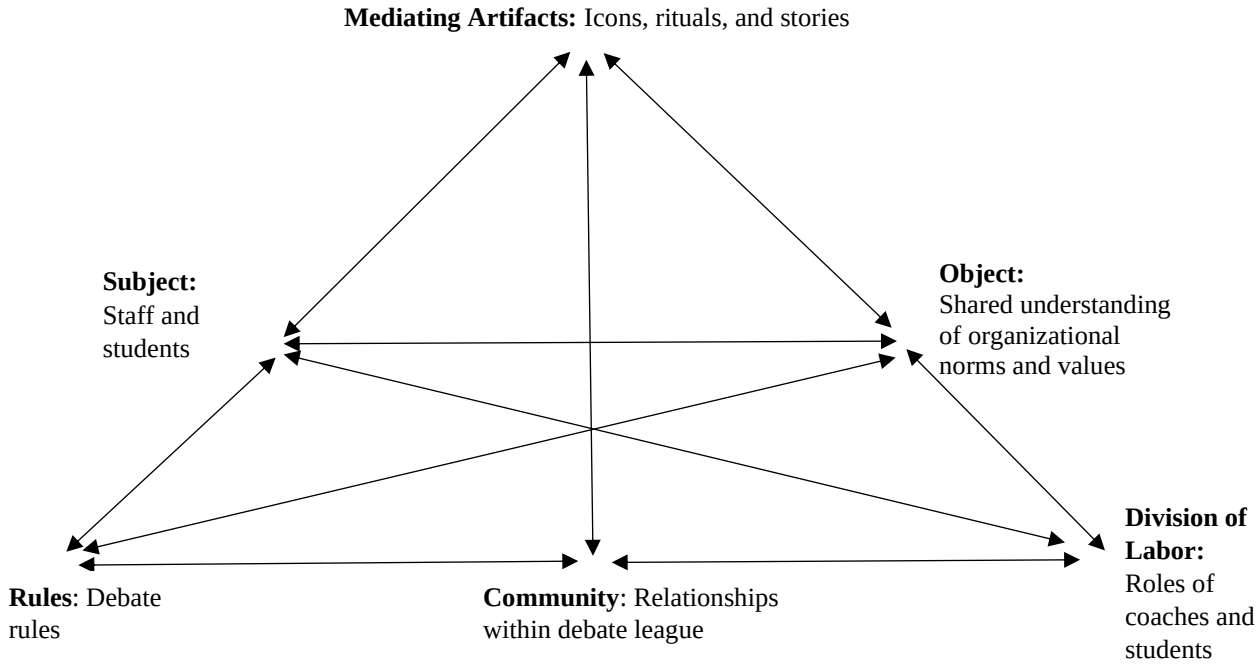
historical, and cultural context (Engeström, 1999). The central role of artifacts in sociocultural activity theory makes it particularly salient to this analysis because of the role of artifacts in organizational culture. Sociocultural theory uses artifacts to understand how individuals engage with culture, whereas organizational culture theory uses artifacts as a means of understanding how the culture itself is encoded and changed. However, rather than using the organization as the unit of analysis, sociocultural activity theory focuses at the interaction-level (Nasir & Hand, 2006). Also, sociocultural activity theory focuses on understanding the role of social hierarchies and the meanings that they imbue through interactions and artifacts (Nasir & Hand, 2006). Therefore, combining the frameworks for this study allows me to both examine the culture of the organization while also understanding how organizational culture, embedded within sociohistorical culture, shapes and is shaped by the lived experiences of the youth and program staff I observe.

I adapt sociocultural activity theory to examine activities in which interactions among program staff and students communicate norms and values, as shown in Figure 3. Whether the activity is initiated by coaches or students, I frame the object of these activities as communicating or negotiating shared norms for how to engage in debate (the middle-right node of the figure). Those activities are mediated by the rituals, stories, and icons that communicate organizational culture (Hoy, 1990), shown at the top of the figure. Influencing these interactions are the elements of context at the bottom of Figure 3. These include the formal rules of policy debate, which are related but distinct from norms. Outside of the explicit rules that dictate the tournament pairings and time limits of debates, the ways that debaters choose to engage in the activity within those bounds are governed by unwritten, informal norms of behavior. The context also includes the community that is involved with the debate league, and the division of labor

between members of that community. These contextual features at the bottom of the triangle in Figure 3 are important because they provide the backdrop that structures the specific activities I observe.

Figure 3.

Conceptual framework of sociocultural activity theory and organizational culture



Note: Adapted from Sannino and Engeström (2018)

Data and Methods

Study Context

This research site is the Western Urban Debate League (WCUDL), an urban debate league consisting of 23 school teams spread across urban and suburban communities in a major metropolitan area in the Western US. WCUDL operates as a small nonprofit organization that runs programming in area schools, supporting coaches, who are usually teachers at the schools, with stipends and programmatic support. Approximately once each month, WCUDL holds a

league-wide tournament where debaters from schools across the league come to compete. WCUDL staff consisted at the time of this study of an executive director and several support staff who handle both administrative tasks and support coaches and schools with debate programming. These staff all identify as Black and are all former debaters themselves, with three being alumni of WCUDL and the rest alumni of other UDLs.

Participant recruitment. I was invited by the WCUDL program manager to present my study at the monthly coach's meeting in December 2021. After introducing myself and explaining the goals of the study, I invited coaches to participate in the study by sending out a recruitment email. After one coach responded with interest, I directly targeted other coaches who would represent a diversity of school characteristics and team demographic composition. Although WCUDL includes both middle and high schools, I targeted only high schools because they make up the majority of the league and because I wanted to increase the likelihood of students remaining in the study throughout the study period as the middle school programs tend to have less consistent student participation. After the initial interviews with coaches, which took place in January 2022, I began attending practices and observing and interacting with students. I informed students about the study and invited them to participate, distributing research consent forms to anyone who expressed interest and offering a $10 cash incentive to any student who participated. However, I focused on recruiting experienced debaters. One reason for this more targeted recruitment is that I wanted students who would remain in the study over time, and more experienced students attended most consistently and competed at tournaments, whereas newer students often waver in their commitment to the activity. The other reason that I focused on the more experienced students was that they had more agency over their own arguments, whereas

novices generally draw from evidence and arguments that the league distributes as they are trying to learn how to debate before developing their own original arguments.

Sample

Coaches. I recruited two coaches to participate in the study. The first coach, Katy, is a volunteer with WCUDL and not a teacher at the school she coached, which I call Lakeside High School. She was a former debater herself in high school and college and got involved first as a volunteer judge and then supporting the teacher-coach at Lakeside High School before taking over the coaching duties completely the year of the study. Lakeside is a racially diverse high school located in the center of a major city, with roughly equal proportions of white, Asian, Black, and Latinx students. However, the school functionally operates as two schools within the school. The school has a general education population that is predominantly Black and Latinx and a magnet program that is largely white and Asian. The Lakeside debate team, which had around 35 members before the pandemic but typically had about eight to ten students present at practices, all of whom were white and Asian American students.

The second school in the study, Reyes Beach High School, is a large, suburban school with a population that is almost entirely Latinx and Black. The coach, Mr. Perez, often called Mr. P by students, is a Spanish teacher at the school with no prior experience as a debater himself. He has been coaching the debate team at Reyes Beach for the past four years and had managed to consistently maintain a team of around 10-15 debaters before the pandemic, but practices typically had four to six students during the time of my study.

In addition, I also participated in and observed at a weekly league-wide practice for advanced debaters. This practice was led by Adrian, the league program manager. Adrian is a Black male who debated in another UDL in high school and went on to also debate in college.

Katy, the Lakeside coach, also usually attended and served as a co-teacher in these practices. The practices were held on Zoom, and participation ranged from four to eight debaters.

Students. I was able to recruit eight students in total. Although this was a small number of students, it represented most of the 12 students who consistently competed in the league during the study period due to participation having greatly declined greatly from the pandemic. WCUDL offers two divisions of competition, novice and open, and all except one of the students in my sample was competing in the open division at WCUDL. Descriptions of the study participants are summarized in Table 6.

Table 6.

Characteristics of student participants

Name	School/ Organization	Race/Ethnicity	Gender Identity	Number of interviews
Staff				
Adrian	WCUDL	Black	Male	1
Katy	Lakeside	White	Female	1
Mr. Perez	Reyes Beach	Latinx	Male	1
Students				
Angel	Lakeside	Asian	Nonbinary	2
Anthony	Lakeside	Asian/white	Male	2
Emily	WCUDL practice	Black	Female	2
Ethan	Lakeside	White	Male	1
Jasmine	Lakeside	Asian	Female	2
Maribel	Reyes Beach	Latinx	Female	1
Saraya	WCUDL practice	South Asian	Female	2
Selena	Reyes Beach	Latinx	Female	2

Data Collection

My stance as researcher. As a former coach and volunteer in WCUDL, I came to this research with an insider status that made operating as a neutral observer untenable. Therefore, I adopted the stance of participant observer (Spradley, 1980), engaging as a full participant in the debate community while also observing and making sense of what I was seeing and

experiencing. While I usually did not lead debate practices, I did work with students, answer debate questions, lead break-out groups, and participate in activities during debate practices. During debate tournaments, I observed debate rounds for students in my sample, judged other students, and coached students in between rounds. I never judged rounds for students on the teams that participated in the study to avoid perceived conflicts of interest.

My goal was not to minimize my influence on the setting but to be observant and introspective about how my presence affected the setting and my understanding of it. For example, debate, like other afterschool activities, has many students who come and try it out and then leave or participate inconsistently. It is possible that enrolling students in my study and offering them financial incentives could have kept some students involved while they may have opted out otherwise. Also, by having developed a relationship with the coaches over time and them getting to know my interests in the study, I surely influenced the ways that teachers interacted and thought about issues of race/ethnicity and diversity in their practice.

As an insider, I was careful to consider how my familiarity with the setting affected both how I understood my data and how research participants responded to me and frequently included an analysis of my closeness to the site in my analytic memos throughout the data collection period. Prior literature shows that being an insider can afford both benefits and drawbacks in qualitative data collection (Labaree, 2002; Spradley, 1980; Young, Jr., 2004). In this case, being an insider afforded me access to the research site and to gain the trust of staff and students who respected my knowledge of and commitment to the UDL movement. It also meant that I had insight into the esoteric nuances of policy debate, which has a language and culture all its own that makes it inaccessible to those not familiar with the activity. However, being a debate insider also meant recognizing my biases about how I believe debate should be coached and how

those beliefs affected my interpretation of my data. I was careful in analyzing data to check for confirmation bias in my results by intentionally searching for disconfirming evidence of my claims as I conducted my analysis (Miles et al., 2014). I also relied on colleagues to review my analysis and check for understanding of the analytical conclusions that I was drawing.

In addition, I was attentive to how the identities I carry as a white, middle-aged, heterosexual male working with youth who are predominantly minoritized potentially imposed some social distance and introduced a racial power dynamic, particularly at Reyes Beach. Also, unlike some of the college-aged volunteers who support WCUDL, I was 41 years old when I began data collection, positioning me more like a teacher or parent than a peer in the eyes of students. Because of this, I observed for and wrote memos about how the interactions I witnessed between minoritized adults and students in debate settings differed from interactions that I had. I also asked coaches in informal conversations about incidents I witnessed and how typical they felt of interactions that they witnessed with students.

Coach interviews. I interviewed the coaches and WCUDL staff member at the beginning of the study period. Interviews took place over Zoom and lasted approximately one hour each. In the interviews, I asked coaches to reflect on their views of debate, how they try to build team norms and culture, and the ways that they and their students' identities play a part in their experiences. I audio recorded all interviews and had them professionally transcribed for coding.

Student interviews. I recruited eight youth to participate in interviews, which offered insights into how they experienced debate. Across two interviews for most of the debaters in my sample, I asked students to describe themselves and the culture of their debate team by asking them about expectations from their coaches and what they thought they needed to do to fit in on

the team. I also asked debaters to describe memorable moments from their most recent debate tournament, listening for when and how students raised intergroup interactions.

Observations. I attended team practice for each of the participating schools once per week for 5 months from January to May of 2022. Debate practices typically happened at the end of the school day and lasted 1 to 2 hours. In addition, I conducted observations at monthly league-wide debate tournaments. The study period began with the first in-person tournament that WCUDL had hosted in over 18 months due to the COVID-19 pandemic. These tournaments consist of four rounds of debate for each team spaced throughout a Saturday, culminating in an awards ceremony in which students receive individual and team trophies based on that days' performance. I was frequently called on to judge debate rounds at these tournaments but occasionally was able to observe debate rounds in which students in my sample competed. In total, I conducted approximately 120 hours of observation over the course of the study. Because I was engaged as a participant observer, I often was not able to take detailed jottings in the field. After each debate practice and tournament observation, I wrote detailed field notes in which I tried to reconstruct incidents and interactions that I witnessed. As much as possible I tried to transcribe all interactions that I witnessed verbatim, but at times when I could not capture all interactions, I focused specifically on incidents relating to the communication or negotiation of norms. These included times when a student was being corrected or given feedback, disagreements that arose between coaches and students, or conversations in which coaches communicated expectations.

Analytic Methods

Operationalizing culture. I used a mix of interviews and observations to understand the organizational culture of debate teams in my study and their norms of dissent. Following

Spradley's (1980) advice, I am careful to differentiate the tacit from the explicit culture and to rely on my own inference in addition to informants' perceptions of the culture. At the same time, cultural values are not necessarily apparent in action because there is not a direct, causal link between culture and action (Swidler, 1986). Therefore, rather than inferring culture only from the activities I observe or from interviews, I triangulated multiple sources of data to understand culture not just through the lens of action but also from values and norms communicated and understood in everyday artifacts and activities. I particularly looked for instances of conflict as these are often telling signs of where a norm or value exists (Martin, 2002).

Analysis. I use a comparative case study approach (Ragin & Amoroso, 2011) to understand how organizational cultures differ across study sites. First, I code all field notes and interview transcripts inductively to allow for emergent themes in the data (Miles et al., 2014). I use in vivo codes to capture how students and coaches talk about norms and values in their interviews (Miles et al., 2014). I triangulate those with instances where I see that norm or value in observations, using descriptive codes to capture the artifact around which I see participants interacting and the norm or value. In some cases, I had access to and coded a physical artifact, such as a handout or presentation that a coach used, but often the artifact was a spoken story that I tried to recount as close to verbatim as possible. After coding, I compare the organizational cultures that emerge and students' reactions to them across my cases by constructing variable-by-variable matrices (Miles et al., 2014). I consider the contrast between the organization as intended by the coach, based on coach interviews that reveal their goals and intentions, as well as the organization as lived, revealed through observations and student interviews.

Following the sociocultural activity theory framework for this study, I focused on the interactions between subjects in my study around artifacts—pieces of evidence, a judge's ballot,

or storytelling about a past debate—to see how people used that artifact toward the object of imparting or negotiating norms. I consider for this analysis each team as its own organization with its own culture that evolved over the course of the study through the many interactions I witnessed but also contrasted these with the WCUDL culture that I saw playing out over time at tournaments. One of those artifacts that came up frequently in conversations were stories about a debater named Chad, a white male whom many of the students and coaches felt did not follow the established norms. I found that discussions that centered around Chad were important instances in which coaches and students revealed assumed norms and values by discussing instances where those norms were broken (Martin, 2002). A second key artifact were students' and coaches' stories about debate rounds, sometimes also including the written feedback judges offer on ballots that the judges submit after each round. Although I did not have access to the actual ballots, I coded conversations that students and coaches had while reviewing ballots. In each case, I coded for both the artifact as well as the value or norm revealed through the interaction.

The Setting – A Primer on Policy Debate

In high school and college policy debate, two teams of two people compete in front of a judge. Students attend practices at their school teams anywhere from once per week to every day to prepare and practice arguments. Students from multiple schools come to compete in tournaments, which might occur monthly or more, particularly for highly competitive students who travel nationally to compete at the highest levels. A tournament consists of four to eight debate rounds over the course of a weekend, with an individual debate round consisting of eight timed speeches, two by each of the four debaters in the round. The topic of debates is the same for every round throughout an entire academic year and is based on a resolution, or a broad

policy stance, that is determined by the national governing body of debate. During the first year of this study, the resolution was "The United States Federal Government should substantially increase its protection of water resources in the United States." Before each round, one team is randomly assigned to be the affirmative side, which traditionally means that they propose a specific policy that fits within the resolution. The other side, the negative, argues against whatever the affirmative side is advocating. It is each team's job to weigh for the judge the impacts of passing or not passing the affirmative's plan to make their case. At the end of a debate round, a judge declares one side the winner, with this decision entirely up to the judge's discretion and interpretation of what it means to win. After the judge tells students their decision and offers some feedback, students then move on to their next round against a different team, possibly being assigned to switch sides of the debate. At the end of the tournament, the tournament organizers tally win/loss records and distribute awards to the top teams in an award ceremony.

There is what I refer to in this paper as a *traditional* paradigm of policy debate, which focuses on weighing the costs and benefits of a policy proposal. To give an example of what a traditional policy debate round would look like, an affirmative team might advocate that the US federal government should ban fracking as a policy that would "substantially increase its protection of water resources." The affirmative team would provide evidence of the harms being done to water supplies by fracking wastewater and argue that their plan will make a significant impact on water pollution, boost the economy by creating green energy jobs, and improve the health of Native Americans since many fracking sites are on reservations. The negative team could respond with a combination of arguments about why the affirmative team's proposed plan will not significantly improve water pollution. They might also argue that the plan has the

disadvantage of harming the US economy, thus challenging America's leadership and leading to global instability and world war. They might also argue that the plan does not fit within the year's resolution because it does not directly protect water resources but rather bans an activity which affects water. Although it is not a formal rule, this type of argument, called topicality, is considered automatic grounds for losing a round in the traditional debate paradigm because, the negative team would argue, the affirmative team has taken away their ability to prepare for the round by being untopical. Teams read snippets of evidence, usually drawn from academic research, to substantiate each claim they make. In more advanced rounds, there may be many more strands of argumentation, crammed in with intensely fast speaking, resulting in very complex logical permutations of arguments shrouded in debate jargon that makes the activity comprehensible only to those who have themselves participated in it. One of the features of this traditional debate paradigm is a focus on technical debate theory and treating debate as a game of logic, often trying to piece together as many scenarios that lead to global extinction—the greatest possible impact of a policy that the opposing team could not outweigh—rather than arguing students' personal opinions and beliefs on a topic (G. A. Fine, 2001).

A common saying in debate is that everything in debate is debatable, and debaters have increasingly pushed the boundaries and introduced new ways of thinking about debate. For example, there are debaters who refuse to be topical, meaning that they argue a case that does not fit the year's resolution because they should not be constrained to a resolution that is so distant from their lived experience. Whereas topicality was traditionally automatic grounds for losing a round, debaters instead engage in debates about the merits of the resolution and question whether a topical debate round provides a more educational debate for those involved. Teams also critique the dominance of academic evidence, using debaters' personal experience, music,

poetry, and traditional knowledge to complement academic research. Critical debaters might also make arguments about the underlying ontological assumptions of arguments and the harms they inflict on individuals in the debate round, offering the judge a framework for evaluating the round based on the impacts the arguments being made have on those in the room rather than on a concocted policy scenario. In short, debate rounds have increasingly become spaces where youth contest the nature of the activity itself and the ways that it includes and empowers them rather than testing out their abilities to win at a game of logic involving policy positions that are distanced from their beliefs and experiences (Reid-Brinkley, 2019). This style of debate is often referred to as *critical* debate, analogous to the usage of term "critical" in academia that questions the underlying role of social hierarchies in research (Giroux, 1983). The critical paradigm does not necessarily reject the goal of winning debate rounds—in fact, critical debaters have become national collegiate champions—but questions, among other things, the willingness to step outside of one's own beliefs, opinions, and identities to win a debate.

This rise of critical approaches in debate coincides with a broadening of the demographic of students who participate in the activity. Debate was historically dominated by privileged white youth from private schools, both in terms of the demographics of who participates but also in the styles of communication that it privileges (G. A. Fine, 2004; Mirra & Debate Liberation League, 2020). Beginning in the 1980s, urban debate leagues (UDLs) developed throughout the US as a way of extending the benefits of competitive debate to students in under-resourced urban middle and high schools (Seals, 2018). Over time, UDL students have gained competitive success in the national debate scene, with many, but not all, winning by utilizing the critical form of debate. This is not to say that critical UDL debaters forgo evidence and competition in favor of trading personal stories. For example, Korey Johnson, a Baltimore UDL alumnus, described the debate

round in which she and her partner won the collegiate national championship in 2014 against two Black male debaters (also UDL alums) who argued against militarization of police:

> Now being as though we are two Black girls from Baltimore, our task seemed rather difficult (to negate the affirmative), after all we experience those same violences and threats to our existence on a day-to-day basis. So we took a very unique approach to their argument, pulling on literature from scholars such as David Marriot, Eve Tuck, K. Wayne Yang, and Alexis Gumbs. Our argument was that we should not present scenes of suffering within the academy (which is what we claimed the affirmative did) because the academic machine will become a spectator that merely feeds its libido by consuming pain narrations.(Tuck and Yang)…We said that instead of retelling narrations of pain, we should focus on a better future and that we should embrace futurity through telling narrations of survival (K. Johnson, 2014).

As this story exemplifies, critical UDL debaters find ways to incorporate academic evidence and personal beliefs and narrative in very nuanced ways that allow them to debate their convictions and still be competitive. These debaters have been at the forefront of challenging the traditional norms of competitive policy debate that privilege upper-class white students and creating change in the activity to allow space for their voices (Savitz et al., 2021). After Johnson's victory in 2014, there was a backlash of debaters and coaches who attempted to form a traditional-only league that did not allow critical debate (Kraft, 2014).

This backdrop of racialized clash of styles in competitive debate make it a relevant site for observing intergroup contact. While competition can work against intergroup contact (Allport, 1954), UDLs have also tried to reframe debate as a space for dialogue and exchange of ideas. As the National Association of Urban Debate Leagues (NAUDL; 2019) says, "Debate sets

the groundwork for students to develop into informed citizens who are able to actively, and respectfully, engage in the public discourse that is vital for a healthy democracy." This sentiment is echoed by WCUDL, which talks in its documents about building community amongst debaters that bridges divides across demographic groups. Competitive success sits alongside developing a space for youth voice and advocacy. As NAUDL (2019) explains, "Arguments are informed by articles and data from experts, but are developed through students' voices and perspectives." Therefore, the setting for this study shows the *potential* for the conditions of positive intergroup contact. I examine in this study the extent to which that potential is borne out in the lived experience of the organization.

Findings

The norms and values of the three settings that I observed both facilitated and inhibited intergroup contact that provided opportunities for youth to learn about peers from different backgrounds and work together toward common goals. I outline one norm and one value of the organizational cultures I observed and the effect that they had on youths' interactions with peers of different backgrounds. The first is the norm to "be nice," which included being courteous and civil during debates and sharing knowledge in between debates to help everyone, even opponents, become better debaters rather than hoarding information to gain a competitive advantage. The second is an organizational value for traditional debate as a means to competitive success. Although the norm of niceness facilitated intergroup contact around common goals and experiences, debaters' and coaches' value for traditional debate limited the extent to which students had conversations about their own values and beliefs and instead leaned on more abstract, theoretical interactions with people from different racial/ethnic backgrounds during debate rounds.

"Remember, We are Being Nice."

I find that one of the prevailing norms, common to all teams I studied, was to "be nice." One element of the norm of niceness included being courteous and respectful during debate rounds. For example, in one Lakeside High School practice, I observed Jasmine, an Asian American female debater, complaining about the "aggressive" behavior of Chad, a white male student whom many students found objectionable. Katy, the Lakeside coach, encouraged Jasmine to "Be charitable, but point out what's wrong…Remember, we are being nice." At another practice, she told students who were complaining about an opponent getting angry during a round, "When your opponent is getting upset, if you're going to take advantage, don't laugh or get smug. You have to do it gently. It's that condescending kindness. Like in cross-ex when you're like, 'It's OK, we can move on.' Kindness being the key word.'" In both instances, Katy used students' stories about debate rounds as an opportunity to emphasize the importance of maintaining a civil tone with opponents during debates. Similarly, Coach Perez at Reyes Beach stressed to students the importance of not getting overly aggressive during debates. After a debate round in which two of his students got heated during the cross-examination, he recounted to me that he sat them down to reprimand them for not keeping their composure. He also stressed in his interview that he often told students to "tone it down" when students got too loud or confrontational during debate. He used these opportunities to impart what he believed the norms of interaction should be in debate rounds.

Most people in WCUDL had internalized the norm of niceness. Often, it came out in contrasts people drew with their debate experiences outside of WCUDL during interviews. Adrian, the WCUDL staff member who led the league-wide weekly practice who has been involved in debate leagues across the country for 20 years, noted the contrast between WCUDL

and other leagues, saying, "[Debate] creates nothing but jerks" before talking about how it was different in WCUDL. WCUDL debaters who had competed outside of the league invoked stories about their experiences to contrast the broader debate culture with the WCUDL culture. Emily (Black female debater) described this contrast in telling a story about competing in an outside tournament, saying, "…when it's my cross-ex [the part of debate round where students get to ask questions of their opponents] and I'll ask people questions, they'll continue talking, and in WCUDL typically I might finish their sentence, but they'll stop for you. Outside of [WCUDL] people are rude." Saraya (South Asian female debater) similarly noted that, "on the national circuit, I feel like people are just meaner…at least when you're debating Angel and Anthony, you know that they're nice people." Saraya called out the names of two specific debaters in my sample who defeated her multiple times but, as she noted, were nice about it. These stories from debaters illustrate how the norm of niceness is entrenched in WCUDL and stands in contrast with the "mean" and "rude" culture of debate outside of the league.

Even though debate is a competitive activity, the norm of niceness also meant helping other students—including opponents—outside of debate rounds to help everyone become better debaters rather than hoarding information to get a competitive advantage. Coaches modeled this norm by offering to help students across the league, including those who were in direct competition with members of their own team. Katy frequently offered at the league-wide practice to help any student, regardless of their team affiliation. She explicitly told her students that she would be helping other students as a way of motivating her own students to do better. During one practice, Katy said to some of her debaters who were expressing worry about a competitor at another school, "I'm going to help him when we work together to organize his arguments. I want you to win, but I want you to earn it. I'm not going to tell him your arguments, but I'm going to

help him." Katy is expressing here that her goal is to help everyone get better, including her own teams' competition and, by extension, her students by making them earn their wins. Katy also organized a shared spreadsheet for students to disclose the arguments that they would be using in upcoming tournaments, which gave the students the chance to come into debate rounds more prepared.

Again, the presence of this norm was apparent when students contrasted their WCUDL experiences with stories from debating outside of the league. For example, Emily, who went to a prestigious debate camp at a major university over the summer, articulated this difference, saying, "I think at [camp], it was ... I mean don't get me wrong, everyone wants to win, but they just wanted to win by whatever means necessary. Even if that meant, 'I'm going to laugh in the middle of your speech.' Even if that meant, 'I'm going to send you something at 2:30am'…I think we [at WCUDL] wanted a debate and we want to win and we want to learn from each other, and I think that was different than at camp." Emily sees the liberties that opponents at camp took with their in-round interactions and the formal rules about disclosure as a signal that the norms were different outside of WCUDL. The distinction that Emily makes here is that, outside of WCUDL, winning takes precedence over niceness, whereas within WCUDL, the norm of niceness puts bounds on what debaters will do to gain a competitive advantage.

The norm was also apparent when students interacted with peers within WCUDL who did not practice the norm. One instance of this was students complaining about Chad not disclosing his arguments before rounds. In a Lakeside practice in which the team was debriefing a tournament from the previous weekend, I observed the following in my field notes, "Meanwhile, Jasmine brings up Chad again. She asks if he ran water hacks [the name of an affirmative case], which Amy says he did. Jasmine says, 'He lied to me. He said he wasn't

running it.' Amy responds, 'He definitely ran it.' Jasmine responds, 'He just irritates me.'" This was one of multiple interactions in which students complained about Chad not being forthright with his disclosures, and Jasmine's irritation here is an indication of Chad's behavior being out of line with the established norms. Jasmine talked extensively about her rivalry with Chad in her interviews and recounted that she had tried to open up space for more friendly interactions, saying, "I had walked up to Chad and his old coach, and I was like, 'That was a really good debate,' and they just were off... I don't want to say rude, but they were just not interested. They were just like, 'Oh yeah.' I was like, 'Oh, hopefully, I'll see you next time.' He was like, 'Yeah, if I show up.'" Again, the interaction around Chad here reveals that there is an expectation that students engage with each other in supportive, friendly ways outside of debate rounds, and the fact that Chad's behavior stood out in this instance provides evidence of the presence of the norm of niceness.

The norm of niceness within WCUDL created space for youth to connect with members of other teams, which often meant connecting with youth from different racial/ethnic groups due to their being more diversity across than within teams. During the last tournament of the year, while observing a round between a Lakeside team (Anthony and his white partner) and a Reyes Beach team (Selena and her Black partner), I noted the following interaction:

> The debaters congratulate each other ("Good job!", "That was a really good debate!"). While [the judge] looks at everything and compiles his ballot, the debaters chat. "What college are you going to?" Anthony asks, "What are your pronouns?" He apologizes for not having asked earlier. "With WCUDL you get to know everyone," Selena says. They talk about prom colors, being on the class leadership...After the judge finished his oral

feedback, Anthony tells Selena that he has a card that might help them and offers to send it.

In contrast to Jasmine's attempt to engage Chad, the debaters in this round practiced the norm of niceness, which opened space for youth to have a cross-racial interaction in which they shared common experiences and learned about one another, such as asking about pronouns and talking about college. Anthony raised this interaction in a subsequent interview, explaining, "If I give Reyes Beach cards, that's going to mean that they're going to be able to do better next year when I'm gone. And that's awesome, because that's going to keep my team on their toes. And also it's going to help them that they're going to do better." Anthony exemplified the norm of niceness here in his desire to help opponents get better by sharing evidence with opponents, which created an intergroup interaction that made space for debaters from different backgrounds to work toward common goals.

Later in the day, I noticed Angel and a Black debater from Reyes Beach going off to eat lunch together outside. In an interview with Angel, when I asked them about an experience from the tournament that stood out, they raised this same incident, saying, "being able to just chill, catch up, not even think about debate. I mean, we did talk about debate, and what we might run for the other folks strategizing. Because I also wanted her to be on the top five teams...As much as I have Lakeside pride, I really wanted her to be up there with us." As these two examples show, working and personal connections among debaters were closely intertwined, with debaters' niceness toward each other making space for personal interactions and personal interactions making space for working together on debate. Therefore, the norm of being courteous and helpful made space for youth to connect with peers of different racial/ethnic

backgrounds, both as debaters but also around their common experiences of being high schoolers.

These stories show the how the norm of niceness facilitated intergroup contact. Coaches and program staff used stories about their own experiences in debate as artifacts toward the objective of fostering the norm of niceness in debaters. Although the community of coaches and debaters within WCUDL largely upheld the norm of niceness, youth cited examples of people those who exploited the gap between the official rules of debate, of which there are few, and the norms. This gap was racialized and gendered, as the people cited for not following the norm of niceness were white males, potentially reflecting the social and cultural dimensions of debate privileging white males. To the extent that the norms of conduct within and outside of debate rounds were followed, they made it possible for students to both work together toward the common goal of becoming better debaters and to learn about peers from different racial/ethnic backgrounds. Thus, I find evidence that the norm of niceness facilitated the conditions for intergroup contact that improve racial attitudes posited by Allport (1954). While being courteous and helpful may not sound novel, this aspect of the organizational culture within WCUDL contrasted starkly with the debate culture that students experienced outside of WCUDL. This contrast demonstrates the importance of examining the organizational culture as a lens into understanding if and how youth have positive experiences in diverse settings.

Value for Traditional Debate

While the norm of niceness created space for students to have positive intergroup interactions, coaches and students also fostered a value for traditional debate that limited students' engagement with peers of a different race/ethnicity during debates. I divide this finding into two subsections. First, I provide evidence of the value for traditional debate in my three

study settings. Second, I show how the value for traditional debate limited the ways that students brought their whole selves into intergroup interactions during debate rounds, resulting in youth not using debate rounds as opportunities to learn about peers from different racial/ethnic backgrounds.

"I said stuff just to win a round." At Lakeside High, Katy created a team culture that valued winning through mastery of traditional policy debate. Katy, a white female, had a background as a nationally competitive high school and college debater. As she explained in her interview, she first got involved in WCUDL as a volunteer judge and then wanted to become more deeply involved as a coach because she "saw a lot of fundamental problems with the way that everybody in the league was debating." What I observed throughout the remainder of the season was Katy trying to fix those "fundamental problems" by working toward students' mastery of traditional policy debate methods. For example, she often coached students to always use topicality, which is an argument that an affirmative team should automatically lose because their plan does not fit within the strict definition of the year's resolution. As Katy said to her students in encouraging them to always use topicality in every round, "T[opicality] is a round killer." However, topicality is contested in policy debate because many from the critical paradigm have argued that it silences debaters who wish to challenge the structure of the activity and how it has historically excluded students of color (Sciullo, 2018).

The organizational value of traditional debate at Lakeside also included saying things that students did not believe in order to win. Katy, who often used stories from her own days of competitive success to impart values of how students should debate, once recounted to students during practice, "'I never said stuff that was homophobic or racist in debate rounds, but I would say that Bush was a great president if I needed to. I said stuff just to win a round.'" For Katy,

who described herself as politically far-left, saying whatever was strategic in a debate round, in this case misrepresenting her political beliefs, was acceptable and desirable as long as it fell within some ethical bounds. This stance is typical of the traditional debate paradigm (G. A. Fine, 2001), which critical debaters often argue against because it discourages students' self-expression in debate (Sciullo, 2018).

Like Lakeside, the culture of the WCUDL-wide weekly practice valued traditional debate. Coach Katy was a co-facilitator of these practices and focused on the traditional debate skills similar to how she did at Lakeside. Adrian, the WCUDL staff member who led the practices, also leaned heavily on teaching technical debate skills. In one session I observed, he gave a lecture on what is known as the three-tier method, which is a framework critical debaters use for integrating academic evidence, community knowledge, and personal experience. However, the group never returned to this strategy after this one lecture and continued practicing technical skills other weeks. In one practice, I observed him telling a team, "You should definitely try to run topicality because it's good practice, it only takes a minute. Run that shell, do it with with a disad[vantage] and counterplan…if you have options the aff[irmative] won't be able to get everything. The goal is to pressure the [affirmative]." In this passage Adrian encouraged debaters to use two elements of traditional debate strategy—topicality and spreading, which is the idea of throwing as many arguments as possible at a team to make it impossible for them to answer all of them. By doing so, he conveyed the organizational value for traditional debate.

At Reyes Beach, Coach Perez cultivated a value system that, although not focused on competitive success through traditional debate mastery, also discouraged students from expressing themselves in debate rounds. Coach Perez was not very familiar with the elements of

technical debate theory that dominated Lakeside practices, and from my observations, he frequently misused debate terminology. As Coach Perez explained in his interview his orientation toward debate, “It's not all about the awards, it's more about the actual experience of public speaking in a debate setting, I want them to learn the skills of how to be in front of people…how to do research.” Rather than an interest in competitive wins or the technical side of debate, he valued his students learning public speaking and academic skills from debate. However, Coach Perez also expressed his dislike of critical debate, saying, “…if it doesn't have to do with the topic, don't bring it out in left field. Use the packet, for open [division] especially, give me stuff from the packet. Don't bring in so much outside information and I don't know where you're going with it.” Coach Perez expressed here his dislike for the critical approaches where debaters bring in arguments from “left field,” preferring that they stick to the prescribed topic and evidence instead of developing their own arguments.

The “packet” Coach Perez referenced was a key artifact through which he imparted his values for debate. The packet is a document distributed by the league, given to students in hard-copy and electronically, full of arguments and evidence that are specific to the topic each year. The packet (and others like it available on the internet) is typically developed by elite debaters and coaches who work on developing arguments in the summer before a season starts. The packet is organized around arguments, each of which contains a series of claims supported by an extract of research evidence with important portions highlighted for students to use during debates. I observed multiple practices where Coach Perez stressed to students needing to know the packet. For example, practices frequently started with him telling students to get out their packets, followed by a routine of him chastising the students who had forgotten their copies. In one practice, where Coach Perez and two students talked about trying to recruit a former debater

to come back to the team, Coach Perez expressed his pessimism, saying, "…there's no way he's going to read a 500-page packet," implying that a student has to read the entire packet to be able to debate, which is not the case. In another interaction where Coach Perez was encouraging a student to practice a speech, the student objected about not being prepared and that he would "only be reading cards." Coach Perez responded, "That's OK. That's what you do." Again, this is not necessarily an accurate representation of debate, but, through these interactions around the packet, Coach Perez communicated to his team that sticking to the packet is what is valued in debate rather than developing and researching their own arguments.

Across all three settings, coaches used stories about debate or interactions around debate arguments toward the object of instilling the organizational value for traditional debate. As previously noted, this traditional debate style carries with it a sociocultural history of whiteness and privilege. While never explicitly racialized in the coaches messaging, the types of debate arguments and styles that coaches discouraged through these interactions—critical debate and going outside "the packet"—are some of the only opportunities that students of color have to express their identities within the debate space rather than utilizing arguments written by mostly white privileged debaters. Critical debate tactics fall firmly within the formal rules of debate, and there is arguably an increased openness to critical debate in the broader debate community, as evidenced by the competitive success of critical debaters at the collegiate level. Still, my evidence shows that coaches and staff used artifacts in their environments to emphasize the traditional style of debate instead.

"I don't use my personal experiences when I'm going against a white competitor."

The values for traditional debate affected how students chose to engage, or not engage, in debates. For example, Jasmine described feeling the tension of needing to win while also

agreeing with some of her opponents' stances. In the final debate round of the season, Jasmine debated against Selena, a Latinx female Reyes Beach debater. In this round, Selena and her partner used a plan that intentionally did not fit within the year's resolution (i.e. it was not topical, breaking a norm of traditional debate) in which they called on a popular revolution, rather than the United States Federal Government, to overthrow capitalism. They supported their case with evidence of the pollution that fossil fuel companies in their own community have created. Jasmine and her partner never engaged with these arguments about personal experience, instead trying to argue traditional policy debate strategies like topicality and fiat theory (the idea that in policy debate teams should only be able to dictate government action). In reflecting on this debate round in an interview, Jasmine stated, "Debate is the kind of a thing where I can't just sit there along on an opposing side and say, 'Yeah, I agree with you.' So I think that that's where it came into, yes, this is my identity and I identify with a lot of the things that they were saying, but I can't say that." Jasmine's use of the term "can't" here is striking because it presupposes a hard line of what a debater can and cannot do, which in reality does not exist. Critical debaters have been successful at the highest levels countering arguments back by personal narratives without denying their own beliefs and experiences (K. Johnson, 2014). However, Jasmine's perception of only having technical procedural arguments as options demonstrates the role that the organizational value had in constraining more personal discussions in debate rounds.

The value placed on traditional debate methods limited the ways students engaged in the activity. Angel, an Asian American Lakeside debater who was completing their fourth year with the team, explained how the emphasis on winning through traditional debate methods has driven some students away from debate, saying, "…they're trying to center [debate] for people of color, but it's not really that. It's more of, how many wins are you going to get and are you going to

really portray this league as a winning league per se?" They went on to explain that the shift in the team and league culture has been detrimental to team diversity at Lakeside, saying, "We've been trying to make it more approachable and get a lot more students of color because we saw unfortunately this year and a bit of last year that it definitely has shifted to be a little bit more white than we wanted and, again, more competitive debate for me." Just as Jasmine saw a value for winning through traditional debate paradigms limiting the extent to which she can express her beliefs and identity in debates, Angel explicitly connects the focus on competitive success over more "approachable" forms of debate as driving students of color away from the activity.

The size and competitive success of the Lakeside team made the value for traditional debate influential in the league-wide culture, even for students who did not share that value. For students who went against traditional debaters, the focus on winning limited the extent to which they were willing to engage personally in debate rounds with cross-race peers. Maribel, a Reyes Beach debater, recounted a story involving a debate round against a Lakeside team, saying,

> …one of the Lakeside students, they brushed aside my experiences and they were like... I don't remember exactly what happened, but it really hurt because, I get we're in a competition and it matters what you say, but they brushed past my experiences and tried to make it seem like it wasn't that big of a deal just to get the judges vote for them. I don't know, I feel like that's something that really stuck with me because I was like, "Man, I get it. We're in a competition and we're trying to win," but at the same time, at least have some morals, especially when it comes to something that deep of a topic.

Maribel went on to explain how experiences like this one impact how she engages in debate:

> As soon as I walk into a debate round, I always look at the competitor to see what their race is. I know that's fucked up, but I think if they're white, it's one of those things where

> they wouldn't understand those kinds of struggles. They won't be able to compare their struggles to mine so I don't use my personal experiences when I'm going against a white competitor, but if I walk into a debate round that has people of color, I tend to use my experiences more…

This story exemplifies how the value for traditional debate created distance between students of different backgrounds. Maribel attributed her opponents' dismissal of her attempt to integrate her personal experience with a topic to their willingness to say whatever is necessary to win, which is part of the traditional debate paradigm. To avoid reliving the hurt she felt from this experience, she learned to avoid using those arguments against students from different racial/ethnic groups. Therefore, her encounter with traditional debaters made her want to avoid intergroup contact in which people of different backgrounds learn about each other.

Emily, a Black female debater who participated in the league-wide practices, also noticed that white and Asian American students tried to discount arguments that she related to her identities. For example, Emily recounted a debate round in which she was dismayed at going against students who used an ontological argument that questioned whether Blackness was real to discredit Emily's argument about the need to make more space for Black voices in policy discussions. She found this line of argumentation offensive and talked about how she understood the tactic, saying, "I wonder, 'Is this just so you can win the round or do you really feel this way?' By the end of the round, I try to dissociate those arguments from the debater and the debate because a lot of times it's probably not their fault. I doubt they thought this deeply into it when they chose this argument against us." Emily's interpretation of her opponents' tactics demonstrates the role that traditional debate styles played in limiting intergroup contact. Like Maribel's example, Emily's opponents engaged with her deeply personal arguments by finding

ways to dismiss them. This strategic choice leaves Emily to question if her opponents believe the argument that they were making or if it was just a way to win, a feature of the traditional debate style. Rather than engaging around differences and commonalities with cross-race peers, Emily felt she had engaged with arguments but not the people behind those arguments.

The experiences of Emily and Maribel capture how the organizational value for traditional debate can limit the extent to which debaters learn about outgroup members, processes that facilitate positive intergroup contact (Pettigrew, 1998). Debate can be an opportunity for youth to dialogue around their own beliefs and experiences, supported by research and rhetorical skill (K. Johnson, 2014; National Association of Urban Debate Leagues, 2019). In WCUDL, the value for traditional debate prevented such dialogue by encouraging students to focus on the technicalities of debate and to prioritize saying things they didn't believe over self-expression. Traditional debaters often dismissed rather than engaging with expressions of identity, limiting the opportunity for youth to learn about members of different racial/ethnic backgrounds within debate rounds.

Discussion and Conclusion

Based on my analysis, I show that the organizational culture of the debate teams I observed shaped the conditions for intergroup contact that can improve inter-racial relations and attitudes (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998). First, I argue based on my findings that the organizational norm of niceness—being courteous during debates and supporting competitors to improve as debaters—created conditions for positive intergroup contact. Coaches explicitly encouraged and modeled this norm in stories and analysis of past rounds, and most students in WCUDL adhered to this norm. The norm of niceness allowed students to have interactions with cross-race peers that centered on cooperation around the common goal of becoming better

debaters and sharing common experiences. Second, I argue that an organizational value for traditional debate precluded dialogue about commonalities and differences between debaters of different racial/ethnic backgrounds. Coaches imparted this value through their advising, analysis of past debate rounds, and interactions around debate evidence. Students who exemplified this traditional debate style responded to opponents who brought their identities into debates with technical and procedural arguments, making debates games of logic distanced from the debaters' own experiences and beliefs. As these findings show, while the formal rules and structure of debate tournaments determined when students of different race/ethnicities would share space, the organizational cultures of debate teams influenced if and how those spaces fostered the type of intergroup contact that can create positive racial attitudes.

Studies of racial/ethnically diverse schools contain a mix of positive (Douglass et al., 2014; Graham et al., 2014; Juvonen et al., 2018; Kogachi & Graham, 2020; Wilson & Rodkin, 2011) and negative socioemotional outcomes (Bellmore et al., 2012; Benner & Graham, 2013; Cheon et al., 2020; Seaton & Douglass, 2014). One of the contributions of this study is in generating hypotheses to explain these disparate outcomes by examining organizational culture, and the associated sociocultural messages about whose culture is valued in the organization, could inform the role that schools and other educational organizations play in shaping these differential outcomes. The organizations in my study—the individual debate teams and the league as whole—served an important role of translating broader ideas about race, criticality, and the world of competitive policy debate to the local context. For example, judge's decisions and coaches guidance often encouraged and rewarded students for not talking about race/ethnicity, a practice of whiteness in American society (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Castagno, 2008) that the organizational culture of WCUDL translated into the micro-interactions of debates. Analyzing

both the materials that youth and staff use as well as the interactions around those materials can illuminate the presence of norms and values that encourage or discourage discourse about race/ethnicity.

Although many scholars have noted the ambiguity of the concept of organizational culture and the many different ways researchers have operationalized it (Martin, 2002; Ogbonna, 2019), my examination of culture through a sociocultural activity lens shows how organizational culture can be a useful lens to understand intergroup contact in the lived experiences of youth. Examining the transmission of organizational culture through a sociocultural activity theory lens illuminates the linkages between norms and values and racialized messages about how to engage in the activity I studied. For example, the findings around the value for traditional debate, and the implicit privileging of the white norms of debate in that style of debate, communicated to some youth when and how they could be their whole selves in the debate space. The impact of this aspect of the organizational culture on debaters of color could not be understood absent an understanding of its sociohistorical roots in debate. Also, examining the differences between the formal rules of the activity and the norms that were being communicated in my study illuminates instances of the selective application and enforcement of rules—a tenet of racialized organizations (Ray, 2019). This is exemplified in how white male debaters exploited the gap between the rules of disclosure and the norms of disclosing arguments in a way that is helpful to opponents, helping this group maintain an advantage in an activity in which they are already advantaged.

The second major contribution of this work is extending the research on school diversity and afterschool spaces. Afterschool programs play a key role in encouraging students' connectedness and engagement at school (Juvonen et al., 2012). This study adds to the small

number of studies of diversity in afterschool settings that focus primarily on instructor practices that facilitate intergroup dialogue (Griffin et al., 2012; Kennedy et al., 2022) and adds, alongside the focus on pedagogies, a view of how adult practices, alongside students' reactions to them, become part of the organization. The existing literature on diversity in afterschool programs points to the importance of direct dialogue about differences and racial tensions. My findings affirm this prior research by demonstrating how minoritized students in my sample can have negative experiences when their attempts to talk about their personal relation to debate topics were ignored or rejected. However, I also add to this research by demonstrating that the broader organizational culture of the debate space shaped how and when it was desirable to engage around differences. Silence around racial/ethnic differences potentially reifies rather than deconstructs inequality (Castagno, 2008; M. Fine, 1987; Haviland, 2008), and my analysis demonstrates the role that the organization can play in encouraging intergroup dialogue, particularly within an activity that nominally is about discourse.

Limitations and Future Research

There are several limitations to this study. First, I was limited by the size of my sample. Although I was able to recruit most of the students in the population I sought to study, having only eight students does not allow for comparisons within and across groups. Also, the competitive nature of the activity I studied perhaps brought out tensions between students that may have been present regardless of the race/ethnicity of the participants involved. The fact that there was much less diversity within teams than across teams meant that most of the intergroup interactions I observed happened in a competitive environment. It would be important in future research to examine additional settings that are designed more for collaboration than competition to understand how and if intergroup interactions within the organizational contexts they happen

differ. Existing evidence on afterschool programs and friendships suggests that students in arts programs are more likely to develop friendship in their activity that students in extracurricular sports (Schaefer et al., 2011). Debate, even though it involves an exchange of ideas, may resemble sports because of its competitive nature, making it a less-than-ideal case for studying intergroup contact. However, as I have shown, the specific debate league I observed explicitly targets community building and has built a cultural norm around collaboration across teams, which still makes it a space where the conditions for intergroup contact can occur. Still, this activity is not as explicitly built around collaboration as others, and examining how organizational culture affects intergroup contact in other types of programs should be a consideration for future research. Finally, I was not able to access data within the schools that students attended to understand how the relationships and ideas that I witnessed in debate carried over into the school day. This will be an important area for future work as much of the literature on the benefits of afterschool programs frame the connections made within those programs as carrying over into connections with school (Deutsch et al., 2017; Knifsend et al., 2018).

Implications

If, as much of the school diversity literature argues, one of the main benefits of diverse schools is cultivating the conditions that create positive attitudes about cross-race peers, more attention is needed to the conditions under which intergroup interactions occur. As many US districts are focused on issues of equity and diversity, moving policy levers to get bodies of different racial/ethnic backgrounds into the same physical spaces is not enough to realize the benefits of diversity. This study illuminates the potential promise of afterschool programs to not only bring together youth from diverse backgrounds but to also be the site for discourse and cooperation across racial/ethnic divides. However, as I and others before me have shown, there

are also potential harms to diversity absent intentional organizing to create an environment where all students feel that the identities they bring are valued and accepted. Research and policy need to attend to the organizational characteristics of educational spaces and how those can either encourage dialogue that builds connections across difference rather than entrench divisions.

IV. Study 3 - "You think about your identity a lot": The Relationship between Ethnic-Racial Identity Salience and Public Regard and Diversity, in Context

Abstract

In this study, I examine youth's experiences of their ethnic-racial identities (ERI) within an ethnic-racially diverse high school debate program. Using qualitative interviews and observations, I examine youth's sensemaking about the salience of their ERI and their perceptions of other's regard for their ERI in debates. First, I find that both the ethnic-racial composition of interactions and the specific content of those interactions combined in youth's understandings of when their ERI was salient to an experience. Second, I find that youth made sense of regard for their ERI from both peers' responses to their expressions of ERI and the validation of their ERI from those with authority in the organization. From these findings, I argue that the sociodemographic composition, content, and organizational response combine to influence youth's lived experiences of their ERI. These findings add to the ERI and school diversity literatures by generating theory around the understudied interaction between organizational settings and identities.

"You think about your identity a lot": The Relationship between Ethnic-Racial Identity Salience and Public Regard and Diversity, in Context

Youth are motivated to engage and work toward goals that they believe people who share their identities can achieve (Byrd & Chavous, 2011; Debrosse et al., 2018; Destin & Williams, 2020; Nasir et al., 2009; Oyserman & Destin, 2010). This motivation is linked to being able to visualize a future possible version of oneself that attains a goal (Markus & Nurius, 1986). The power of the possible self to bolster youth's motivations is tied to their identities and seeing people in the same setting who share aspects of their identities being successful (Markus & Nurius, 1986; Oyserman, 2008). For example, students who see academic achievement as congruent with their ethnic-racial identity report an increased sense of academic efficacy (Oyserman et al., 2006). While the connection between identity and motivation is true for all people, it has particular implications for youth whose identities educational institutions traditionally have marginalized (Oyserman & Lewis, 2017). One of these implications is the ability of educational settings to access youth's motivation by demonstrating to students that their identities include assets that can make them successful (Hernandez et al., 2021). These findings suggest that educational organizations hold great potential to combat historical patterns of privilege and marginalization within education by demonstrating that people of all identity groups belong and have value within the setting.

However, schools that serve students from diverse ethnic-racial backgrounds do not always convey the message that students of all identities belong and can be successful. People draw their perceptions of their identities and the congruence of those identities with success from their context (Destin & Williams, 2020). Many sociological studies of school diversity have demonstrated that minoritized students in desegregated schools face discrimination and

marginalization in racially diverse schools (Holland, 2012; Ispa-Landa, 2013; Lareau & Horvat, 1999; Lewis & Diamond, 2015; Tyson, 2003). Diverse schools stratify students through academic tracking (Lewis & Diamond, 2015; Wells & Serna, 1996), disproportionate discipline (Capers, 2019; Diamond & Lewis, 2019; Freeman & Steidl, 2016; Lewis & Diamond, 2015), and special education designations (Saatcioglu & Skrtic, 2019). Given the evidence on minoritized students' experiences of being stratified in diverse schools, there is reason to doubt whether the self-image that diverse schools make available to minoritized youth is one that tends to be congruent with engagement and success.

While most of the ethnic-racial diversity literature in education has focused on schools, afterschool spaces have received less attention. This is an important gap because afterschool programs are crucial spaces where youth develop friendships and their own identities (Deutsch et al., 2017; McLaughlin et al., 2001; Pinkard et al., 2017). Youth are more likely to select into afterschool programs where they feel like their identities belong (Simpkins & Riggs, 2014). As a result of this, in addition to differential access to resources to pay for and travel to programs, afterschool programs are often more segregated than the schools where they operate (Hynes & Sanders, 2011; Knifsend & Juvonen, 2014). In addition to the peers youth encounter in these spaces, minoritized youth are also more likely to interact with adult staff from similar backgrounds in afterschool than during the school day (De Royston et al., 2017). To the extent that afterschool spaces lessen the distance between students and staff, they potentially provide more humanizing spaces where youth can feel that their identities belong (Destin et al., 2022).

In this study, I examine the relationships between ethnic-racial diversity and ERI in the context of an afterschool program. Drawing on a year-long ethnography of a high school debate league, I investigate two main research questions for this study:

1. How does the racial/ethnic composition of settings relate to the ways that youth make sense of their experiences in debate?
2. What understandings do youth take away from interactions with peers and adults about their ethnic-racial identity from interactions in debate?

I begin with a review of the literatures on ethnic-racial identity and the role of context in identity and offer an analytic framework for understanding identity through sensemaking theory. I then present two main findings. First, I show that youth incorporated both the ethnic-racial composition of settings as well as the content of interactions in their assessment of when and how ethnicity-race was salient to experiences in debate. Second, I show that youth made sense of the value that others held for their ethnicity-race through the reactions they received from peers and validation, or lack thereof, from those with power in the organization. From these findings, I argue for incorporating three elements of context—sociodemographic composition, content, and organizational authority—into theorizing the connection between ethnic-racial diversity and identity.

Literature Review

This study connects organizational and developmental perspectives on diversity and identity. I borrow from Erikson (1968) in defining identity as the "fundamental organizing principle" that people use to understand who they are, both as individuals and as parts of social groups. As this definition and much of the research and theory on identity indicate, identity development is dynamic and inherently social, happening through the interactions that individuals have with those around them (Hornsey, 2008; Rogers, 2018; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). People draw elements of their identity from the multiple levels of context in which they are

embedded, including historical and sociocultural images, contemporary media and culture, and direct interactions (Markus & Nurius, 1986).

In this section, I first provide an overview of the literature specific to ethnic-racial identity (ERI). I then review the literature about the role of context in ERI. Finally, I offer a conceptual framework for this study linking identity and organizational context through the organizational lens of sensemaking.

Ethnic-Racial Identity

ERI consists of "the beliefs and attitudes that individuals have about their ethnic–racial group memberships, as well as the processes by which these beliefs and attitudes develop over time" (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014, p. 23). The distinction that this definition makes between the *content* of one's beliefs and dispositions toward their ethnicity-race and the *process* by which those beliefs and attitudes develop permeates the literature on ERI (Phinney & Ong, 2007; Wang et al., 2017). Most research has linked a developed and positive ERI with positive academic, social, and emotional outcomes, but there are a number of differences depending on the ethnic-racial group, outcome, and aspect of ERI (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014; Yip, Wang, et al., 2019). Most of the research on ERI has utilized quantitative survey measures that focus solely on ethnicity-race (Rogers et al., 2020). However, a smaller number of studies have recently examined how ethnicity-race intersects with gender (Fisher et al., 2015; Rogers & Way, 2016), socioeconomic status (Cheon et al., 2019), and sexuality (Santos & VanDaalen, 2016). A full review of the literature on ERI and its associated outcomes would be its own paper (see Rivas-Drake et al., 2014; Rogers et al., 2020 for reviews), but, as my intent is examining the relationship between the demographic context of a setting and students' ERI in specific

situations, I focus my review on two areas of content that are particularly responsive to settings—salience and public regard—rather than the process of ERI development.

Salience is the extent to which one sees their ERI as relevant to a particular situation. ERI, like other aspects of one's identity, is felt and expressed differently for individuals depending on their surroundings (Douglass et al., 2016). In contrast to centrality, which is the more enduring sense of importance one places on their ethnicity-race in their overall self-concept, salience is situational (Sellers et al., 1998). Salience can vary widely for individuals from situation to situation, with prior research demonstrating that within-person differences can account for between 30% (Douglass et al., 2016) and 40% (Yip, 2005) of the variation in ethnic-racial salience. Having more experiences of increased salience advance ERI development (Wang et al., 2017). However, the effects of salience can vary. Salience is associated with reduced negative mood and anxiety only among people who typically see their ERI as salient (Douglass et al., 2016). At the same time, the effects of salience on mood are moderated by the regard one has toward their ERI (Yip, 2005). Although salience is not thought to be directly related to developmental outcomes, it is the pathway that allows individuals to access other aspects of their ERI that do influence development (Sellers et al., 1998).

One aspect of ERI that influences development is *public regard,* or the extent to which youth feel that their ethnic-racial group is valued and esteemed by others (Sellers et al., 1998). Public regard is an important construct for this study because it is linked to outcomes that increase engagement, such as academic engagement at school (Rivas-Drake, 2011) and academic and social efficacy with teachers (Hoffman et al., 2021). Much of the literature on public regard demonstrates a connection with school adjustment, including sense of belonging and engagement at school among Black and Latinx youth as they transition into middle school (Medina et al.,

2020). However, there is also evidence that low public regard can be a protective factor for Black youth, possibly because being knowledgeable of negative stereotypes prepares them to cope with incidents of discrimination (Sellers et al., 2006). Public regard is particularly germane to school diversity research because public regard develops over time from interactions with people of different ethnic-racial backgrounds (Sellers et al., 1998). Much of the research on public regard has examined experiences with discrimination and racism (Douglass & Umaña-Taylor, 2017; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014; Yip, Wang, et al., 2019). Public regard can change over time, with some research suggesting that it decreases, on average, for Black and Latinx students over the middle school years (Hughes et al., 2011).

The literature provides evidence of both positive and negative effects of ethnic-racial diversity in schools and other settings on ERI. Relative to racially homogenous settings, diverse schools present more of an opportunity to explore ERI because ethnicity takes a more central role when youth are confronted with people of different backgrounds (Phinney & Tarver, 1988; Tatum, 1999). This exposure to diversity can lead to more development of one's ERI, which can be a protective factor against potential psychological harms of discrimination (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014). A more developed identity is also associated with positive health, psychosocial, and academic outcomes for minoritized students (Oyserman et al., 2001; Rivas-Drake et al., 2014). However, a more developed ethnic and racial identity is also associated with more awareness of difference and incidents of bias (Syed & Azmitia, 2008), potentially increasing youths' beliefs about negative public regard for their racial/ethnic group. This holds particular risks for students of color in diverse schools because exposure to diversity can lead to more experiences of race-based victimization, such as being harassed or bullied because of ethnicity-race (Chan et al., 2023).

Identity and Context

Despite the important role that context plays in signaling to youth the value of identities, research on youth identity development is still limited in the measurement of settings and how those settings interact and influence youth's identity. There is a long history of acknowledging the importance of context in the study of youth development, going back to ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1977) and its situating of individuals within multiple layers of context. However, there is limited empirical evidence regarding the connection between context and identity in the everyday lived experiences of youth in education settings. There is increasing attention to the settings in which youth develop their identities. For example, Syed et al.'s (2018) theoretical review on ethnic-racial settings, defined as the objective and subjective representation of groups within a given context, acknowledges the inadequacy of merely tallying the members of ethnic-racial groups within a space. Syed et al. operationalize ethnic-racial settings according to four interrelated dimensions (perspective, heterogeneity, differentiation, and proximity) to understand how individuals perceive the ethnic-racial composition of a setting. While complicating the simple numerical tally of people to a more subjective view of diversity, an ethnic-racial settings frame focuses on the ethnic-racial representations of a setting but not other characteristics of how the setting communicates salience or regard for ERI. Other work has taken into account the role of macro narratives and stereotypes as part of the context that affects identity development (Nasir et al., 2009; Rogers, 2020; Rogers & Way, 2016). While this work incorporates context by examining the ways that youth draw from culture to construct their identities, it focuses less on the role of organizations, which are pivotal in their role of transmitting or disrupting societal hierarchies to individuals' experiences (Ogbonna, 2019).

In addition, little research has focused on the actual interactions through which youth have experiences with their ERI that influence this development. Youth formulate the content of their ERIs from making meaning of lived experiences over time in which they see their identities as relevant (Williams et al., 2020). However, most of the prior research on ERI in psychology uses quantitative survey results, either cross-sectionally or longitudinally, to measure ERI and its correlates. These measures provide limited information about the contexts in which youth experience their ERI. For example, prior research has examined the relationship between the ethnic-racial composition of schools or social networks and ERI (Santos et al., 2017). However, qualitative work on identity suggests that it is not only who else is around but also the content of interactions that form part of the context that influence youth's experience of identity (Nasir & Cooks, 2009; Rogers et al., 2022). Experimental studies of impact of positive messaging about assets associated with identities can increase motivation for students to engage in academic activities (Hernandez et al., 2021), but less research exists on more naturalistic observations of youth's interactions with content and its effects on their identities.

Conceptual Framework: Sensemaking about ERI

Whereas psychological perspectives on identity are beginning to focus more on context, the organizational literature has long considered the role that individuals' identities play in their interactions within organizational contexts. These elements of the organizational context are intricately tied to personal identities because individuals within organizations assess their identities in relation to their understanding of the organizational culture and identity (Weick, 1995). In line with prior work from organizational science that has used sensemaking as a lens for understanding identity and status formation for people within organizations (Brown & Coupland, 2015; Fernando & Patriotta, 2020; Maitlis, 2009; Roberts et al., 2005; Sonenshein et

al., 2013), I apply this approach to understanding students' ERI development in conjunction with their organizational environments.

I use sensemaking theory to understand how youth understand the salience and public regard for their ERI in specific settings. I adopt Weick et al.'s (2005, p. 409) definition of sensemaking as "the ongoing retrospective development of plausible images that rationalize what people are doing." Sensemaking starts with noticing or bracketing off particular events as significant, often stemming from moments of surprise, trauma, or identity threat, such as instances of discrimination (Maitlis, 2009; Weick, 1995). In the process of interacting with their organizational environment and people in it, individuals give meaning to events by noticing and bracketing them as significant and then retrospectively reasoning about them and deciding how to react or adapt (Weick et al., 2005). Sensemaking is an ongoing, dynamic process that helps people give order to the chaos of life within organizations. An important feature of sensemaking that distinguishes it from psychological processes of cognition and building schemas to understand new information (Piaget, 1983) is that it is a social process. For example, organizational members engage in sensemaking when they decide how to respond to a crisis by first collectively noticing something as new and concerning and then developing plausible understandings of events (Weick et al., 1999). Sensemaking theory focuses not on how individuals come to new understandings but on how the organizational setting shapes individuals' collective responses to new or ambiguous situations.

Although organizational theory has long blended theories of individual and organizational identity, it has traditionally paid little attention to how racial and other hierarchies affect individuals' experiences of their identity (Acker, 2006; Nkomo, 1992; Ray, 2019). Organizations themselves reflect ethnic-racial, gender, and other societal hierarchies that

influence the ways that members can exercise agency within the organization and the ways that resources are allocated or policies are applied (Acker, 1990, 2006; Ray, 2019). Ethnicity-race, gender, and other societal hierarchies are embedded within and often reinforced through organizational norms and structures (Ogbonna, 2019; Wingfield & Alston, 2014; Wooten & Couloute, 2017). Seemingly neutral elements of organizations' bureaucratic procedures result in racial inequities in how rules are enforced or organizational members are promoted or punished (Byron & Roscigno, 2019). Organizational leaders use tools of transmitting culture, such as establishing rules, hierarchies, and valued forms of knowledge, to control the identities of members (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002). Schools specifically embed white supremacy in the routines that govern everyday life for students, like discipline and evaluation of academic work (Diamond & Gomez, 2023). Therefore, I attend to hierarchies and power within the organization I study as a lens into understanding the ways that youth engage in sensemaking (Helms Mills et al., 2010). Specifically, I focus on the role that decisions and feedback from program leaders play in how youth make sense of salience and regard for their ERI.

Data and Methods

The Setting

The setting for my study is a high school policy debate league. Competitive policy debate focuses on using evidence and logic and less on traditional oratory skills than other forms of competitive forensics available to youth. Every year, the competitions' governing body votes on a resolution, or a broad policy intent, that becomes the basis of all debates across leagues in the country for the entire season. In the first year that I collected data, that resolution was: "The United States Federal Government should substantially increase its protection of water resources in the United States." In a debate round, two teams of two students go against each other. One

team is assigned to the affirmative side, meaning that they are supposed to propose and defend a policy that affirms the year's resolution. Common policies that teams used when on the affirmative with the water topic included banning fracking and tightening regulations on agricultural runoff. The other team, the negative side, is tasked with arguing against implementing the affirmative team's policy. At the end of a debate round, a judge, typically a coach or a former debater volunteering their time, weighs all of the arguments and evidence that students presented, picks a winning side, and offers the students feedback. Over the course of a debate tournament, students typically debate in three to four rounds before results are tabulated and team places and awards are announced.

What I have described above traditionally has taken place in predominantly white, private schools (G. A. Fine, 2004). However, beginning in the 1980s, Urban Debate Leagues (UDLs) developed throughout the United States with the goal of bringing debate to public school students from backgrounds who typically had not had debate teams at their schools (Seals, 2018). UDLs attract a diverse group of students and have been hailed as a pipeline to increased engagement and academic success (Mezuk, 2009; Shackelford, 2019). Baked into UDL pedagogy is teaching critical literacy skills that empower debaters to challenge the historical and cultural roots of power in academic content and in their lives (Savitz et al., 2021). One of the ways in which UDLs do this is by drawing on culturally relevant practices to create connection and relevance to their predominantly minoritized participants (Cridland-Hughes, 2012). The extent to which debaters can and should bring their personal identities into debate rounds is itself debatable. The policy debate space has become a place where diversity, and specifically how to make the activity inclusive for minoritized youth, are central. However, it is also a space where youth have the choice of whether and how to talk about these topics. Like in schools, little

research has examined how racialized identities are influenced and formed through the students' everyday experiences with diverse peers and adults in debate. These dynamics make policy debate, and a UDL in particular, an important space for examining youth ERI.

Data Collection

I use qualitative interviews to capture youth's ERI and experiences in debate. Interviews allow for youth to construct a complex narrative of their identity that takes into account intersections of ethnicity-race, gender, and other aspects of identity as well as broader societal narratives about these groups (Rogers & Way, 2015). Although much of the research on social identities has focused singularly on ethnicity-race, class, or gender, more recent work has considered intersectional identities that combine these aspects of identity (Fisher et al., 2015; Rogers et al., 2022). This work also takes into account the historical and political dimensions of different group identities and how people construct identities as intentional means of resistance or accommodation to narratives about who they are (Rogers, 2020; Rogers & Way, 2016). While SES matters, prior evidence indicates that minoritized youth do not benefit from having a higher-SES background in the same ways that white youth do (Destin, 2019). Therefore, although I allow students to express their intersectional identities through open-ended interview prompts, I center ERI in this analysis because of the critical role that it plays in ethnic-racially diverse schools.

Sample. My sample included eight high school students from the West Coast Urban Debate League (WCUDL). I recruited students from two high school teams and also the weekly league-wide practice for advanced students. The first school, Lakeside High School, is a central city school with approximately equal proportions of Asian American, Black, Latinx, and white students. However, regular participants at Lakeside High, which numbered between six and ten

students, were all white and Asian American. The second school, Reyes Beach High School, is in a low-income suburban community that is majority Latinx and Black. The debaters at Reyes Beach, which regularly numbered between four and six students, were majority Latinx, with one Black student and one Asian American student. Student characteristics are summarized in Table 7.

Table 7.

Characteristics of student participants

Name	**Race/Ethnicity**	**Gender Identity**	**Number of interviews**
Lakeside			
Angel	Asian	Nonbinary	2
Anthony	Asian/white	Male	2
Ethan	White	Male	1
Jasmine	Asian	Female	2
Reyes Beach			
Maribel	Latinx	Female	1
Selena	Latinx/Native American	Female	2
WCUDL-Wide Practice			
Emily	Black	Female	2
Saraya	South Asian	Female	2

As a former coach and volunteer in WCUDL, I came to this research with an insider status that made operating as a neutral observer untenable. Therefore, I adopted the stance of participant observer (Spradley, 1980), engaging as a full participant in the debate community while also observing and making sense of what I was seeing and experiencing. While I usually did not lead debate practices, I did work with students, answer debate questions, lead break-out groups, and participate in activities during debate practices. Although I was a full participant in the setting, I was careful to be transparent about the fact that I was taking notes on interactions I observed. I invited students to participate in study interviews while making clear to them that

their choice to participate or not participate in my study would not affect my engagement with them or the community. During debate tournaments, I observed debate rounds for students in my sample, judged other students, and coached students in between rounds. I never judged rounds for students on the teams that participated in the study to avoid perceived conflicts of interest.

Interview procedures. I capture youth identity and sensemaking through qualitative interviews with students. Interviews lasted approximately 45 minutes to one hour and were conducted virtually over Zoom. I audio recorded and transcribed all interviews for analysis. I interviewed students one to two times for the study. After recruiting students to participate, I conducted an initial interview in which I asked students to describe their identities, using an open-ended prompt that allowed them to decide how central, if at all, ethnicity-race was to their overall sense of self. I also ask students to describe broadly their experiences in debate as members of their team, the league, and, when applicable, experiences competing outside of the league. Finally, I prompted students to recall and make sense of specific experiences in debate by asking them to tell stories about interactions at debate competitions. I use a triggering event sample (Bolger et al., 2003), meaning that I asked youth to recount stories that were relevant based on specific criteria. In each interview, I asked youth to describe 1) an experience that was memorable to them; 2) a piece of feedback that they received from one of their debates; and 3) any incident where they felt that their identities were relevant to something that happened. Experience sampling allows for more naturalistic observation, centering the participants' perspectives situated in the school context rather than in a research setting. By allowing youth to nominate the experiences that they see as relevant, I captured events they bracketed as noteworthy, which is in line with sensemaking theory's emphasis on noticing as the first step of

sensemaking (Weick, 1995). Although these designs frequently use quantitative measures, it is also possible to conduct qualitative experience sample studies (Koro-Ljungberg et al., 2008).

Analytic Strategy

I use a comparative case study approach, which is particularly well suited to understanding differentiation across cases (Ragin & Amoroso, 2011), to examine ways that youth describe their identities and experiences in debate. I analyze interview transcripts in which youth talk about ERI and its meaning for them in debate, seeking patterns across cases and within cases. I use closed coding to look for places where ideas of salience and regard for ERI surface in the data. I also use open coding to center the themes that youth raise and as they talk about their sensemaking of identity in debates. Codes that I made in this phase included "silence on race," "mansplaining," and "judge validation" to capture the ways youth described their sensemaking about ERI salience and regard. I also descriptively coded what students told me about the ethnic-racial composition of the setting, meaning if they were interacting with same-race or cross-race peers. Some have noted a distinction between how people understand their own ERI from the perception of others' ERI (Rogers et al., 2022), and I follow this framework in my analysis to look for instances of both youth's feelings about their ERI, how they believe others perceive their ERI, and assumptions they make about the ERI of others. While coding, I wrote memos on each youth in my sample, developing a rich description and examples of how they talked about their identity and their experiences in debate. I then constructed a conceptually clustered matrix (Miles et al., 2014) to compare the ways that identity show up in the sensemaking of each participant.

As an insider to WCUDL, I was careful to consider how my familiarity with the setting affected both how I understood my data and how research participants responded to me and

frequently included an analysis of my closeness to the site in my analytic memos throughout the data collection period. Prior literature shows that being an insider can afford both benefits and drawbacks in qualitative data collection (Labaree, 2002; Spradley, 1980; Young, Jr., 2004). In this case, being an insider afforded me access to the research site and to gain the trust of staff and students who respected my knowledge of and commitment to the UDL movement. It also meant that I had insight into the esoteric nuances of policy debate, which has a language and culture all its own that makes it inaccessible to those not familiar with the activity. However, being a debate insider also meant recognizing my biases about how I believe debate should be coached and how those beliefs affected my interpretation of my data. I was careful in analyzing data to check for confirmation bias in my results by searching for disconfirming evidence of my claims as I conducted my analysis (Miles et al., 2014). I also relied on colleagues to review my analysis and check for understanding of the analytical conclusions that I was drawing.

In addition, I was attentive to how the identities I carry as a white, middle-aged, heterosexual male working with youth who are predominantly minoritized potentially imposed some social distance and introduced a racial power dynamic, particularly at Reyes Beach. Also, unlike some of the college-aged volunteers who support WCUDL, I was 41 years old when I began data collection, positioning me more like a teacher or parent than a peer in the eyes of students. Because of this, I watched for and wrote memos about how the conversations I had with students were potentially shaded by both my identities and my relationship to the students and organization.

Findings

Based on my analysis, I develop and support two major findings in this section. First, I find that youths' ERI was most salient when they were interacting with peers of different ethnic-

racial backgrounds but was also dependent on the content of those interactions. Second, students frequently drew messages of public regard from these cross-ethnic-racial interactions, with those messages often hinging on both the judge's identities and their decisions and feedback.

ERI Salience

Youth determined ERI salience in relation to both the ethnicity-race of those with whom they interacted and the content of their interaction. ERI was most salient to youth when interacting with peers of different ethnic-racial backgrounds and manifested in students' selection and evaluation of the content of arguments they and opponents used in debates. All eight youth in my sample had at least one story in which they felt their ERIs mattered in their sensemaking of an interaction, and all but one of the students used an example that involved interactions with peers or judges of different ethnic-racial backgrounds.

One way in which ERI was salient to students was in how they made choices about their strategies in debate. For example, Maribel, a Latinx debater from Reyes Beach, responded to being asked if she thought her ethnicity-race had affected any of her experiences in debate by recounting an incident in which she was offended by two white students who "brushed past" an example she used about her personal experience with water pollution in her community. Maribel explained her response to this experience, saying, "As soon as I walk into a debate round, I always look at the competitor to see what their race is. I know that's fucked up, but I think if they're white, it's one of those things where they wouldn't understand those kinds of struggles… so I don't use my personal experiences when I'm going against a white competitor." Maribel used her ethnicity-race and those of her opponents to make sense of her experience, concluding that, because white students could not understand her experiences, she should not talk about them in debates. Her sensemaking about this incident further elicited a response to change the way she

debated depending on the ethnicity-race of her opponents, maintaining the salience of ERI beyond this one incident.

Emily, a Black female debater, talked about how the diversity of WCUDL, and specifically her being one of few Black debaters in the league, has made her ERI more salient. Emily contrasted the diversity of WCUDL with her predominantly Black school, and she explained the shock this has caused her, saying, “I don't see very many people [in debate] that look like me. It was sightly overwhelming because I'd never been put in that situation before.” She went on to explain how the experience of being one of few Black debaters shifted her to talk more about racism in her debates, saying,

> … when I first joined, I didn't want to [focus on race]. I don't think that was something that I came to debate to do, and then I realized that it's not talked about enough, and I realized that as the only Black person, I have to…because it needed to be talked about. It was important because I'm seeing these problems, but unless I speak up about them, no one else is going to either.

Like Maribel, Emily’s experience of interacting in a setting with more peers of different ethnic-racial backgrounds than she typically does in her school made ERI salient to how she chose to engage in debates with cross-race peers. Emily made racism a centerpiece of her strategy for the year. It is notable that Emily’s response was to talk more about the experiences of people of color in debate whereas Maribel’s was to talk about it less. This difference in responses may relate to the shock Emily expressed at the contrast between the ethnic-racial composition of her school and WCUDL, which was less true Maribel, fostering a sense of responsibility in Emily to raise issues related to her ERI. Still, both cases show that the presence of cross-race peers play a part in making ERI salient. Beyond just ethnic-racial composition of WCUDL, these examples

illustrate how ERI salience is shaped by the diversity of those in debates and the specific content, which in this case included evidence and experiences regarding environmental racism.

Debaters also made sense of the ways opponents engaged with them through the lens of their ERI. Debating against white males made ERI particularly salient for students who did not identify as male or white. For example, Angel, a nonbinary Asian American debater, recounted, "…it's so hard to find community in here, especially when you're constantly facing white privilege school, men teams, a lot of them...They did a lot of mansplaining in some of my rounds...". Angel was referencing a story from a tournament outside of WCUDL, where white males are more dominant than within the league. For Angel, their ERI and that of their white male counterparts was salient to the way their opponents spoke in rounds, which they saw as a barrier to feeling connected to peers. Similarly, Jasmine, an Asian female debater, described her reaction when a team of white male debaters critiqued debate as being white supremacist, saying,

> …this kind of sounds like a white savior kind of argument in a way. So there was an argument that they had said that the debate space is extremely privileged of white male dominance. And then me and [my partner] didn't inevitably make it an argument because it's just kind of something that, okay, the judge is obviously going to notice this as the judge is a person of color. I am a person of color, [my partner] is a woman. And so all of these intersectional topics, it wasn't something that we had to inherently bring up. But I think that a lot of the time, especially this year, we're talking about very complex topics that sometimes have to do with race and sexuality and gender and other things like that. And because of it you think about your identity a lot.

Although critiques of racist and sexist elements of debate are common in modern policy debate, Jasmine stated her belief that white males should not use those arguments against females or

students of color, demonstrating a link in her reasoning between the content of debate arguments and identity salience. Like Maribel and Emily's stories above, Jasmine's ERI and her perception of her opponents' ERIs were salient in her sensemaking about the situation, namely in her evaluation of what types of arguments were acceptable for people with certain identities to use. Jasmine also points out that the congruence of her identity with the judge's as people of color was salient in that she didn't feel the need to explicitly point out the irony of white males telling females of color about white supremacy. Both Angel and Jasmine drew on an intersectional macro narratives about white males to make sense of their micro experiences (Rogers et al., 2021) and demonstrate how they see the salience of ERI, in combination with gender, in those experiences.

The identities of debaters within a round also mattered to students' feelings about the validity or acceptability of arguments that opponents used in rounds. Anthony, a white-presenting debater who is half Korean and described himself as strongly identifying with his Korean side, told a story of debating a team of two Asian debaters who countered his argument by critiquing him for excluding Asian voices. As he described, "…they were saying like, 'Oh my god, Asian American debaters can't participate in the debate system.' We're just like, dude, we are running a [satirical argument], my grandparents are from Korea, [my partner] is also Asian. We are very much participating in the debate space. What are you talking about?" Regardless of whether the other team did not realize Anthony was of Asian descent and how that may have motivated their strategy, Anthony made clear in this story that his ERI was salient to how *he* evaluated the other team's argument. He used his identity as an Asian American debater who was not only participating in debate but critiquing the activity as evidence of the invalidity of the other team's strategy.

Emily similarly expressed how her ERI and those of opponents factored into what arguments she thought opponents should use. She explained how she made sense of debating against Asian American opponents who used an ontological argument critiquing the construct of Blackness:

> a lot of the time it'll be Asian people who run [the Blackness ontology argument], and it's like, you're a person of color also and we're all supposed to be here for each other and feel for each other and be able to understand each other's experiences. So it's like, you're supposed to be an ally and you're supposed to stand with each other.

This story demonstrates the importance of ethnicity-race to how Emily views the arguments that debaters used against her. She expected students of color to respond to her arguments in a way that is more validating than what she had experienced because she thought they should be an "ally." Like other debaters, Emily saw her ERI and those of her opponents as salient to the appropriateness of the arguments deployed in debate. However, her example stands out from that of Anthony because her evaluation of her opponents' argument drew on a broader sense of shared experience as people of color, even though she and her opponents were not of the same ethnicity-race.

Consistent with prior literature, the debaters in my sample demonstrated that ERI takes on increased salience when interacting with members of different ethnic-racial groups (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). These findings show that not all combinations of ethnicity-races are the same in an educational setting. Although Emily's story occurred in a diverse debate round, Emily's response to not receiving the solidarity she expected implies that she would have had a different reaction if the diversity involved white debaters instead of Asian Americans. However, the stories that the debaters shared add texture to ways that ERI salience manifests, showing the

importance of not only the ethnic-racial composition of the context but also the content of interactions between people of different ethnicity-races. Importantly, it is the interaction of content and identities—the match between the arguments that students used and their identities—that made ERI salient in youth's sensemaking.

ERI Regard in Cross-Race Interactions

Situations in which debaters saw their ERI as salient were often coupled with messages of public regard for their ERI, or the ways that they believe others perceive their ethnic-racial group. Students' sense of public ERI regard often depended on the external validation they received from judges in their debate rounds, who decide debate round the winners and offer feedback at the end of rounds.

Seven of the eight students in my sample referenced the judge's feedback or decision in a debate round as part of their sensemaking, often in combination with their perception of the judge's ERI. For example, Selena, a Latinx female debater, talked about judges' responses to her usage of personal examples as evidence in debate rounds. In response to my question about whether or not she had been treated unfairly because of who she is, she responded:

> To be honest no, because all the judges are either a person of color or the same ethnicity as me or they're very understanding because especially with the experienced ones, you can tell that they know what we're talking about and they know where we're coming from. Because during feedback they'll always be like, "I like how you pointed out personal experience" or "I like that you're actually using how people are stereotyping" and stuff like that.

Not only did Selena feel like she was treated fairly, but she also saw her ERI as an asset in the debate round, largely because of the congruence between her and the judges' ethnicity-race.

However, in another instance, a judge's decision and feedback were part of her sensemaking about negative regard for her ERI. During a tournament when I was coaching Selena and her partner after a debate round against two white male debaters, I recounted in my field notes:

> Selena seems upset as she talks, with a flustered, annoyed tone. She talks about the argument she was making [focused on the how Native American reservations should be granted autonomy to manage waterways] and how she "was speaking for Natives" and notes that she is Native. She keeps accusing the judge [a white man] of not listening because she claims that she repeated her plan multiple times. The same with the other team. Selena talks about how they were saying that indigenous people don't have any resources and how "racist" that was (field notes, April 16, 2022).

Selena's story demonstrates both ERI salience and negative regard. She made an argument that referenced her identity as Native American, and she notes both her opponents' racism and the judge's validation of that racism. In practice the week after the tournament, Selena went back to the written feedback the judge provided after the round and was still frustrated, saying that the judge "went off of his own opinion that Natives don't have resources" (field notes, April 22, 2022). This story is significant because it represents an interaction where Selena made sense of losing the debate to an argument that expressed low regard for her ERI, which the judge legitimated with his opinion that the racist argument was valid. This interaction contrasts with the sentiment Selena expressed previously about judges valuing her expressions of identity in debates. The contrast demonstrates the importance of the judge in Selena's sensemaking about ERI regard and is line with prior research indicates that youth are particularly susceptible to low ERI regard when they perceive discrimination from adults (Douglass & Umaña-Taylor, 2017).

Similarly, Maribel explained how she looked to the judge's validation when she brought her identity into debates. She explained how she has interacted around a piece of evidence on water pollution in low-income communities of color in debate rounds, saying, "I can use my personal experiences in those kinds of rounds because putting my own personal take on the topic is really good for, at least I think it's...The judges always give me a nod. That's one of the things that I really looked at in those moments." The judge's nod signaled to Maribel that her usage of personal narrative, which in this case she saw as being at the intersection of ethnicity-race and class, was held in high regard in the debate space as a valid way of engaging with debate evidence. As in Selena's case, the content of arguments with which Maribel engaged offered an opportunity for Maribel to express her ERI, and the judge's validation of that expression had the power to communicate high regard. While much of the literature on ERI regard focuses on the effects of overt discrimination on ERI regard (Douglass & Umaña-Taylor, 2017; Hughes et al., 2011), these examples shows that something as subtle as a nod or other affirmation from an adult with authority can also communicate positive ERI regard.

Saraya, a South Asian female debater, did not have any first-hand experience with her ERI but offered a perspective on other's experience within and outside the organization. When asked whether her identities had a played a role in any of her debate experiences, she responded that she had only heard about those experiences for those who had debated outside of WCUDL, saying, "…I always hear those stories that are like, because you're a woman or because you're this certain race, the judge is not going to vote for you and be mean or walk out of the room, and stuff like that. So that would never happen at WCUDL because [the executive director] would kick their butts." Saraya here is acknowledging that negative ERI regard exists for women and students of color in debate. However, she also assumes that any such incidents would be stamped

out within WCUDL by the executive director, a Black female, who would respond to instances of racism by "kick[ing] their butts." Even though Saraya's sensemaking is prospective in this case rather than retrospective, her quote demonstrates the importance of organizational authority in her understanding of negative ERI regard within the debate space.

White and Asian American debaters recognized that their ERIs held higher regard in debate. Angel told the story of how they made sense of feedback they received from a judge cautioning them that one of their arguments could be taken as white supremacist:

> Angel: If it was Reyes Beach running this argument, I don't think they would've gotten that feedback…
>
> Me: Why do you think that?
>
> Angel: Well, because Chad and I, I do recognize our privilege in that we're both...although I'm Southeast Asian, Chad was white presenting and we're in a very academic white centered...well, not, I guess, in WCUDL, but, in general, white-centered space.

Angel's sensemaking here shows both the salience and regard for their ERI. They recognized their relative privilege within debate, differentiating their own identity as Southeast Asian from their partner being white, but still grouping themselves together as being part of the more privileged group. The aside Angel made differentiating WCUDL from debate more broadly is important. Even though Angel recognizes that WCUDL is less "white-centered" than the debate community more broadly, Angel connects the whiteness of the activity to their holding privilege in the space. This example demonstrates the importance of the organizational context as a lens through which individuals make sense of their experience (Weick, 1995). However, even though Angel recognized their privilege, they also noted how this privilege put them at more risk of

having a judge deem one of their arguments as racist. This story again illustrates the interaction of the ERIs of those involved in a setting and the content of conversations in sensemaking about the role of ERI. This also illustrates the importance of the specific configuration of diversity in a setting. In this round, where a white and Asian American debater teamed up against a Black and Latinx debater, Angel recognized their relative privilege. However, in other instances, such as Angel's complaint about the white privileged schools they face in outside tournaments, Angel separated themselves from whiteness.

Ethan, a white male, talked about how being white got him the benefit of the doubt in judges' eyes. When asked about if he was treated fairly in debate, Ethan replied,

> I feel like there's probably an unconscious bias for me because, I don't know, if there's a judge, I don't know, just maybe how I speak or if I'm speaking in African American Vernacular English or other dialects of American English or more of a less academic way, I feel like there's a bias against that I would guess…If anything, I feel like there's probably an unconscious bias for me because… just maybe how I speak.

Like Angel, he perceived high regard for his ERI that manifested through judges' assumed biases, in this case stemming from his way of speaking. Whiteness in Ethan's sensemaking served as a credential for legitimacy (Ray, 2019), which Ethan saw as judges preferring his ways of communicating to those of Black debaters. Even though he took away messages of high rather than low public regard, his sensemaking about regard, like those of Selena and Maribel, filtered through the reactions of those with authority in the organization.

Emily, a Black female debater, was the only debater whose feelings of public ERI regard did not depend on feedback from program staff. Emily described the negative emotion that stemmed from opponents downplaying her arguments about anti-Blackness in debate, saying,

"…it doesn't make me feel the best…And then when it's a white team, for me it's like, obviously for you Blackness isn't an identity, but for me that is my identity, that is my life." For Emily, not only were her ERI and those of her opponents salient, but she also felt that others did not value her identity. She went on to explain the broader message she took from these experiences, saying, "…that's frustrating because debate's very real-world. So I know that people in the real world feel that way also." Emily illustrates here both the negative emotion she experienced in debate rounds where she heard peers holding her ERI in low regard and also how these experiences extend beyond debate to messages of regard she feels more broadly in the "real-world" anti-Black attitudes of society. Emily intermingled macro-narratives with her micro-interactions (Rogers et al., 2021) to make sense of the value that her ERI has in debate and in the world. Her sensemaking about the regard for her ERI in this case incorporated the ethnicity-race of her opponents as well as the specific arguments that she and her opponents made in the competition. While wins or judge feedback did not explicitly figure into her sensemaking about ERI regard, it is important to note that she lost the debate rounds from which she drew the examples she shared.

With one exception, those with authority in the organization played a crucial role in students' sensemaking about public regard for their ERI. For the white and Asian American students, this came in perceived bias toward them from judges. For the Black and Latinx students, the judge's reaction to arguments in which youth used their backgrounds in arguments communicated public ERI regard. These findings mirror prior research on ERI public regard and experiences of discrimination (Douglass & Umaña-Taylor, 2017; Rivas-Drake et al., 2009). However, they also suggest that affirmation from an adult with authority in an educational space can serve as a buffer against feelings of low regard. In both the content of arguments that were

explicitly about ethnicity-race and in the subtleties of language, youth coupled salience and regard through seeing macro-narratives about ethnic-racial hierarchies playing out in their micro-interactions.

Discussion and Conclusion

Through my analysis of ethnographic interview and observation data in an ethnic-racially diverse high school policy debate program, I show how youth make sense of the salience and public regard for their ethnic-racial identities in experiences during debate competitions. First, I show that the content of arguments and evidence around which youth interact, in combination with the ethnic-racial diversity of the peers and adults they interact with, made ERI salient to debaters. Second, I show that the activity afforded messages of both positive and negative public regard to students, with those in power in the organization—debate judges and organizational staff—playing a key role in whether debaters saw their identities as valued within the activity. These findings build on and extend a small qualitative ERI literature (Rogers et al., 2022; Rogers & Way, 2016; Way et al., 2008) and operationalize specific ways that the context of interactions youth have in ethnic-racially diverse spaces shape youth's experiences of their ERI.

Limitations

The narratives that I present in this paper represent a small number of students. Doing this work just after the height of the COVID-19 pandemic, when student participation dropped drastically, which meant that I had a small number of students from which I could draw. There are specific student perspectives that I likely missed. As Angel, a Lakeside debater who had been on the team for four years, explained in their interview, "We've been trying to make it more approachable and get a lot more students of color because we saw unfortunately this year and a bit of last year that it definitely has shifted to be a little bit more white than we wanted…" The

sorting of students of color out of the activity potentially means that, by only talking to committed debaters who had remained in the activity, I am missing out on the perspectives of students who felt particularly alienated and might have told a different story.

In addition to the limitations of the sample, I focus entirely on the content of identity and do not include an examination of the process of ERI development. This limitation is important as studies have shown that there is an interaction between where youth are in the process of developing their ERI and the effects of ERI salience and regard on developmental outcomes (Douglass & Umaña-Taylor, 2017; Wang et al., 2017). While the qualitative approach that I utilize has the advantage of allowing me richer descriptions of youth's lived experiences with their ERI, which was crucial to exploring the role of context, it was not possible to measure the breadth of content and process elements of ERI that survey measures allow. My qualitative approach also had the advantage of allowing respondents to answer open-ended questions about identities, which surfaced intersectionality in ways that typically used ERI survey measures do not. Still, future research could consider incorporating ERI process and content into qualitative measures.

Theoretical Contributions

From the findings of my analysis, I add to the literature on context and identity by generating hypotheses about how specific elements of context together influence youth's experiences of their ERI. Specifically, I argue that the sociodemographic composition, content of interactions, and organizational setting interact to impact youth's ERI salience and public regard. As I display in Figure 4, youth in my sample derive messages about the salience and public regard for their ERI through sensemaking that interweaves perceptions themselves, the specific setting of an interaction, and the organization in which they are embedded. ERI salience involves

the ways that youth self-identify, their perception of representation of others like them in the organization, and the content of interactions and the identities of those with whom they are interacting. For example, the female debaters of color in my sample drew on their perceptions as women of color in debate generally along with the specific content of a debate in their assessment of experiencing mansplaining. When ERI is salient to youth, their assessment of public regard for their ERI similarly draws from all three levels—their ideas about what place their identities hold in racial and other hierarchies, the reactions that they get from their peers, and the identities and reaction of those with power in the organization. My findings suggest that debate coaches and judges yielded significant power over the ways youth saw their ERI public regard within the debate setting. As I show in my findings, even though the messages of public regard students drew were specific to debate, their sensemaking often linked the organizational setting to the narratives of ethnic-racial hierarchies in the broader society. Although I do not examine long-term identity formation processes in this study, the work of others would suggest that the aggregation of these incidents and youths' sensemaking about them would influence ERI development over time (Sellers et al., 1998; Williams et al., 2020).

Figure 4.

Theory of the relationships between context, ERI salience, and public regard

	ERI Salience	**ERI Public Regard**
Self	Self-Identification: *Who am I?*	Group Narrative: *What status do people like me hold?*
Setting	Identification of others: *Who are the others in this setting?* Content*: What are we talking about?*	Peer response: *What do my peers' think about my identities?*
Organization	Representation: *How many people like me are there in this organization?*	Organizational authority: *What are the ERIs of those in power? How did they legitimate my ERI?*

This work answers the call that several psychologists have noted in needing to understand the context in which identity is felt and expressed (Syed et al., 2018; Verkuyten, 2016; Yip, Cheon, et al., 2019). I add to the existing literature on ERI by offering an example of how to measure the role of organizations in shaping youth's experiences with their ERI. Similar to findings from prior studies, I find that the sociodemographic composition of settings is important to how youth experience ERI (Cheon et al., 2020; Douglass et al., 2014; Yip et al., 2010). My study also builds on studies that have examined the role that content plays as part of the context that shapes interactions (Hernandez et al., 2021; Nasir & Cooks, 2009; Rogers et al., 2022) Youth saw salience and regard in content that both explicitly named ethnicity-race (e.g. debate evidence about environmental racism) as well as interactions that carried implicitly racialized meanings (e.g. white male debaters "mansplaining"). The organizational environment also plays a key part in how macro-narratives about ethnic-racial groups translate into students' experiences

of their ERI. Sensemaking happens within organizational contexts (Weick, 1995), and, as my analysis shows, this goes beyond the ethnic-racial composition of a setting. The structure of the activity in which youth encountered peers and adults of the same or different ethnic-racial groups mattered to how they experienced their own identities. Because my study was based in a competitive activity, wins and losses, or at a minimum the feedback that students received from coaches and judges, played a role in students' perceptions of regard for their ERI. When youth related their identities and backgrounds to an argument in a debate, the success of that argument in the eyes of judges influenced the way youth felt public regard for their ERI in that interaction. This demonstrates the importance of examining organizational practices that potentially afford legitimacy differentially based on ethnicity-race, as well as gender and socioeconomic status (Acker, 1990; Ray, 2019; Wooten & Branch, 2012).

Another implication of this analysis is in demonstrating the role of intersectional identities in understanding ERI. Much of the prior literature on ERI, particularly studies that rely on quantitative survey measures, focus on ethnicity-race in isolation of other elements of identity, although recent work has called for exploring intersections between race and other elements of students' identity (Chan et al., 2023). In my data, when students talked about their experience of ERI, it was usually in combination with their gender or socioeconomic status, signifying the importance of not considering ethnicity-race on its own. These intersectional identities were key to how students understood their identity and its value in the debate space. My findings add to both the ERI and the school racial diversity literatures by demonstrating particular instances in which youth feel intersectional identities. For example, students in my analysis drew on the identity of being a minoritized female in a traditionally male-dominated activity or of coming from a low-income Latinx community as relevant to their sensemaking. In

both cases, understanding their experience solely through an ethnic-racial lens would not capture the entirety of the experience. This finding is particularly relevant to understanding the effects of current efforts to diversify schools, which largely use socioeconomic status in school assignment plans due to legal limitations on using ethnicity-race (Frankenberg, 2020).

Policy and Practice Implications

If, as many authors have argued, diversity is an essential step toward equity in education (Orfield & Lee, 2007; Siegel-Hawley, 2020), the question remains of how to make all youth feel valued, motivated, and engaged in diverse spaces. My analysis shows that, even though in one case a debater responded to feeling low ERI-regard by amplifying her attempts to bring her identities into debates, other debaters either affectively disengaged while debating with cross-race peers or perhaps left the program altogether. These findings reiterate the need for youth to feel that their identities are valued to access their motivation to engage and succeed (Destin & Williams, 2020; Oyserman & Lewis, 2017). Knowing the importance of afterschool spaces to youth development and the importance of identities to motivation and engagement, attention to designing those spaces such that all identities are valued is critical.

As my findings demonstrate, this requires attention to both the demographic composition of those spaces as well as the messages that are communicated in the content and pedagogy of programming. My findings show that the specific composition of the diversity within a space requires attention and sensitivity from educators. For example, several debaters in my study noted the ethnicity-race of a judge as part of their sensemaking about the role of their own identities in a debate round. Educators, therefore, need to be conscientious about how the identities that they bring into a space affect students' learning and experiences (Banks, 2001). The ethic-racial composition of settings intersects with pedagogy, as my findings suggest that

implicit racialized moments need to be addressed directly. Several of the incidents in which youth felt low or high regard for their identities were ones in which the ethnic-racial element of the interaction was implicit but never directly spoken. These moments of silence about ethnicity-race potentially reinforce the dominance of whiteness in those spaces (Haviland, 2008). Therefore, educators need to be trained to notice and respond to these moments to combat the colorblind narratives that deny the experiences of students of color (Banks, 2001; Shah & Coles, 2020). This is particularly challenging in a setting like the one I study, where many of the adults involved have expertise in the activity but not in pedagogy or anti-racist or culturally relevant pedagogy. However, youth workers in afterschool spaces deserve more attention in research and practice because they form very influential bonds with youth, and programs can include training around anti-racist methods in staff and volunteer induction (Baldridge, 2020; Sánchez et al., 2021).

In a racialized world, the content of any program or activity over which youth interact has the potential to make youths' ethnicity-race salient. My analysis shows that those interactions can either foster positive or negative perceptions of their ERI. The difference often incorporated ways that the practices of adults with power communicate legitimacy and value for students' ERI. A focus on both recruiting an ethnic-racially diverse student body and staff and equipping afterschool educators with culturally relevant pedagogy is needed. Coupling policy and practice that foster a belief in students that people like them belong, have assets, and can be successful holds the potential to advance both equity and diversity.

V. Conclusion

Across the three studies of this dissertation, I demonstrate that studying diversity has to be more than comparing outcomes for youth based on the number of same- and cross-race peers in their school. Sitting between the societal context of racial/ethnic hierarchies and the social, emotional, and cognitive development of youth in diverse schools and other educational spaces are the ways that organizations structure the experiences that youth have in those spaces. I specifically set out to answer two main questions with this dissertation:

1. How do youth experience their identities and belonging in racial/ethnically diverse educational organizations?
2. What role does the organization of racial/ethnically diverse educational spaces play in shaping youth's experiences?

In answer to the first question, I find that students' sense of belonging differs with the racial/ethnic composition of settings (Study 1), and youth draw messages about how their identities are salient and regarded by others within settings particularly in interactions with peers of differential racial/ethnic backgrounds (Study 3). However, the racial/ethnic composition of settings is never sufficient for understanding the ways that youth feel belonging (Studies 1 and 3). In response to the second question, I find that schools and other educational spaces create the conditions that shape students' belonging (Study 1) and students' understandings of the value that their identities hold in an educational space (Study 3). One important role of the organization is in creating a culture that constrains, enables, and shapes how and if youth have interactions across racial/ethnic divides (Study 2).

In the rest of this concluding chapter, I describe the theoretical contributions and practical implications of this dissertation.

Diversity through a Racialized Organizations Lens

One contribution of this dissertation is demonstrating the potential of using racialized organizations theory to understand school diversity. As I show across all three studies, racial/ethnic composition itself is not sufficient for understanding the effects of diversity on youth. I am not the first to problematize the measures of school composition that have been used in the school diversity literature. Kogachi and Graham (2020) have shown that the composition of the actual classrooms that students attend has an important affect separate from the racial/ethnic composition of the school. Syed et al. (2018) have argued for measuring youths' perceptions of the racial/ethnic composition instead of the actual counts. My study offers a complementary lens of studying the organization itself, and the ways that its practices, culture, and content are racialized, to understand the ways youth develop within them. As the first study in this dissertation shows, the racial/ethnic composition of the students, staff, and neighborhoods surrounding schools is insufficient for understanding the extent to which students feel that they belong. It is the racial/ethnic composition in combination with other elements of the school as an organization that are associated with belonging. I argue that these aspects of the school racialize the organization in ways that are unique for each racial/ethnic subgroup.

My study builds on the racialized organization literature by demonstrating the ways in which whiteness is a credential for advancement, one of the core tenets of the racialized organizations theory advanced by Ray (2019). The students of color who populate the organizations I studied in this dissertation had to walk a precarious position. In some ways, their identities were celebrated, such as when schools in the first study included statements like "One of our biggest assets is our diverse student population" in their values statements. In the second and third studies, youth debaters received validation for their expression of identity from judges who share backgrounds with them and felt confident that incidents of racism would not be

tolerated by the organization. At the same time, the minutia of their everyday lives in those organizations potentially sent a different message about which identities belonged and were valued. Black and Latinx youth were disproportionately suspended from most schools in my first study. In the case of my ethnographic studies, Reid-Brinkley (2012) has critiqued urban debate leagues for developing and exploiting a narrative script of Black students from impoverished communities lacking opportunities being redeemed by debate, which offers them a pathway into the white world. In other words, there are desired dispositions and habits that staff cultivate and reward, and the proliferation of narratives that racialize the assets and deficits that youth bring play a role in constraining who can feel belonging within the organization. Particularly in the debate studies, whiteness served as a credential sometimes, but not always. The students who were most successful in the debate league that I studied learned how to both denounce whiteness in their debate arguments while also following the white norms of how to debate. Therefore, my dissertation offers an example of how future work should look beneath the surface level of overt whiteness or equity-focused language in organizations and analyze how the everyday practices of organizational actors have differential impact on students from different backgrounds within the same organization.

However, the organizations I studied in this study are not only racialized. Although I focused on race/ethnicity in this research, students' experiences were shaded by their intersectional identities that incorporated social class, gender, and sexuality. Youth saw these elements together in how they described themselves and their organizational setting in my data from the second and third studies. As other's have shown before me, the experiences of minoritized youth within desegregated schools cannot be understood through race/ethnicity alone (Ispa-Landa, 2013). As racialized organizations theory rises in prominence, it is important to also

consider the intersectional identities and processes of organizations to fully how they perpetuate or disrupt inequality (Acker, 2012). There are examples of applying an intersectional approach to studying organizations, such as Wooten and Branch's (2012) analysis of Black females as idealized domestic workers. Particularly in school diversity research, more research is needed that examines the experiences of specific intersectional groups within diverse schools to better understand unique experiences of those groups and the ways that school organization can best support them.

Organizational Influences on Youth Development

Another important contribution of this work is adding to the literature around the organizational influences of youth development. One of the goals of this dissertation was to generate hypotheses about empirically measurable elements of organizations and their relationships with youth identity and belonging in racial/ethnically diverse schools. In my first study, I build on the recent work theorizing the contextual aspects of belonging (Gray et al., 2018; Juvonen et al., 2019) by demonstrating empirically how the organizing of schools relates to student' sense of belonging. Gray et al. (2018) propose understanding belonging along three dimensions: institutional, instructional, and interpersonal opportunity structures. This dissertation shows instances of each of these dimensions. In the first study, findings regarding the importance of schools' equity-focused organizing and equitable discipline to belonging amongst minoritized groups as well as the organizational norms and values in the second study show instances of the institutional opportunity structure. The role of interactions over content in students' experiences of their identity show the importance of the instructional opportunity structure. The role of inter-group interactions in students' understanding of public regard for their identities in the third study reflects the interpersonal opportunity structure.

In addition to generating these empirical examples of organizational structures for belonging, my dissertation shows the interconnectedness of these structures. Particularly in the first study, I show that the elements of organizations cannot be understood individually but rather in combinations that communicate belonging. Also, looking at the second and third studies together shows the interaction of the institutional and interpersonal opportunity structures in that the organizational cultures facilitated and constrained interpersonal interactions that influenced students' understandings of identity within the debate space.

However, all three studies in this dissertation caution against theorizing about diversity in a way that assumes a uniform experience for all students. Rather, my research suggests that it is important to examine the experiences of racial/ethnic groups separately to understand their unique experiences. For example, all three of my studies offer evidence of the unique experiences of Asian Americans. In the first study, they were the only large subgroup for which I could find no consistent pattern of high belonging. Asian Americans are more likely than other groups to be the object of peer harassment and discrimination (Rivas-Drake et al., 2008; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). The low sense of belonging for Asian American students in the first study, even in schools with high same-race representation, raises questions about how the schools are addressing or not addressing discrimination in those spaces. In the ethnographic debate studies, youth talked about Asian Americans in a way that put them in a precarious position as both privileged but also minoritized, seeing them as distant but also in solidarity as people of color. This is similar to the problematic stereotype of the "model minority" that Asian American students have to contend with in other settings (Kiang et al., 2016; Ngo & Lee, 2007). Even though I did not observe any overt instances of discrimination toward Asian American students, I also did not observe any organizational attempts at building unity or counteracting

Black or Latinx resentment toward Asian Americans, which did show up in my data and that others have found to be a challenge in diverse schools (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004).

My work also shows some limitations of existing organizational theories as a way of understanding diverse schools. The sensemaking lens I used in this dissertation afforded an opportunity to examine the ways that the organization shaped people's understandings of their identities. However, the second and third studies in particular show the crucial role of the sociocultural context in which the organization is situated. As other literature on identity formation has shown, youth draw on both macro narratives of race/ethnicity and other hierarchies as well as their local context in understanding their identities (Nasir et al., 2009; Rogers et al., 2021). Youth in my study thought about their racialized interactions in debate as reflections of the racialized nature of the world. However, sensemaking theory traditionally does not consider issues of power and societal hierarchies that permeate the organization (Helms Mills et al., 2010). Similarly, my analysis shows an important role of organizational power and legitimacy that is communicated through racialized interactions in diverse spaces. This comes out particularly in the third study of this dissertation, where students looked to the ways that program leaders legitimated or invalidated their identities in their understanding of how well-regarded they are. Incorporating these broader influences on organizations is important to understanding the interactions youth have in diverse organizations and the implications of those interactions.

Policy and Practice Implications

There is currently much attention to school assignment policies aimed at creating diversity, but my work demonstrates that not all forms of segregation and diversity are the same. The findings across all three studies suggest that the processes by which youth understand their

identities differ by their racial/ethnic group as well as by the racial/ethnic backgrounds of others in their contexts. Therefore, policies should attend to the numerical balances of specific racial/ethnic groups in such policies. Even though policy mechanisms have been limited by recent court decisions rolling back the use of race/ethnicity in enrollment decisions (Siegel-Hawley et al., 2023), there are ways for districts to manipulate enrollment boundaries and school choice systems to shape the diversity of schools (George & Darling-Hammond, 2019). One of the key implications from the first study of this dissertation, as well as others before me (Graham, 2006; Welton, 2013), is to avoid spreading students of a racial/ethnic group in small numbers across schools as a way of desegregating.

As I show in the second study, content in educational settings is an important way of communicating organizational culture. In schools, students from different racial/ethnic backgrounds can experience the same curriculum in very different ways (Ladson-Billings & Brown, 2008). However, the literature on school diversity and desegregation has focused on the representations and inclusion of minoritized peoples in the curriculum but included little analysis of the content that youth and staff interact around in schools. There are studies of conflict around curriculum reforms aimed at being more culturally relevant during desegregation processes (Bohan & Randolph, 2009; Chapman, 2008), but these studies focus on teachers' reactions to the curriculum more than students interactions with it. Also, these studies focus mostly on the Black/white binary of the desegregation era rather than the more varied racial/ethnic composition of many contemporary schools. The literatures on multicultural education (Banks, 1993) and culturally relevant, responsive, and sustaining pedagogy (Alim et al., 2020; Ladson-Billings, 1995) have theorized the importance of educational content that represents learners of diverse backgrounds and their ways of knowing. Hawley (2007) argued that these practices are essential

to creating diverse schools in which minoritized students can be academically successful. The findings of this dissertation show that, particularly in the second and third studies, it is important to select content that reflects the assets of the identities that students bring to schools.

As the qualitative studies of this dissertation demonstrate, it is not only the content but the interactions that people have around that content. Similar to sociocultural activity theorists analyses of interactions with language and content in understanding students' learning (Gutiérrez et al., 1999; Nasir & Hand, 2008), which I borrow from particularly in the second study, I show how interactions around content create spaces for learning about students' identities and their place in the racialized hierarchy of the organization. In the second and third studies of this dissertation, these processes occur not only in explicitly racialized content but also in what appears to be race-neutral content, such as water policy. Racialization occurred not only when there was discussion of race but also when there was silence about it. The youth of my study decided the extent to which they brought their identities into the content, which created spaces for sensemaking about their identities, particularly in interactions with peers of different racial/ethnic backgrounds. While policy cannot directly control the interactions that happen in classrooms as well as it can dictate the content, there are possibilities to address diversity in educator training programs. Educators need to be equipped to manage discussions about race/ethnicity where they arise in the everyday lives of schools (Shah & Coles, 2020), even as such teaching practices are increasingly under scrutiny in politically conservative states (Pendharkar, 2022).

This is not to say that the work should fall primarily on educators. Combatting the tide of racial/ethnic and other hierarchies is a heavy burden to ask of teachers and youth workers, many of whom are not much older than the students they serve. Intergroup contact theory (Allport,

1954) and racialized organizations theory (Acker, 1990, 2006; Ray, 2019; Wooten & Couloute, 2017) both point to the primary role that institutional support plays in disrupting inequity. Therefore, school systems and youth-serving organizations should consider culturally responsive leadership practices (Khalifa et al., 2016) as a way of building belonging amongst the diverse groups that schools and programs serve. One of the key practices, shown in my first study and in prior research (Leithwood, 2021), is building a shared vision around equity. This can be facilitated at the system level by hiring practices; culturally responsive leadership may but does not necessarily implicate seeking to recruit leaders who share identities with the students the organization serves (Davis et al., 2016; Khalifa et al., 2016). More importantly, system-level policy that takes an asset-based approach to minoritized families and acknowledges inequity instead of taking a color-blind approach enable shifts in practice to better serve diverse learners (Diem et al., 2016; E. O. Turner, 2020).

Final Thoughts and Future Directions

This dissertation generates hypotheses as to the ways that educational spaces organize around and youth experience racial/ethnic diversity. As I make sense of the literature, my research, and my own children's experiences with racial/ethnic diversity, there are a number of remaining questions that require further research.

One important area will be to further examine and theorize the intersections of race/ethnicity and SES in the diversity literature. Many districts are using SES as a proxy for race/ethnicity in their attempts to diversify schools without explicitly using race (Frankenberg, 2020). There is evidence suggesting that such policies cannot make for meaningful desegregation given the extent of housing segregation in the US (Reardon et al., 2006). Even if successful at desegregating schools, prior research suggests that SES differences along racial/ethnic lines can

exacerbate the social distance between youth within diverse schools (Moody, 2001). The implications of these policies, both on the diversity of schools as well as on students' experiences in schools, will be important to track as districts implement new school assignment policies.

Another important area for future research is building theoretical and empirical links between afterschool program diversity and in-school relationships. My work builds on the relatively small literature focused on afterschool programs in the diversity literature. However, I was not able to examine how, if at all, the experiences that youth had with diversity and their understandings of identity in the afterschool space translated to their experiences at school. If, as prior research shows, afterschool participation is important to students developing connections to school and to peers (De Royston et al., 2017; Deutsch et al., 2017; Fredricks & Eccles, 2005; McLaughlin et al., 2001), examining the linkages on both sides of the school bell will be important to understanding the enduring effects of youth's exposure to peers of different racial/ethnic backgrounds.

As my work and the work of a long literature before me shows, racial/ethnic diversity in educational spaces presents opportunities as well as challenges. What I have sought to do in this dissertation is not to assess the outcomes of diversity but to build on the literature about the conditions under which racial/ethnically diverse educational contexts affect youth's sense of belonging and identity. More research is needed to better understand the policies and pedagogies that create those conditions. My hope is to have contributed with this dissertation to a conversation about how to not just achieve diversity but how to create truly integrated schools where students of all racial/ethnic backgrounds belong and thrive.

References

Acker, J. (1990). Hierarchies, jobs, bodies: A theory of gendered organizations. *Gender & Society*, *4*(2), 139–158. https://doi.org/10.1177/089124390004002002

Acker, J. (2006). Inequality Regimes: Gender, Class, and Race in Organizations. *Gender & Society*, *20*(4), 441–464. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243206289499

Acker, J. (2012). Gendered organizations and intersectionality: Problems and possibilities. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, *31*(3), 214–224. https://doi.org/10.1108/02610151211209072

Al Ramiah, A., & Hewstone, M. (2013). Intergroup contact as a tool for reducing, resolving, and preventing intergroup conflict: Evidence, limitations, and potential. *American Psychologist*, *68*(7), 527–542. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0032603

Alim, H. S., Paris, D., & Wong, C. P. (2020). Culturally sustaining pedagogy: A critical framework for centering communities. In N. S. Nasir, C. D. Lee, R. Pea, & M. M. de Royston (Eds.), *Handbook of the Cultural Foundations of Learning*. Routledge.

Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Addison-Wesley.

Alvesson, M., & Willmott, H. (2002). Identity Regulation as Organizational Control: Producing the Appropriate Individual. *Journal of Management Studies*, *39*(5), 619–644. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-6486.00305

Anderman, E. M. (2002). School effects on psychological outcomes during adolescence. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, *94*(4), 795–809. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0663.94.4.795

Angrist, J. D., & Lang, K. (2004). Does School Integration Generate Peer Effects? Evidence from Boston's Metco Program. *American Economic Review*, *94*(5), 1613–1634. https://doi.org/10.1257/0002828043052169

Baldridge, B. J. (2020). The Youthwork Paradox: A Case for Studying the Complexity of Community-Based Youth Work in Education Research. *Educational Researcher*, *49*(8), 618–625. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X20937300

Banks, J. A. (1993). Multicultural Education: Historical Development, Dimensions, and Practice. *Review of Research in Education*, *19*, 3. https://doi.org/10.2307/1167339

Banks, J. A. (2001). Citizenship Education and Diversity: Implications for Teacher Education. *Journal of Teacher Education*, *52*(1), 5–16. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022487101052001002

Bates, L. A., & Glick, J. E. (2013). Does it matter if teachers and schools match the student? Racial and ethnic disparities in problem behaviors. *Social Science Research*, *42*(5), 1180–1190. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2013.04.005

Battey, D., Leyva, L. A., Williams, I., Belizario, V. A., Greco, R., & Shah, R. (2018). Racial (Mis)Match in Middle School Mathematics Classrooms: Relational Interactions as a Racialized Mechanism. *Harvard Educational Review*, *88*(4), 455–482. https://doi.org/10.17763/1943-5045-88.4.455

Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1995). The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. *Psychological Bulletin*, *117*(3), 497–529. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.117.3.497

Bellmore, A., Nishina, A., You, J., & Ma, T.-L. (2012). School Context Protective Factors Against Peer Ethnic Discrimination Across the High School Years. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *49*(1–2), 98–111. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-011-9443-0

Benner, A. D., & Crosnoe, R. (2011). The racial/ethnic composition of elementary schools and young children's academic and socioemotional functioning. *American Educational Research Journal*, *48*(3), 621–646. https://doi.org/10.3102/0002831210384838

Benner, A. D., & Graham, S. (2009). The Transition to High School as a Developmental Process Among Multiethnic Urban Youth: The Transition to High School. *Child Development*, *80*(2), 356–376. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2009.01265.x

Benner, A. D., & Graham, S. (2013). The antecedents and consequences of racial/ethnic discrimination during adolescence: Does the source of discrimination matter? *Developmental Psychology*, *49*(8), 1602–1613. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0030557

Benner, A. D., & Wang, Y. (2014). Demographic Marginalization, Social Integration, and Adolescents' Educational Success. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *43*(10), 1611–1627. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-014-0151-6

Berman, E. P. (2022). *Thinking like an economist: How efficiency replaced equality in U.S. public policy*. Princeton University Press.

Bidwell, C. E. (2001). Analyzing Schools as Organizations: Long-Term Permanence and Short-Term Change. *Sociology of Education*, *74*, 100. https://doi.org/10.2307/2673256

Blalock, H. M. (1967). *Toward a theory of minority-group relations*. Wiley.

Bohan, C. H., & Randolph, P. (2009). The Social Studies Curriculum in Atlanta Public Schools during the Desegregation Era. *Theory & Research in Social Education*, *37*(4), 543–569. https://doi.org/10.1080/00933104.2009.10473410

Bolger, N., Davis, A., & Rafaeli, E. (2003). Diary Methods: Capturing Life as it is Lived. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *54*(1), 579–616. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.54.101601.145030

Bonilla, S., Dee, T. S., & Penner, E. K. (2021). Ethnic studies increases longer-run academic engagement and attainment. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *118*(37), e2026386118. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2026386118

Bonilla-Silva, E. (2004). From bi-racial to tri-racial: Towards a new system of racial stratification in the USA. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *27*(6), 931–950. https://doi.org/10.1080/0141987042000268530

Bonilla-Silva, E. (2014). *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in America* (Fourth edition). Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Bottiani, J. H., Bradshaw, C. P., & Mendelson, T. (2017). A multilevel examination of racial disparities in high school discipline: Black and white adolescents' perceived equity, school belonging, and adjustment problems. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, *109*(4), 532–545. https://doi.org/10.1037/edu0000155

Bourdieu, P. (1989). Social Space and Symbolic Power. *Sociological Theory*, *7*(1), 14–25. https://doi.org/10.2307/202060

Bourne, H., & Jenkins, M. (2013). Organizational Values: A Dynamic Perspective. *Organization Studies*, *34*(4), 495–514. https://doi.org/10.1177/0170840612467155

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1977). Toward an experimental ecology of human development. *American Psychologist*, *32*(7), 513–571. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.32.7.513

Brown, A. D., & Coupland, C. (2015). Identity Threats, Identity Work and Elite Professionals. *Organization Studies*, *36*(10), 1315–1336. https://doi.org/10.1177/0170840615593594

Brunn-Bevel, R. J., & Byrd, W. C. (2015). The Foundation of Racial Disparities in the Standardized Testing Era: The Impact of School Segregation and the Assault on Public Education in Virginia. *Humanity & Society*, *39*(4), 419–448. https://doi.org/10.1177/0160597615603750

Bryk, A. S. (2010). Organizing Schools for Improvement. *Phi Delta Kappan*, *91*(7), 23–30. https://doi.org/10.1177/003172171009100705

Burkholder, Z. (2017). The Perils of Integration: Conflicting Northern Black Responses to the Coleman Report in the Black Power Era, 1966–1974. *History of Education Quarterly*, *57*(4), 579–590. https://doi.org/10.1017/heq.2017.33

Byrd, C. M. (2016). Does Culturally Relevant Teaching Work? An Examination From Student Perspectives. *SAGE Open*, *6*(3), 215824401666074. https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244016660744

Byrd, C. M., & Chavous, T. (2011). Racial identity, school racial climate, and school intrinsic motivation among African American youth: The importance of person-context congruence. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *21*(4), 849–860. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-7795.2011.00743.x

Byron, R. A., & Roscigno, V. J. (2019). Bureaucracy, Discrimination, and the Racialized Character of Organizational Life. In M. E. Wooten (Ed.), *Research in the Sociology of Organizations* (Vol. 60, pp. 151–169). Emerald Publishing Limited. https://doi.org/10.1108/S0733-558X20190000060009

Capers, K. J. (2019). The Role of Desegregation and Teachers of Color in Discipline Disproportionality. *The Urban Review*, *51*(5), 789–815. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11256-019-00505-6

Carmichael, S. (1966). Toward Black Liberation. *The Massachusetts Review*, *7*(4), 639–651.

Carter, P. L. (2006). Straddling boundaries: Identity, culture, and school. *Sociology of Education*, *79*(4), 304–328. https://doi.org/10.1177/003804070607900402

Castagno, A. E. (2008). "I Don't Want to Hear That!": Legitimating Whiteness through Silence in Schools. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, *39*(3), 314–333. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1492.2008.00024.x

Chan, M., Sharkey, J. D., Nylund-Gibson, K., & Dowdy, E. (2023). Associations of School Diversity with Students' Race-based Victimization and School Connectedness: A Combined Influence of Student and Teacher Racial/Ethnic Diversity and Socioeconomic Diversity. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *52*(1), 44–60. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-022-01715-0

Chapman, T. K. (2008). Desegregation and Multicultural Education: Teachers Embracing and Manipulating Reforms. *The Urban Review*, *40*(1), 42–63. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11256-007-0076-4

Cheon, Y. M., Ip, P. S., & Yip, T. (2019). Adolescent profiles of ethnicity/race and socioeconomic status: Implications for sleep and the role of discrimination and ethnic/racial identity. In *Advances in*

Child Development and Behavior (Vol. 57, pp. 195–233). Elsevier. https://doi.org/10.1016/bs.acdb.2019.04.002

Cheon, Y. M., Niu, L., Ehrhardt, A., & Yip, T. (2020). Daily academic satisfaction and ethnic/racial identity of Asian American adolescents: The role of objective and subjective peer diversity at school. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, *11*(2), 59–68. https://doi.org/10.1037/aap0000168

Cilesiz, S., & Greckhammer, T. (2020). Qualitative Comparative Analysis in Education Research: Its Current Status and Future Potential. *Review of Educational Research*, *44*(1), 332–369.

Cohen, D. K., & Mehta, J. D. (2017). Why reform sometimes succeeds: Understanding the conditions that produce reforms that last. *American Educational Research Journal*, *54*(4), 644–690. https://doi.org/10.3102/0002831217700078

Cohen, D. K., Raudenbush, S. W., & Ball, D. L. (2003). Resources, Instruction, and Research. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, *25*(2), 119–142. https://doi.org/10.3102/01623737025002119

Collette, M. (2015, July 20). Why New York City Is Experimenting With New Ways to Desegregate Public Schools. *Slate*. http://www.slate.com/blogs/schooled/2015/07/20/desegregating_nyc_public_schools_the_city_is_trying_new_methods_this_one.html

Conway-Turner, J., Williams, J., & Winsler, A. (2020). Does Diversity Matter? School Racial Composition and Academic Achievement of Students in a Diverse Sample. *Urban Education*, 004208592090225. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085920902257

Cook, T., Armor, D., Crain, R. L., Miller, N., Stephan, W., Walberg, H., & Wortman, P. (1984). *School Desegregation and Black Achievement*. National Institute of Education. https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED241671

Cox, A. B., Steinbugler, A. C., & Quinn, R. (2021). It's Who You Know (and Who You Are): Social Capital in a School-Based Parent Network. *Sociology of Education*, *94*(4), 253–270. https://doi.org/10.1177/00380407211029655

Cridland-Hughes, S. (2012). Literacy as Social Action in City Debate. *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy*, *56*(3), 194–202. https://doi.org/10.1002/JAAL.00128

Davis, B. W., Lippa, A. P., Lehr, M., Gooden, M. A., & Dinh, T. V. (2016). Conceptualizing Principal–Student Racial Congruence. *Journal of School Leadership*, *26*(4), 554–579. https://doi.org/10.1177/105268461602600401

De Royston, M. M., Vakil, S., Nasir, N. S., Ross, K. M., Givens, J., & Holman, A. (2017). "He's More like a 'Brother' than a Teacher": Politicized Caring in a Program for African American Males. *Teachers College Record*, *119*(4), 1–40. https://doi.org/10.1177/016146811711900401

Debrosse, R., Rossignac-Milon, M., Taylor, D. M., & Destin, M. (2018). Can identity conflicts impede the success of ethnic minority students? Consequences of discrepancies between ethnic and ideal selves. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *44*(12), 1725–1738. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167218777997

Destin, M. (2019). A path to advance research on identity and socioeconomic opportunity. *American Psychologist*, *74*(9), 1071–1079. https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000514

Destin, M., Silverman, D. M., & Rogers, L. O. (2022). Expanding the social psychological study of educators through humanizing principles. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, *16*(6). https://doi.org/10.1111/spc3.12668

Destin, M., & Williams, J. L. (2020). The Connection Between Student Identities and Outcomes Related to Academic Persistence. *Annual Review of Developmental Psychology*, *2*(1), 437–460. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-devpsych-040920-042107

Deutsch, N. L., Blyth, D. A., Kelley, J., Tolan, P. H., & Lerner, R. M. (2017). Let's Talk After-School: The Promises and Challenges of Positive Youth Development for After-School Research, Policy, and Practice. In N. L. Deutsch (Ed.), *After-School Programs to Promote Positive Youth Development* (pp. 45–68). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-59132-2_4

Diamond, J. B. (2006). Still separate and unequal: Examining race, opportunity, and school achievement in "integrated" suburbs. *Journal of Negro Education*, *75*(3), 495–505.

Diamond, J. B., & Gomez, L. M. (2023). Disrupting White Supremacy and Anti-Black Racism in Educational Organizations. *Educational Researcher*, 0013189X2311610. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X231161054

Diamond, J. B., & Lewis, A. E. (2019). Race and Discipline at a Racially Mixed High School: Status, Capital, and the Practice of Organizational Routines. *Urban Education*, *54*(6), 831–859. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085918814581

Diem, S., Welton, A. D., Frankenberg, E., & Jellison Holme, J. (2016). Racial diversity in the suburbs: How race-neutral responses to demographic change perpetuate inequity in suburban school districts. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *19*(4), 731–762. https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2014.946485

Douglass, S., & Umaña-Taylor, A. J. (2017). Examining Discrimination, Ethnic-Racial Identity Status, and Youth Public Regard Among Black, Latino, and White Adolescents. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *27*(1), 155–172. https://doi.org/10.1111/jora.12262

Douglass, S., Wang, Y., & Yip, T. (2016). The Everyday Implications of Ethnic-Racial Identity Processes: Exploring Variability in Ethnic-Racial Identity Salience Across Situations. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *45*(7), 1396–1411. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-015-0390-1

Douglass, S., Yip, T., & Shelton, J. N. (2014). Intragroup Contact and Anxiety Among Ethnic Minority Adolescents: Considering Ethnic Identity and School Diversity Transitions. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *43*(10), 1628–1641. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-014-0144-5

du Bois, W. E. B. (1935). Does the Negro need separate schools? *The Journal of Negro Education*, *4*(3), 328. https://doi.org/10.2307/2291871

Eitle, T. M., & Eitle, D. J. (2004). Inequality, Segregation, and the Overrepresentation of African Americans in School Suspensions. *Sociological Perspectives*, *47*(3), 269–287. https://doi.org/10.1525/sop.2004.47.3.269

Engeström, Y. (1999). Communication, discourse and activity. *The Communication Review*, *3*(1–2), 165–185. https://doi.org/10.1080/10714429909368577

Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity: Youth and crisis*. Norton.

Faircloth, B. S., & Hamm, J. V. (2005). Sense of belonging among high school students representing 4 ethnic groups. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *34*(4), 293–309. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-005-5752-7

Fernando, D., & Patriotta, G. (2020). "Us versus them": Sensemaking and identity processes in skilled migrants' experiences of occupational downgrading. *Journal of World Business*, *55*(4), 101109. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jwb.2020.101109

Fine, G. A. (1984). Negotiated Orders and Organizational Cultures. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *10*(1), 239–262. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.so.10.080184.001323

Fine, G. A. (2001). *Gifted tongues: High school debate and adolescent culture*. Princeton University Press.

Fine, G. A. (2004). Adolescence as Cultural Toolkit: High School Debate and the Repertoires of Childhood and Adulthood. *The Sociological Quarterly*, *45*(1), 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1533-8525.2004.tb02395.x

Fine, M. (1987). Silencing in Public Schools. *Language Arts*, *64*(2), 157–174.

Fisher, S., Middleton, K., Ricks, E., Malone, C., Briggs, C., & Barnes, J. (2015). Not Just Black and White: Peer Victimization and the Intersectionality of School Diversity and Race. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *44*(6), 1241–1250. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-014-0243-3

Fiss, P. C. (2007). A Set-Theoretic Approach to Organizational Configurations. *The Academy of Management Review*, *32*(4), 1180–1198.

Frankenberg, E. (2013). The Role of Residential Segregation in Contemporary School Segregation. *Education and Urban Society*, *45*(5), 548–570. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013124513486288

Frankenberg, E. (2020). *Using Socioeconomic-Based Strategies to Further Racial Integration in K-12 Schools*. Intercultural Development Research Association. https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED609708.pdf

Fredricks, J. A., & Eccles, J. S. (2005). Developmental benefits of extracurricular involvement: Do peer characteristics mediate the link between activities and youth outcomes? *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *34*(6), 507–520. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-005-8933-5

Freeman, K. J., & Steidl, C. R. (2016). Distribution, Composition and Exclusion: How School Segregation Impacts Racist Disciplinary Patterns. *Race and Social Problems*, *8*(2), 171–185. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12552-016-9174-9

Gamoran, A., & An, B. P. (2016). Effects of School Segregation and School Resources in a Changing Policy Context. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, *38*(1), 43–64. https://doi.org/10.3102/0162373715585604

George, J., & Darling-Hammond, L. (2019). *The Federal Role and School Integration*. Learning Policy Institute.

Giroux, H. A. (1983). *Critical theory and educational practice*. Deakin University Press.

Graham, S. (2006). Peer Victimization in School: Exploring the Ethnic Context. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *15*(6), 317–321. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8721.2006.00460.x

Graham, S. (2018). Race/Ethnicity and Social Adjustment of Adolescents: How (Not if) School Diversity Matters. *Educational Psychologist*, *53*(2), 64–77. https://doi.org/10.1080/00461520.2018.1428805

Graham, S., Munniksma, A., & Juvonen, J. (2014). Psychosocial Benefits of Cross-Ethnic Friendships in Urban Middle Schools. *Child Development*, *85*(2), 469–483. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12159

Gray, D. L., Hope, E. C., & Byrd, C. M. (2020). Why Black Adolescents Are Vulnerable at School and How Schools Can Provide Opportunities to Belong to Fix It. *Policy Insights from the Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, *7*(1), 3–9. https://doi.org/10.1177/2372732219868744

Gray, D. L., Hope, E. C., & Matthews, J. S. (2018). Black and Belonging at School: A Case for Interpersonal, Instructional, and Institutional Opportunity Structures. *Educational Psychologist*, *53*(2), 97–113. https://doi.org/10.1080/00461520.2017.1421466

Griffin, S. R., Brown, M., & warren, naomi m. (2012). Critical Education in High Schools: The Promise and Challenges of Intergroup Dialogue. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, *45*(1), 159–180. https://doi.org/10.1080/10665684.2012.641868

Guryan, J. (2004). Desegregation and Black Dropout Rates. *American Economic Review*, *94*(4), 919–943. https://doi.org/10.1257/0002828042002679

Gutiérrez, K. D., Baquedano-López, P., & Tejeda, C. (1999). Rethinking diversity: Hybridity and hybrid language practices in the third space. *Mind, Culture, and Activity*, *6*(4), 286–303. https://doi.org/10.1080/10749039909524733

Hallett, T. (2003). Symbolic Power and Organizational Culture. *Sociological Theory*, *21*(2), 128–149. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9558.00181

Hallett, T. (2007). Between Deference and Distinction: Interaction Ritual Through Symbolic Power in an Educational Institution. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *70*(2), 148–171. https://doi.org/10.1177/019027250707000205

Hallinan, M. T. (1987). The social organization of schools: An overview. In M. T. Hallinan (Ed.), *The Social Organization of Schools: New Conceptualizations of the Learning Process* (pp. 1–12). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4899-0468-3

Hannah-Jones, N. (2016, June 9). Choosing a school for my daughter in a segregated city. *The New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/12/magazine/choosing-a-school-for-my-daughter-in-a-segregated-city.html

Hatch, M. J. (1993). The Dynamics of Organizational Culture. *Academy of Management Review*, *18*(4), 657–693. https://doi.org/10.5465/amr.1993.9402210154

Haviland, V. S. (2008). "Things Get Glossed Over": Rearticulating the Silencing Power of Whiteness in Education. *Journal of Teacher Education*, *59*(1), 40–54. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022487107310751

Hawley, W. D. (2007). Desiging schools that use student diversity to enhance learning of all students. In E. Frankenberg & G. Orfield (Eds.), *Lessons in Integration: Realizing the Promise of Racial Diversity in American Schools* (pp. 31–56). University of Virginia Press.

Helms Mills, J., Thurlow, A., & Mills, A. J. (2010). Making sense of sensemaking: The critical sensemaking approach. *Qualitative Research in Organizations and Management: An International Journal*, *5*(2), 182–195. https://doi.org/10.1108/17465641011068857

Hernandez, I. A., Silverman, D. M., & Destin, M. (2021). From deficit to benefit: Highlighting lower-SES students' background-specific strengths reinforces their academic persistence. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *92*, 104080. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2020.104080

Hewstone, M., Rubin, M., & Willis, H. (2002). Intergroup Bias. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *53*(1), 575–604. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.53.100901.135109

Hoffman, A. J., Pullés, S. A., Medina, M. A., Pinetta, B. J., Rivas-Drake, D., Schaefer, D. R., & Jagers, R. J. (2021). Considering multiple levels of influence on adjustment in school: Ethnic–racial public regard, peer socialization, and social-emotional learning practices. *Social Development*, *30*(3), 806–832. https://doi.org/10.1111/sode.12501

Holland, M. M. (2012). Only here for the day: The social integration of minority students at a majority White high school. *Sociology of Education*, *85*(2), 101–120. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038040712440789

Holme, J. J., Wells, A. S., & Revilla, A. T. (2005). Learning Through Experience: What Graduates Gained by Attending Desegregated High Schools. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, *38*(1), 14–24. https://doi.org/10.1080/10665680590907846

Horne, C., & Mollborn, S. (2020). Norms: An Integrated Framework. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *46*(1), 467–487. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-121919-054658

Hornsey, M. J. (2008). Social identity theory and self-categorization theory: A historical review. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, *2*(1), 204–222. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9004.2007.00066.x

Horsford, S. D. (2010). Black Superintendents on Educating Black Students in Separate and Unequal Contexts. *The Urban Review*, *42*(1), 58–79. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11256-009-0119-0

Hoy, W. K. (1990). Organizational Climate and Culture: A Conceptual Analysis of the School Workplace. *Journal of Educational and Psychological Consultation*, *1*(2), 149–168. https://doi.org/10.1207/s1532768xjepc0102_4

Hughes, D., Way, N., & Rivas-Drake, D. (2011). Stability and Change in Private and Public Ethnic Regard Among African American, Puerto Rican, Dominican, and Chinese American Early Adolescents. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *21*(4), 861–870. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-7795.2011.00744.x

Hynes, K., & Sanders, F. (2011). Diverging experiences during out-of-school time: The race gap in exposure to after school programs. *Journal of Negro Education*, *80*(4), 464–476.

Ispa-Landa, S. (2013). Gender, race, and justifications for group exclusion: Urban black students bussed to affluent suburban schools. *Sociology of Education*, *86*(3), 218–233. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038040712472912

Jabbar, H., & Menashy, F. (2022). Economic Imperialism in Education Research: A Conceptual Review. *Educational Researcher*, *51*(4), 279–288. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X211066114

Jackson, C. K. (2009). Student demographics, teacher sorting, and teacher quality: Evidence from the end of school desegregation. *Journal of Labor Economics*, *27*(2), 213–256. https://doi.org/10.1086/599334

Johnson, K. (2014, May 8). Never Meant to Survive the Debate: Sapphire Reclaims Her Performance. *Out of Nowhere*. https://outofnowhereblog.wordpress.com/2014/05/08/never-meant-to-survive-the-debate-sapphire-reclaims-her-performance/

Johnson, R. C. (2011). *Long-run Impacts of School Desegregation & School Quality on Adult Attainments* (w16664). National Bureau of Economic Research. https://doi.org/10.3386/w16664

Johnson, R. C., & Nazaryan, A. (2019). *Children of the dream: Why school integration works* (First edition). Basic Books.

Jones, J. N., & Deutsch, N. L. (2011). Relational Strategies in After-School Settings: How Staff–Youth Relationships Support Positive Development. *Youth & Society*, *43*(4), 1381–1406. https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118X10386077

Juvonen, J., Espinoza, G., & Knifsend, C. (2012). The Role of Peer Relationships in Student Academic and Extracurricular Engagement. In S. L. Christenson, A. L. Reschly, & C. Wylie (Eds.), *Handbook of Research on Student Engagement* (pp. 387–401). Springer US. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-2018-7_18

Juvonen, J., Kogachi, K., & Graham, S. (2018). When and How Do Students Benefit From Ethnic Diversity in Middle School? *Child Development*, *89*(4), 1268–1282. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12834

Juvonen, J., Lessard, L. M., Rastogi, R., Schacter, H. L., & Smith, D. S. (2019). Promoting Social Inclusion in Educational Settings: Challenges and Opportunities. *Educational Psychologist*, *54*(4), 250–270. https://doi.org/10.1080/00461520.2019.1655645

Kende, J., Phalet, K., Van Den Noortgate, W., Kara, A., & Fischer, R. (2018). Equality Revisited: A Cultural Meta-Analysis of Intergroup Contact and Prejudice. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, *9*(8), 887–895. https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550617728993

Kennedy, H., Anyon, Y., Engle, C., & Schofield Clark, L. (2022). Using Intergroup Contact Theory to Understand the Practices of Youth-Serving Professionals in the Context of YPAR: Identifying Racialized Adultism. *Child & Youth Services*, *43*(1), 76–103. https://doi.org/10.1080/0145935X.2021.2004113

Khalifa, M. A., Gooden, M. A., & Davis, J. E. (2016). Culturally Responsive School Leadership: A Synthesis of the Literature. *Review of Educational Research*, *86*(4), 1272–1311. https://doi.org/10.3102/0034654316630383

Kiang, L., Witkow, M. R., & Thompson, T. L. (2016). Model Minority Stereotyping, Perceived Discrimination, and Adjustment Among Adolescents from Asian American Backgrounds. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *45*(7), 1366–1379. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-015-0336-7

Knifsend, C. A., Camacho-Thompson, D. E., Juvonen, J., & Graham, S. (2018). Friends in Activities, School-related Affect, and Academic Outcomes in Diverse Middle Schools. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *47*(6), 1208–1220. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-018-0817-6

Knifsend, C. A., & Juvonen, J. (2014). Social identity complexity, cross-ethnic friendships, and intergroup attitudes in urban middle schools. *Child Development*, *85*(2), 709–721. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12157

Kogachi, K., & Graham, S. (2020). Numerical Minority Status in Middle School and Racial/Ethnic Segregation in Academic Classes. *Child Development*, *91*(6), 2083–2102. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.13408

Koro-Ljungberg, M., Bussing, R., Williamson, P., & M'Cormack-Hale, F. (2008). Reflecting on the Experience Sampling Method in the Qualitative Research Context: Focus on Knowledge Production and Power during the Data-Collection Process. *Field Methods*, *20*(4), 338–355. https://doi.org/10.1177/1525822X08320201

Kraft, J. C. (2014, April 16). *Hacking Traditional College Debate's White-Privilege Problem*. The Atlantic. https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2014/04/traditional-college-debate-white-privilege/360746/

Ladson-Billings, G. J. (1995). Toward a theory of culturally relevant pedagogy. *American Educational Research Journal*, *32*(3), 465–491. https://doi.org/10.3102/00028312032003465

Ladson-Billings, G. J., & Brown, K. (2008). Curriculum and cultural diversity. In F. Connelly, M. He, & J. Phillion (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Curriculum and Instruction* (pp. 153–175). SAGE Publications, Inc. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412976572

Lareau, A., & Horvat, E. M. (1999). Moments of Social Inclusion and Exclusion Race, Class, and Cultural Capital in Family-School Relationships. *Sociology of Education*, *72*(1), 37. https://doi.org/10.2307/2673185

Lee, L. C. (2010). *The organizational configurations of schools* [University of Chicago]. http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&rft_val_fmt=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:dissertation&res_dat=xri:pqdiss&rft_dat=xri:pqdiss:3432748

Lee, V. E., Smerdon, B. A., Alfeld-Liro, C., & Brown, S. L. (2000). Inside Large and Small High Schools: Curriculum and Social Relations. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, *22*(2), 147–171. https://doi.org/10.3102/01623737022002147

Leithwood, K. (2021). A Review of Evidence about Equitable School Leadership. *Education Sciences*, *11*(8), 377. https://doi.org/10.3390/educsci11080377

Leithwood, K., & Jantzi, D. (2009). A Review of Empirical Evidence About School Size Effects: A Policy Perspective. *Review of Educational Research*, *79*(1), 464–490. https://doi.org/10.3102/0034654308326158

Lewis, A. E., & Diamond, J. B. (2015). *Despite the best intentions: How racial inequality thrives in good schools*. Oxford University Press.

Lewis, A. E., Diamond, J. B., & Forman, T. A. (2015). Conundrums of Integration: Desegregation in the Context of Racialized Hierarchy. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, *1*(1), 22–36. https://doi.org/10.1177/2332649214558687

Libbey, H. P. (2004). Measuring Student Relationships to School: Attachment, Bonding, Connectedness, and Engagement. *Journal of School Health*, *74*(7), 274–283. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1746-1561.2004.tb08284.x

Lyons, J. E., & Chesley, J. (2004). Fifty Years after Brown: The Benefits and Tradeoffs for African American Educators and Students. *The Journal of Negro Education*, *73*(3), 298. https://doi.org/10.2307/4129613

Mahecha, J., & Hanson, T. (2020). *Measurement Structure of the California School Climate, Health, and Learning Surveys* (p. 134). WestEd. https://calschls.org/docs/measurementstructurecalschls_final.pdf

Mahoney, J., Goertz, G., & Ragin, C. C. (2013). Causal Models and Counterfactuals. In S. L. Morgan (Ed.), *Handbook of Causal Analysis for Social Research* (pp. 75–90). Springer Netherlands. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-6094-3_5

Maitlis, S. (2009). Who am I now? Sensemaking and identity in posttraumatic growth. In L. M. Roberts & J. E. Dutton (Eds.), *Exploring Positive Identities and Organizations: Building a Theoretical and Research Foundation* (pp. 47–76). Psychology Press. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203879245

Markus, H. R., & Nurius, P. (1986). Possible selves. *American Psychologist*, *41*(9), 954–969. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.41.9.954

Martin, J. (2002). *Organizational Culture: Mapping the Terrain*. SAGE Publications, Inc. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781483328478

Marx, A. (2006). *Towards a more robust model specification in QCA: Results from a methodological experiment* [COMPASSS – Working Paper]. http://www.compasss.org/wpseries/Marx2006.pdf

Maurizi, L. K., Ceballo, R., Epstein-Ngo, Q., & Cortina, K. S. (2013). Does neighborhood belonging matter? Examining school and neighborhood belonging as protective factors for Latino adolescents. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, *83*(2–3), 323–334. https://doi.org/10.1111/ajop.12017

McGrady, P. B., & Reynolds, J. R. (2013). Racial Mismatch in the Classroom: Beyond Black-white Differences. *Sociology of Education*, *86*(1), 3–17. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038040712444857

McLaughlin, M. W., Irby, M. A., & Langman, J. (2001). *Urban sanctuaries: Neighborhood organizations in the lives and futures of inner-city youth*. Jossey-Bass.

Medina, M. A., Rivas-Drake, D., Jagers, R. J., & Rowley, S. J. (2020). Friends matter: Ethnic-racial identity and school adjustment among African American and Latino early adolescents. *Applied Developmental Science*, *24*(4), 376–391. https://doi.org/10.1080/10888691.2018.1524712

Mehta, J., & Fine, S. (2015). Bringing values back in: How purposes shape practices in coherent school designs. *Journal of Educational Change*, *16*(4), 483–510. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-015-9263-3

Mezuk, B. (2009). Urban Debate and High School Educational Outcomes for African American Males: The Case of the Chicago Debate League. *The Journal of Negro Education*, *78*(3), 290–304.

Mickelson, R. A. (2014). The Problem of the Color Lines in Twenty-first-century Sociology of Education: Researching and Theorizing Demographic Change, Segregation, and School Outcomes. *Social Currents*, *1*(2), 157–165. https://doi.org/10.1177/2329496514524544

Mickelson, R. A. (2015). The Cumulative Disadvantages of First- and Second-Generation Segregation for Middle School Achievement. *American Educational Research Journal*, *52*(4), 657–692. https://doi.org/10.3102/0002831215587933

Mickelson, R. A., & Nkomo, M. (2012). Integrated Schooling, Life Course Outcomes, and Social Cohesion in Multiethnic Democratic Societies. *Review of Research in Education*, *36*(1), 197–238. https://doi.org/10.3102/0091732X11422667

Mikulyuk, A. B., & Braddock, J. H. (2018). K-12 School Diversity and Social Cohesion: Evidence in Support of a Compelling State Interest. *Education and Urban Society*, *50*(1), 5–37. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013124516678045

Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, J. (2014). *Qualitative data analysis: A methods sourcebook* (Third edition). SAGE Publications, Inc.

Mirra, N., & Debate Liberation League. (2020). Without borders: Youth debaters reimagining the nature and purpose of public dialogue. *English Teaching: Practice & Critique*, *19*(3), 253–267. https://doi.org/10.1108/ETPC-07-2019-0102

Montoro, J. P., Kilday, J. E., Rivas-Drake, D., Ryan, A. M., & Umaña-Taylor, A. J. (2021). Coping with Discrimination from Peers and Adults: Implications for Adolescents' School Belonging. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *50*(1), 126–143. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-020-01360-5

Moody, J. (2001). Race, school integration, and friendship segregation in America. *American Journal of Sociology*, *107*(3), 679–716. https://doi.org/10.1086/338954

Morales-Chicas, J., & Graham, S. (2017). Latinos' Changing Ethnic Group Representation From Elementary to Middle School: Perceived Belonging and Academic Achievement. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *27*(3), 537–549. https://doi.org/10.1111/jora.12292

Murphy, J., & Torre, D. (2015). Vision: Essential scaffolding. *Educational Management Administration & Leadership*, *43*(2), 177–197. https://doi.org/10.1177/1741143214523017

Nasir, N. S., & Cooks, J. (2009). Becoming a Hurdler: How Learning Settings Afford Identities. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, *40*(1), 41–61. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1492.2009.01027.x

Nasir, N. S., & Hand, V. (2008). From the Court to the Classroom: Opportunities for Engagement, Learning, and Identity in Basketball and Classroom Mathematics. *Journal of the Learning Sciences*, *17*(2), 143–179. https://doi.org/10.1080/10508400801986108

Nasir, N. S., & Hand, V. M. (2006). Exploring Sociocultural Perspectives on Race, Culture, and Learning. *Review of Educational Research*, *76*(4), 449–475. https://doi.org/10.3102/00346543076004449

Nasir, N. S., McLaughlin, M. W., & Jones, A. (2009). What Does It Mean to Be African American? Constructions of Race and Academic Identity in an Urban Public High School. *American Educational Research Journal*, *46*(1), 73–114. https://doi.org/10.3102/0002831208323279

National Association of Urban Debate Leagues. (2019, July 11). *What We Do*. https://urbandebate.org/what-we-do/

Newmann, F. M., Smith, B., Allensworth, E., & Bryk, A. S. (2001). Instructional Program Coherence: What It Is and Why It Should Guide School Improvement Policy. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, *23*(4), 297–321. https://doi.org/10.3102/01623737023004297

Ngo, B., & Lee, S. J. (2007). Complicating the Image of Model Minority Success: A Review of Southeast Asian American Education. *Review of Educational Research*, *77*(4), 415–453. https://doi.org/10.3102/0034654307309918

Nkomo, S. M. (1992). The Emperor Has No Clothes: Rewriting "Race in Organizations." *The Academy of Management Review*, *17*(3), 487. https://doi.org/10.2307/258720

Oakes, J. (1995). Two cities' tracking and within-school segregation. *Teachers College Record*, *96*(4), 681–690.

Oakes, J. (2005). *Keeping track: How schools structure inequality* (2. ed). Yale Univ. Press.

O'Connor, C., Mueller, J., Lewis, R. L., Rivas-Drake, D., & Rosenberg, S. (2011). "Being" Black and Strategizing for Excellence in a Racially Stratified Academic Hierarchy. *American Educational Research Journal*, *48*(6), 1232–1257. https://doi.org/10.3102/0002831211410303

Ogbonna, E. (2019). The uneasy alliance of organisational culture and equal opportunities for ethnic minority groups: A British example. *Human Resource Management Journal*, *29*(3), 309–327. https://doi.org/10.1111/1748-8583.12227

Oliver, J. (Director). (2016, October 30). School segregation (28). In *Last Week Tonight with John Oliver*. HBO. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o8yiYCHMAlM

Orfield, G., Frankenberg, E., & Garces, L. M. (2008). Statement of American Social Scientists of Research on School Desegregation to the U.S. Supreme Court in Parents v. Seattle School District and Meredith v. Jefferson County. *The Urban Review*, *40*(1), 96–136. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11256-007-0073-7

Orfield, G., Kucsera, J., & Siegel-Hawley, G. (2012). *E pluribus...separation*. Civil Rights Project. https://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/integration-and-diversity/mlk-national/e-pluribus...separation-deepening-double-segregation-for-more-students/orfield_epluribus_revised_omplete_2012.pdf

Orfield, G., & Lee, C. (2007). *Historic reversals, accelerating resegregation, and the need for new integration strategies*. Civil Rights Project/Proyecto Derechos Civiles, UCLA. https://www.civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/integration-and-diversity/historic-reversals-accelerating-resegregation-and-the-need-for-new-integration-strategies-1/orfield-historic-reversals-accelerating.pdf

Osterman, K. F. (2000). Students' need for belonging in the school community. *Review of Educational Research*, *70*(3), 323–367. https://doi.org/10.3102/00346543070003323

Owens, J. (2022). Double Jeopardy: Teacher Biases, Racialized Organizations, and the Production of Racial/Ethnic Disparities in School Discipline. *American Sociological Review*, *87*(6), 1007–1048. https://doi.org/10.1177/00031224221135810

Oyserman, D. (2008). Racial-ethnic self-schemas: Multidimensional identity-based motivation. *Journal of Research in Personality*, *42*(5), 1186–1198. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrp.2008.03.003

Oyserman, D., Bybee, D., & Terry, K. (2006). Possible selves and academic outcomes: How and when possible selves impel action. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *91*(1), 188–204. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.91.1.188

Oyserman, D., & Destin, M. (2010). Identity-based motivation: Implications for intervention. *The Counseling Psychologist*, *38*(7), 1001–1043. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000010374775

Oyserman, D., Harrison, K., & Bybee, D. (2001). Can racial identity be promotive of academic efficacy? *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, *25*(4), 379–385. https://doi.org/10.1080/01650250042000401

Oyserman, D., & Lewis, N. A. (2017). Seeing the destination AND the path: Using identity-based motivation to understand and reduce racial disparities in academic achievement. *Social Issues and Policy Review*, *11*(1), 159–194. https://doi.org/10.1111/sipr.12030

Parris, L., Neves, J. R., & La Salle, T. (2018). School climate perceptions of ethnically diverse students: Does school diversity matter? *School Psychology International*, *39*(6), 625–645. https://doi.org/10.1177/0143034318798419

Pendharkar, E. (2022, January 27). Efforts to Ban Critical Race Theory Could Restrict Teaching for a Third of America's Kids. *Education Week*. https://www.edweek.org/leadership/efforts-to-ban-critical-race-theory-now-restrict-teaching-for-a-third-of-americas-kids/2022/01

Pettigrew, T. F. (1998). Intergroup contact theory. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *49*(1), 65–85. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.49.1.65

Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *90*(5), 751–783. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.90.5.751

Phinney, J. S., & Ong, A. D. (2007). Conceptualization and measurement of ethnic identity: Current status and future directions. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *54*(3), 271–281. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.54.3.271

Phinney, J. S., & Tarver, S. (1988). Ethnic identity search and commitment in Black and White eighth graders. *The Journal of Early Adolescence*, *8*(3), 265–277. https://doi.org/10.1177/0272431688083004

Piaget, J. (1983). Piaget's theory. In W. Kessen (Ed.), *Handbook of Child Psychology: Vol 1. History, Theory, and Methods* (pp. 103–128). Wiley.

Pinkard, N., Erete, S., Martin, C. K., & McKinney de Royston, M. (2017). Digital Youth Divas: Exploring Narrative-Driven Curriculum to Spark Middle School Girls' Interest in Computational Activities.

Journal of the Learning Sciences, *26*(3), 477–516. https://doi.org/10.1080/10508406.2017.1307199

Ragin, C. C. (1999). Using qualitative comparative analysis to study causal complexity. *Health Services Research*, *34*(5 Pt 2), 1225–1239.

Ragin, C. C. (2000). *Fuzzy-set social science*. University of Chicago Press.

Ragin, C. C. (2008). *Redesigning social inquiry: Fuzzy sets and beyond*. University of Chicago Press.

Ragin, C. C., & Amoroso, L. M. (2011). *Constructing social research: The unity and diversity of method* (2nd ed). SAGE Publications.

Ray, V. (2019). A Theory of Racialized Organizations. *American Sociological Review*, *84*(1), 26–53. https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122418822335

Reardon, S. F., Kalogrides, D., & Shores, K. (2019). The Geography of Racial/Ethnic Test Score Gaps. *American Journal of Sociology*, *124*(4), 1164–1221. https://doi.org/10.1086/700678

Reardon, S. F., Weathers, E., Fahle, E., Jang, H., & Kalogrides, D. (2019). *Is separate still unequal? New evidence on school segregation and racial academic achievement gaps* (19–06; CEPA Working Paper). Center for Education Policy Analysis. https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED600999.pdf

Reardon, S. F., Yun, J. T., & Kurlaender, M. (2006). Implications of Income-Based School Assignment Policies for Racial School Segregation. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, *28*(1), 49–75. https://doi.org/10.3102/01623737028001049

Reber, S. J. (2010). School Desegregation and Educational Attainment for Blacks. *Journal of Human Resources*, *45*(4), 893–914. https://doi.org/10.3368/jhr.45.4.893

Reid-Brinkley, S. R. (2012). Ghetto Kids Gone Good: Race, Representation, and Authority in the Scripting of Inner-City Youths in the Urban Debate League. *Argumentation and Advocacy*, *49*(2), 77–99. https://doi.org/10.1080/00028533.2012.11821781

Reid-Brinkley, S. R. (2019). Voice dipped in Black: The Louisville project and the birth of Black radical argument in college policy debate. In N. Eidsheim & K. Meizel (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Voice Studies* (pp. 215–236). Oxford University Press.

Resnick, M. D., Bearman, P. S., Blum, R. W., Bauman, K. E., Harris, K. M., Jones, J., Tabor, J., Beuhring, T., & Sieving, R. E. (1997). Protecting Adolescents From Harm: Findings From the National Longitudinal Study on Adolescent Health. *JAMA*, *278*(10), 823. https://doi.org/10.1001/jama.1997.03550100049038

Rihoux, B., & Lobe, B. (2009). The case for Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA): Adding leverage for thick cross-case comparison. In D. Byrne & C. C. Ragin (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Case-Based Methods* (pp. 222–242). SAGE.

Rivas-Drake, D. (2011). Public Ethnic Regard and Academic Adjustment Among Latino Adolescents: *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *21*(3), 537–544. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-7795.2010.00700.x

Rivas-Drake, D., Hughes, D., & Way, N. (2008). A Closer Look at Peer Discrimination, Ethnic Identity, and Psychological Well-being Among Urban Chinese American Sixth Graders. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *37*(1), 12–21. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-007-9227-x

Rivas-Drake, D., Hughes, D., & Way, N. (2009). A Preliminary Analysis of Associations Among Ethnic-Racial Socialization, Ethnic Discrimination, and Ethnic Identity Among Urban Sixth Graders. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *19*(3), 558–584. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-7795.2009.00607.x

Rivas-Drake, D., Seaton, E. K., Markstrom, C., Quintana, S., Syed, M., Lee, R. M., Schwartz, S. J., Umaña-Taylor, A. J., French, S., Yip, T., & Ethnic and Racial Identity in the 21st Century Study Group. (2014). Ethnic and racial identity in adolescence: Implications for psychosocial, academic, and health outcomes. *Child Development*, *85*(1), 40–57. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12200

Roberts, L. M., Dutton, J. E., Spreitzer, G. M., Heaphy, E. D., & Quinn, R. E. (2005). Composing The Reflected Best-Self Portrait: Building Pathways For Becoming Extraordinary In Work Organizations. *Academy of Management Review*, *30*(4), 712–736. https://doi.org/10.5465/amr.2005.18378874

Rogers, L. O. (2018). Who Am I, Who Are We? Erikson and a Transactional Approach to Identity Research. *Identity*, *18*(4), 284–294. https://doi.org/10.1080/15283488.2018.1523728

Rogers, L. O. (2020). "I'm Kind of a Feminist": Using Master Narratives to Analyze Gender Identity in Middle Childhood. *Child Development*, *91*(1), 179–196. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.13142

Rogers, L. O., Kiang, L., White, L., Calzada, E. J., Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Byrd, C., Williams, C. D., Marks, A., & Whitesell, N. (2020). Persistent concerns: Questions for research on ethnic-racial identity development. *Research in Human Development*, *17*(2–3), 130–153. https://doi.org/10.1080/15427609.2020.1831881

Rogers, L. O., Niwa, E. Y., Chung, K., Yip, T., & Chae, D. (2021). M(ai)cro: Centering the Macrosystem in Human Development. *Human Development*, *65*(5–6), 270–292. https://doi.org/10.1159/000519630

Rogers, L. O., Versey, H. S., & Cielto, J. (2022). "They're always gonna notice my natural hair": Identity, intersectionality and resistance among Black girls. *Qualitative Psychology*, *9*(3), 211–231. https://doi.org/10.1037/qup0000208

Rogers, L. O., & Way, N. (2015). Using semistructured interviews to examine adolescent racial-ethnic identity development. In C. E. Santos & A. J. Umaña-Taylor (Eds.), *Studying ethnic identity: Methodological and conceptual approaches across disciplines.* (pp. 149–175). American Psychological Association. https://doi.org/10.1037/14618-007

Rogers, L. O., & Way, N. (2016). “I have goals to prove all those people wrong and not fit Into any one of those boxes”: Paths of resistance to stereotypes among Black adolescent males. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, *31*(3), 263–298. https://doi.org/10.1177/0743558415600071

Rosenbloom, S. R., & Way, N. (2004). Experiences of Discrimination among African American, Asian American, and Latino Adolescents in an Urban High School. *Youth & Society*, *35*(4), 420–451. https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118X03261479

Saatcioglu, A., & Skrtic, T. M. (2019). Categorization by Organizations: Manipulation of Disability Categories in a Racially Desegregated School District. *American Journal of Sociology*, *125*(1), 184–260. https://doi.org/10.1086/703957

Sánchez, B., Anderson, A. J., Weiston-Serdan, T., & Catlett, B. S. (2021). Anti-Racism Education and Training for Adult Mentors Who Work With BIPOC Adolescents. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, *36*(6), 686–716. https://doi.org/10.1177/07435584211043288

Sannino, A., & Engeström, Y. (2018). Cultural-historical activity theory: Founding insights and new challenges. *Cultural-Historical Psychology*, *14*(3), 43–56. https://doi.org/10.17759/chp.2018140304

Santos, C. E., Kornienko, O., & Rivas-Drake, D. (2017). Peer Influence on Ethnic-Racial Identity Development: A Multi-Site Investigation. *Child Development*, *88*(3), 725–742. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12789

Santos, C. E., & VanDaalen, R. A. (2016). The associations of sexual and ethnic–racial identity commitment, conflicts in allegiances, and mental health among lesbian, gay, and bisexual racial and ethnic minority adults. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *63*(6), 668–676. https://doi.org/10.1037/cou0000170

Savitz, R. S., Cridland-Hughes, S., & Gazioglu, M. (2021). Debate as a tool to develop disciplinary practices and student agency. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *102*, 103341. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2021.103341

Schaefer, D. R., Simpkins, S. D., Vest, A. E., & Price, C. D. (2011). The contribution of extracurricular activities to adolescent friendships: New insights through social network analysis. *Developmental Psychology*, *47*(4), 1141–1152. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0024091

Schein, E. H. (1996). Culture: The Missing Concept in Organization Studies. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *41*(2), 229–241. https://doi.org/10.2307/2393715

Schein, E. H. (2004). *Organizational culture and leadership* (3rd ed). Jossey-Bass.

Sciullo, N. J. (2018). Competing interpretations and reasonability in topicality debates: An argument for ground and education. *The Forensic of Pi Kappa Delta*, *103*(2), 15–26.

Seals, D. (2018). Toward a Resolution for Teacher-Student Conflict: Crafting Spaces of Rigorous Freedom with Classroom Debate. In D. W. Kritt (Ed.), *Constructivist Education in an Age of Accountability* (pp. 211–230). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-66050-9_11

Seaton, E. K., & Douglass, S. (2014). School diversity and racial discrimination among African-American adolescents. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *20*(2), 156–165. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0035322

Sebastian, J., Allensworth, E., & Stephens, D. (2014). The influence of school leadership on classroom participation: Examining configurations of organizational supports. *Teachers College Record*, *116*(8), 1–36. https://doi.org/10.1177/016146811411600806

Sellers, R. M., Copeland-Linder, N., Martin, P. P., & Lewis, R. L. (2006). Racial Identity Matters: The Relationship between Racial Discrimination and Psychological Functioning in African American

Adolescents. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *16*(2), 187–216. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-7795.2006.00128.x

Sellers, R. M., Smith, M. A., Shelton, J. N., Rowley, S. A. J., & Chavous, T. M. (1998). Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity: A Reconceptualization of African American Racial Identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *2*(1), 18–39. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327957pspr0201_2

Shackelford, D. (2019). The BUDL Effect: Examining Academic Achievement and Engagement Outcomes of Preadolescent Baltimore Urban Debate League Participants. *Educational Researcher*, *48*(3), 145–157. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X19830998

Shah, N., & Coles, J. A. (2020). Preparing Teachers to Notice Race in Classrooms: Contextualizing the Competencies of Preservice Teachers With Antiracist Inclinations. *Journal of Teacher Education*, *71*(5), 584–599. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022487119900204

Siegel-Hawley, G. (2020). *A single garment: Creating intentionally diverse schools that benefit all children*. Harvard Education Press.

Siegel-Hawley, G., Frankenberg, E., McDermott, K., McCollum, S., DeBray, E., & Scott, J. (2023). Small advances and swift retreat: Race-conscious educational policy in the Obama and Trump administrations. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, *31*. https://doi.org/10.14507/epaa.31.7536

Simpkins, S. D., & Riggs, N. R. (2014). Cultural competence in afterschool programs. *New Directions for Youth Development*, *2014*(144), 105–117. https://doi.org/10.1002/yd.20116

Sonenshein, S., Dutton, J. E., Grant, A. M., Spreitzer, G. M., & Sutcliffe, K. M. (2013). Growing at Work: Employees' Interpretations of Progressive Self-Change in Organizations. *Organization Science*, *24*(2), 552–570. https://doi.org/10.1287/orsc.1120.0749

Spillane, J. P., Gomez, L. M., & Mesler, L. (2009). Notes on reframing the role of the organization in policy implementation: Resources for practice, in practice. In G. Sykes, B. Schneider, & D. N. Plank (Eds.), *Handbook of Education Policy Research* (pp. 409–425). Routledge.

Steele, C. (2011). *Whistling Vivaldi: How stereotypes affect us and what we can do* (1. publ. as a Norton paperback). Norton.

Swidler, A. (1986). Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies. *American Sociological Review*, *51*(2), 273. https://doi.org/10.2307/2095521

Syed, M., & Azmitia, M. (2008). A narrative approach to ethnic identity in emerging adulthood: Bringing life to the identity status model. *Developmental Psychology*, *44*(4), 1012–1027. https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.44.4.1012

Syed, M., Juang, L. P., & Svensson, Y. (2018). Toward a New Understanding of Ethnic-Racial Settings for Ethnic-Racial Identity Development. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *28*(2), 262–276. https://doi.org/10.1111/jora.12387

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (pp. 33–47). Brooks/Cole.

Tatum, B. D. (1999). *"Why are all the Black kids sitting together in the cafeteria?" and other conversations about race*. BasicBooks.

Townsend, B. L. (2000). The disproportionate discipline of African American learners: Reducing school suspensions and expulsions. *Exceptional Children*, *66*(3), 381–391. https://doi.org/10.1177/001440290006600308

Trujillo, T. M., & Woulfin, S. L. (2014). Equity-Oriented Reform Amid Standards-Based Accountability: A Qualitative Comparative Analysis of an Intermediary's Instructional Practices. *American Educational Research Journal*, *51*(2), 253–293. https://doi.org/10.3102/0002831214527335

Turner, E. O. (2020). *Suddenly Diverse: How School Districts Manage Race and Inequality*. The University of Chicago Press.

Turner, R. N., Hewstone, M., & Voci, A. (2007). Reducing explicit and implicit outgroup prejudice via direct and extended contact: The mediating role of self-disclosure and intergroup anxiety.

Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, *93*(3), 369–388. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.93.3.369

Tyson, K. (2003). Notes from the Back of the Room: Problems and Paradoxes in the Schooling of Young Black Students. *Sociology of Education*, *76*(4), 326. https://doi.org/10.2307/1519869

Tyson, K. (2011). *Integration interrupted: Tracking, black students, and acting White after Brown*. Oxford University Press.

Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Quintana, S. M., Lee, R. M., Cross, W. E., Rivas-Drake, D., Schwartz, S. J., Syed, M., Yip, T., Seaton, E., & Ethnic and Racial Identity in the 21st Century Study Group. (2014). Ethnic and Racial Identity during adolescence and into young adulthood: An integrated conceptualization. *Child Development*, *85*(1), 21–39. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12196

Van Ausdale, D., & Feagin, J. R. (2001). *The first R: How children learn race and racism*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Verkuyten, M. (2016). Further Conceptualizing Ethnic and Racial Identity Research: The Social Identity Approach and Its Dynamic Model. *Child Development*, *87*(6), 1796–1812.

Walker, V. S. (2009). Second-Class Integration: A Historical Perspective for a Contemporary Agenda. *Harvard Educational Review*, *79*(2), 269–284. https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.79.2.b1637p4u4093484m

Walsemann, K. M., Bell, B. A., & Maitra, D. (2011). The intersection of school racial composition and student race/ethnicity on adolescent depressive and somatic symptoms. *Social Science & Medicine*, *72*(11), 1873–1883. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2011.03.033

Walton, G. M., & Brady, S. T. (2018). The many questions of belonging. In A. J. Elliot, C. S. Dweck, & D. S. Yeager (Eds.), *Handbook of Competence and Motivation, Second Edition: Theory and Application* (pp. 272–293). Guilford Publications.

Wang, Y., Douglass, S., & Yip, T. (2017). Longitudinal relations between ethnic/racial identity process and content: Exploration, commitment, and salience among diverse adolescents. *Developmental Psychology*, *53*(11), 2154–2169. https://doi.org/10.1037/dev0000388

Watkins-Hayes, C. (2011). Race, Respect, and Red Tape: Inside the Black Box of Racially Representative Bureaucracies. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, *21*(Supplement 2), i233–i251. https://doi.org/10.1093/jopart/muq096

Way, N., Santos, C., Niwa, E. Y., & Kim-Gervey, C. (2008). To be or not to be: An exploration of ethnic identity development in context. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development*, *2008*(120), 61–79. https://doi.org/10.1002/cd.216

Weick, K. E. (1995). *Sensemaking in organizations*. Sage Publications.

Weick, K. E., Sutcliffe, K. M., & Obstfeld, D. (1999). Organizing for high reliability: Processes of collective mindfulness. In R. E. Sutton & B. M. Staw (Eds.), *Research in organizational behavior* (Vol. 21, pp. 81–123). Elseview Science.

Weick, K. E., Sutcliffe, K. M., & Obstfeld, D. (2005). Organizing and the Process of Sensemaking. *Organization Science*, *16*(4), 409–421. https://doi.org/10.1287/orsc.1050.0133

Wells, A. S., Fox, L., & Cordova-Cobo, D. (2016). *How racially diverse schools and classrooms can benefit all students*. https://s3-us-west-2.amazonaws.com/production.tcf.org/app/uploads/2016/02/09142501/HowRaciallyDiverse_AmyStuartWells-11.pdf

Wells, A. S., & Serna, I. (1996). The politics of culture: Understanding local political resistance to detracking in racially mixed schools. *Harvard Educational Review*, *66*(1), 93–119. https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.66.1.274848214743t373

Welton, A. D. (2013). Even more racially isolated than before: Problematizing the vision for “diversity” in a racially mixed high school. *Teachers College Record*, *115*(11), 1–42.

Williams, C. D., Byrd, C. M., Quintana, S. M., Anicama, C., Kiang, L., Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Calzada, E. J., Pabón Gautier, M., Ejesi, K., Tuitt, N. R., Martinez-Fuentes, S., White, L., Marks, A., Rogers, L. O., & Whitesell, N. (2020). A Lifespan Model of Ethnic-Racial Identity. *Research in Human Development*, *17*(2–3), 99–129. https://doi.org/10.1080/15427609.2020.1831882

Wilson, T., & Rodkin, P. C. (2011). African American and European American Children in Diverse Elementary Classrooms: Social Integration, Social Status, and Social Behavior: Social Integration, Social Status, Social Behavior. *Child Development*, *82*(5), 1454–1469. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2011.01634.x

Wingfield, A. H., & Alston, R. S. (2014). Maintaining Hierarchies in Predominantly White Organizations: A Theory of Racial Tasks. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *58*(2), 274–287. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764213503329

Wooten, M. E., & Branch, E. H. (2012). Defining Appropriate Labor: Race, Gender, and Idealization of Black Women in Domestic Service. *Race, Gender & Class*, *19*(3/4), 292–308.

Wooten, M. E., & Couloute, L. (2017). The production of racial inequality within and among organizations: Organizational Inequality. *Sociology Compass*, *11*(1), e12446. https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12446

X, M. (1964). Malcolm X on School Integration, 1964. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, *12*(1–2), 18–18. https://doi.org/10.1080/0020486740120103

Yip, T. (2005). Sources of Situational Variation in Ethnic Identity and Psychological Well-Being: A Palm Pilot Study of Chinese American Students. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *31*(12), 1603–1616. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167205277094

Yip, T., Cheon, Y. M., & Wang, Y. (2019). The Diversity Paradox: Opportunities and Challenges of "Contact in Context" Across Development. *Research in Human Development*, *16*(1), 51–75. https://doi.org/10.1080/15427609.2018.1549404

Yip, T., Douglass, S., & Shelton, J. N. (2013). Daily Intragroup Contact in Diverse Settings: Implications for Asian Adolescents' Ethnic Identity. *Child Development*, *84*(4), 1425–1441. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12038

Yip, T., Seaton, E. K., & Sellers, R. M. (2010). Interracial and Intraracial Contact, School-Level Diversity, and Change in Racial Identity Status Among African American Adolescents: Contact, Diversity, and Racial Identity Among African American Adolescents. *Child Development*, *81*(5), 1431–1444. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2010.01483.x

Yip, T., Wang, Y., Mootoo, C., & Mirpuri, S. (2019). Moderating the association between discrimination and adjustment: A meta-analysis of ethnic/racial identity. *Developmental Psychology*, *55*(6), 1274–1298. https://doi.org/10.1037/dev0000708

Appendix A

Student and staff survey items measuring sense of belonging

Scale	Survey items	Response options
Student Sense of Belonging	1. I feel close to people at this school. 2. I am happy to be at this school. 3. I feel like I am part of this school. 4. The teachers at this school treat students fairly.	Strongly Agree, Agree, Neither Agree nor disagree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree

Appendix B

Descriptives of analysis variables

	Mean	Min.	1st Qu.	Median	3rd Qu.	Max.	N
Belonging							
Asian belonging	54.45	38.00	50.50	54.50	58.00	83.00	22
Black belonging	50.73	29.00	45.25	50.00	57.50	74.00	22
Latinx belonging	57.66	41.00	54.00	56.00	61.00	74.00	29
White belonging	59.74	44.00	54.50	57.00	70.00	76.00	19
Same-race representation							
Asian enrollment	30.45%	1.72%	10.68%	28.16%	48.48%	65.36%	30
Black enrollment	9.92%	0.34%	4.54%	8.28%	11.71%	37.17%	30
Latinx enrollment	34.21%	7.74%	16.63%	32.24%	51.03%	73.06%	30
White enrollment	11.00%	0.89%	3.80%	9.32%	15.34%	38.99%	30
Enrollment of largest group	50.08%	34.89%	39.96%	50.59%	55.91%	73.06%	30
Asian administrators	9.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	23.75%	50.00%	30
Black administrators	10.39%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	15.00%	50.00%	30
Latinx administrators	10.67%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	23.75%	50.00%	30
White administrators	44.11%	0.00%	6.25%	45.00%	66.67%	100.00%	30
Asian staff	14.76%	0.00%	10.06%	14.82%	19.32%	27.03%	30
Black staff	6.77%	0.00%	0.47%	5.61%	9.98%	22.22%	30
Latinx staff	13.39%	0.00%	7.27%	13.55%	18.30%	33.33%	30
White staff	47.00%	16.67%	40.84%	47.87%	52.90%	67.57%	30
Latinx neighborhood	12.97%	3.30%	7.70%	8.60%	15.88%	40.80%	30
Asian neighborhood	36.06%	7.60%	19.80%	30.65%	50.90%	74.00%	30
Black neighborhood	5.40%	0.20%	1.38%	2.65%	7.53%	22.50%	30
White neighborhood	45.69%	5.50%	28.18%	47.15%	66.20%	83.70%	30
School organization							
Equity-focused organization	0.41	0.00	0.00	0.33	0.66	1.00	30
School size	842.60	165	394	694	1084	2774	30
Asian suspension rate	0.71%	0.00%	0.00%	0.40%	0.85%	5.10%	27
Black suspensions rate	14.33%	0.00%	4.40%	13.10%	22.20%	59.10%	29
Latinx suspensions rate	4.86%	0.00%	2.15%	5.60%	6.70%	12.20%	30
White suspensions rate	2.22%	0.00%	0.65%	1.50%	2.68%	15.40%	26

Appendix C1.

Truth Table for High Latinx Sense of Belonging

Row	High Latinx Enrollment	High Tract Representation	Small School	Equity-Focused Org	Number of Schools	Consistency
1)	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**4**	**0.911024**
2)	1	1	1	1	1	0.852973
3)	**1**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**4**	**0.833716**
4)	0	1	1	0	1	0.80607
5)	1	0	0	1	1	0.790199
6)	0	0	0	1	2	0.770933
7)	0	0	1	0	3	0.732602
8)	1	1	1	0	6	0.701161
9)	0	1	0	1	1	0.660749
10)	1	1	0	0	2	0.648957
11)	0	0	0	0	3	0.614782
12)	0	1	1	1	1	0.610042

Note: italicized rows are coded as members of the outcome.

Appendix C2.

Truth table for low Latinx sense of belonging

Row	High Latinx Enrollment	Proportionate Latinx Suspensions	Small School	Equity-focused Organization	Number of Cases	Consistency
1)	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0.879716**
2)	0	1	0	1	1	0.852003
3)	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**0.791191**
4)	0	0	1	1	1	0.790968
5)	0	0	0	0	3	0.773151
6)	1	1	0	1	1	0.725236
7)	0	0	1	0	4	0.696984
8)	1	1	1	0	6	0.585413
9)	1	0	1	1	3	0.579502
10)	1	0	1	0	4	0.57272
11)	1	1	1	1	2	0.545977

Note: italicized rows are coded as members of the outcome.

Appendix D.

Truth table for low Black sense of belonging

Row	No Majority Group	Equity-focused Org	Proportionate Black suspensions	Black administrators	Number of schools	Consistency
1)	1	0	0	1	1	0.956911
2)	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**0.864455**
3)	1	1	0	1	1	0.854359
4)	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**6**	**0.820444**
5)	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**0.79739**
6)	0	1	0	1	1	0.768878
7)	1	1	0	0	2	0.763035
8)	1	1	1	0	1	0.686663
9)	0	1	0	0	2	0.675329
10)	0	0	1	0	1	0.144859

Note: Bold rows are coded as members of the outcome.

Appendix E.

Truth table for low Asian sense of belonging

Row	High Asian enrollment	High Asian staff	Small School	Equity-Focused Org	Number of Schools	Consistency
1)	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**0.907318**
2)	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**5**	**0.852704**
3)	1	0	1	0	1	0.836352
4)	0	1	1	1	2	0.776783
5)	1	1	1	0	4	0.762609
6)	0	0	1	0	1	0.748401
7)	0	1	1	0	2	0.745675
8)	1	1	0	1	3	0.679743
9)	0	0	0	1	1	0.602149

Note: Bold rows are coded as members of the outcome.

Appendix F1.

Truth Table for White high sense of belonging

Row	No Majority Group	High White Tract	Small School	Equity-focused Organization	Number of Schools	Consistency
1)	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**4**	**0.85174**
2)	**1**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**3**	**0.84678**
3)	0	1	0	1	1	0.806791
4)	1	1	1	0	3	0.75046
5)	0	1	1	1	2	0.711821
6)	0	1	0	0	2	0.692931
7)	1	1	0	0	2	0.68517
8)	1	1	1	1	2	0.605088

Note: Bold rows are coded as members of the outcome.

Appendix F2.

Truth table for low white sense of belonging

Row	No Majority Group	Small School	White administrators	Equity-focused Organization	High White Tract	Number of Schools	Consistency
1)	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**2**	**0.854568**
2)	**1**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**2**	**0.838506**
3)	1	1	1	1	1	2	0.710278
4)	1	1	1	1	0	3	0.57425
5)	0	1	1	1	1	2	0.535673
6)	0	1	1	1	0	4	0.532625
7)	1	0	1	1	1	2	0.506842
8)	0	0	0	1	1	1	0.417763
9)	1	0	0	1	1	1	0.375811

Note: Bold rows are coded as members of the outcome.