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Introduction

Ivan Szelenyi

The Yale Journal of Sociology is dedicated to publish the most exemplary work by our undergraduates. In this issue we proudly present three senior theses completed during the 2006-2007 academic year. The first paper is on “Education and AIDS: How HIV and AIDS influence attitudes to education and affect students in poor, urban South African townships” by Janine Morna. She was the recipient of the 2007 Mildred Frank Memorial Prize. The second paper is “Diversity in Classroom and Curriculum? Discourses of Race and Homosexuality in Elm City High School Social Studies Classrooms” by Elizabeth Humphries, and the third one is “Intergenerational mobility by race: can the Black middle class reproduce itself?” by Sarah Ireland. Both Elizabeth Humphrey and Sarah Ireland received “honorable mention” for their excellent work.

The three papers are a testimonial not only of the exceptionally high quality of work of sociology majors at Yale, but they also indicate the methodological and substantive diversity of research conducted in our department by undergraduates, graduates and faculty.

All three papers deal with burning social problems, the questions of AIDS, racism and homophobia. All three papers present counter-intuitive findings, as good research often does. The authors had to substantially modify their initial hypotheses, often found their intuition, guided by the existing literature no matter how sensible it sounded when the design for the research was formulated was not supported by evidence collected and analyzed during the process of the investigation, As the Director of Undergraduate Studies I followed their thesis

research closely, met them bi-weekly over the whole academic year. I witnessed how they struggled to find support for their early theoretical formulations and I admired them that they were prepared to reject theories and respect the data.

Janine Morna took on a particularly challenging project. She spent the summer of 2006 in a poor township outside of Johannesburg, South Africa and interviewed 16 people mainly mothers of HIV infected families in addition to 5 more respondents - her control group – from households without HIV infection. In South Africa HIV prevalence is particularly high, around 30 percent and at her research site - a township where almost all residents are Black and poor - the AIDS situation is arguably even worse. Interviewing people who are dying, or whose family members are incurably ill must have been an emotionally stressful experience.

Janine's purpose was to understand what the attitudes of HIV infected parents were towards the education of their children and how these children actually performed in school. Guided by existing literature and common sense Janine anticipated that HIV infected parents will be particularly concerned about the education of their children, nevertheless, the children are likely not to perform well in school. AIDS will be a financial drain on families. It will limit resources they can use for education. Furthermore children are likely to experience trauma when they learn about their parent's illness and that is likely to negatively affect their grades. The interviews did not support these initial presuppositions. Once a person is diagnosed with AIDS he or she qualifies for government aid and unexpectedly in a poor neighborhood with excessively high levels of unemployment HIV infected families can be financially more stable than other families are. The community, extended family proved to be of substantial assistance

in household chores. So the anticipated resource problem did not really exist. Janine also learned that parents often did not tell their children what their illness is hence the trauma effect was less serious than hypothesized. Janine concluded that HIV infection does not seem to have the anticipated negative affect on educational aspirations and performance.

Elizabeth Humphrey conducted participant observation and carried out in-depth interviews with teachers. To guarantee confidentiality, she did not identify the city, the high school or the two teachers by their real names. Elizabeth was interested in the discourse in class rooms she wanted to find out how much emphasis is given to the question of diversity, especially to the problems of race and sexual identity, in particular lesbian, gay and bi-sexual identity. She participated in American history classes taught by two male teachers, one African-American, the other white - and recorded how often questions related to race and homosexuality were discussed. She anticipated that the question of racial discrimination will receive much greater attention (especially if the teacher is minority), but American history classes will be largely silent about sexual diversity. Her data supported these hypotheses nevertheless she had one rather counter-intuitive finding. While homosexuality was only rarely discussed – no gay or lesbian ever identified him or herself as such in class room discussions – unexpectedly all the discussions of sexual diversity took place in the classes taught by the African-American teacher. Elizabeth warns her readers not to generalize too easily from her findings. After all, he studied only two “cases”, hardly a random sample, but her study certainly laid good groundwork for future research.

Sarah Ireland carried out secondary statistical analysis on the so called Panel Study of Income Dynamics. Her aim was to explore

intergenerational mobility of the Black middle class. The Black middle class grew rapidly since the Civil Rights Legislation. Sarah now wanted to find out how stable this new middle class is, how likely is it that the children of the new Black middle class will remain in the middle class. Previous research produced contradictory findings. Featherman and Hauser used data from the early 1970s and found that reproduction rate is similar across racial groups and predicted a gradual closing of racial class differences. Hout using more recent data found greater downward mobility among Blacks, but also believed that college education eliminates this effect. Davis in the most recent study found greater downward mobility among Blacks irrespective of their level of education. Sarah's research complements in interesting ways these previous studies, carried out by the giants of mobility research. Sarah found that the proportion of Blacks in the lower classes fell sharply and a greater proportion of children of Black middle class stayed middle class than white middle class children (40% versus 34%) do.

Nevertheless the greater reproduction rate of the Black middle class is not necessarily "good news," children of white middle class are much more likely to be upwardly mobile. According to Sarah children of Black middle class stay in the middle class because their upward mobility is rather restricted.

Ivan Szelenyi

Director of Undergraduate Studies

William Graham Sumner Professor of Sociology and

Professor of Political Science

Education and AIDS: How HIV and AIDS Influence Attitudes to Education and Affect Students in Poor, Urban South African Townships

Janine Morna

Acknowledgements

Foremost I would like to thank the volunteers at “Let us Grow” for helping me with all the logistics for my study. Their enthusiasm and commitment to Orange Farm is inspirational. I particularly want to thank Mum Rose and Zanele for their thoughtful insight and careful planning.

I would also like to thank my interviewees who willingly and bravely told their stories. I feel privileged to have learnt about their experiences and hope to share them accurately and respectfully.

My project would be incomplete without the help of my advisors. I am greatly indebted to professor Brückner who graciously and thoughtfully guided me through my research. She was generous with her time and provided invaluable, detailed critique. Dr. Blankenship helped me to frame my initial study, following up with comprehensive notes and ideas. I feel very fortunate to have had someone with her background and experience assisting me. I would also like to thank professor Szelenyi for his endless support, willingness to help and important feedback as well as Mark Bauer for helping me to present my findings clearly and succinctly.

Finally I am indebted to my classmates, who provided astute comments on various drafts of my essay. My family, especially my parents, also played a crucial role in fleshing out my project. Their comments and support, are, as always, much appreciated.

Abstract

This study examines the effect of HIV and AIDS on students and the education sector in South Africa. The goals of my research are two-fold. Firstly I investigate how the virus influences the attitudes of parents to education. Second, I examine how HIV and AIDS affect the enrollment, achievement and performance of students in poor, HIV positive, urban households. I focus on three variables to determine the impact on students: whether the virus affects the child's level of responsibility in the home, whether finances are redistributed away from education to cover HIV and AIDS related costs, and whether the child suffers from psychological distress due to fear of losing his/her parent(s). Former research asserts that these variables distracted students from their schooling. I also examine whether the association between HIV and AIDS and education varies depending on whether the mother, father or child is HIV positive and whether the child is a boy or a girl.

I conducted my research in Orange Farm township located in the outer region of the capital city, Johannesburg. I selected the site because it is hard-hit by the virus and because my interviewees would be among the social and racial group with the highest infection rate.

My findings indicate that government and community mobilization and support for HIV positive households buffer some of the detrimental effects discussed in the literature. Their efforts mitigate the

impact of HIV and AIDS on students and demonstrate the potential power of a strong welfare system.

By comparing the lives of HIV positive and negative interviewees, I conclude that poverty has an equal, if not more, significant impact on a student's school enrollment and academic performance. Using these findings I propose policy recommendations for the government.

1. Introduction

HIV and AIDS is a pandemic sweeping across southern Africa with serious impacts on social and economic development. South Africa has one of the highest prevalence rates in the world. According to data from the 2005 national antenatal clinic survey, approximately 30.2% of pregnant women were HIV positive that year.¹ HIV and AIDS has disrupted family lives and, in many instances, orphaned children. In addition to the suffering at an individual level, many have been concerned with the impact at the societal level. By weakening the country's human capital, it has affected sectors like finance and industry. This essay will examine the impact of the virus on education in South Africa. In a country where the unemployment rate is 25.5%², education is critical to securing stable employment. It is vital to the country's professional work force and thus economic and social development.

Some researchers have already examined the impact of HIV and AIDS on education. They state that the virus causes unstable conditions in

¹ Department of Health South Africa. 2006. *Report National HIV and Syphilis Antenatal Sero-Prevalence in South Africa 2005*. Retrieved March 16th 2007 (<http://www.doh.gov.za/aids/index.html>), P10

² 2006 estimate. "South Africa." *CIA- The World Factbook*. Retrieved March 16th 2007 (<https://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/sf.html>)

the home, resulting in greater responsibilities for children, increased absenteeism, decreased enrollment, adverse psychological effects and a redistribution of income away from education. I initially hoped to expand on this research. I believed I would find that HIV and AIDS have a severe and detrimental effect on the education sector. However, as a result of greater awareness around the virus and more monetary and social support through grants from the government, I have found factors that affect the outcomes predicted in the research. My study shows under which conditions the impact of the virus can be reduced with appropriate policy and support of the families concerned. It demonstrates the efficacy of the welfare state and how strong social programs protect poor youth from HIV and AIDS related shocks and provide them realistic opportunities for social mobility.

Through a number of detailed interviews with HIV affected families and some observational study, I provide greater insight into the way HIV and AIDS affect children's education. Specifically, the goals of my study are two-fold. First I examine whether, and if so how, HIV and AIDS affect parents' attitudes towards their children's education. This is perhaps one of the most important determinants of whether or not children attend school. Second, I examine how the presence of HIV and AIDS within the household affects a child's enrollment and performance at school. To achieve this I focus on three variables: whether the virus affects the child's level of responsibility in the home, whether finances are redistributed away from education to cover HIV and AIDS related costs, and whether the child suffers from anxiety and psychological trauma due to the fear of losing their parents.

I also examine whether the association between HIV and AIDS and education varies depending on whether it is the mother or father who is HIV positive, whether the child is a boy or girl and also, whether he/she is HIV positive.

Using these findings I argue that the government and community have mobilized around the virus, mitigating its impact on students. In some instances, affected families enjoy benefits and services unavailable to other poor South African families. I conclude that ultimately poverty has an equal, if not more, significant impact on children's education.

1.2 Background on HIV and AIDS and Education in South Africa

South Africa's HIV prevalence rate has risen unabated over the last two decades. According to national sentinel surveillance surveys of antenatal clinic attendees, HIV prevalence has increased from less than 1 percent in 1990 to a median of 28 percent in 2002.³ The last recorded median was 30.2% in 2005.⁴ This has had a profound impact on the economy and development. South Africa's working adult population is slowly shrinking, ultimately affecting the country's productivity and growth and placing greater pressure and responsibility on the young and elderly members of society.

Recently the government has attempted to counter the epidemic. Their 2005/6 AIDS budget was R2.6 billion (US\$428 million).⁵ This money was used to continue to the provision of Nevirapine, a treatment that

³"South Africa." *UNAIDS*. Retrieved November 21st 2006 (http://www.unaids.org/en/Regions_Countries/Countries/south_africa.asp)

⁴ Department of Health South Africa. 2006. *Report National HIV and Syphilis Antenatal Sero-Prevalence in South Africa 2005*. Retrieved March 16th 2007 (<http://www.doh.gov.za/aids/index.html>), P10

⁵ "South Africa." *UNAIDS*.

helps prevent the mother-to-child transmission of HIV, and free antiretrovirals. By the end of December 2005, 111 827 people (about 2% of HIV-infected men and women) were receiving free antiretroviral treatment.⁶ The government also offers adults that are HIV positive a temporary disability grant to help assist them when they are too sick to work. The remaining budget has been used to strengthen awareness and prevention programs and improve the quality and delivery of health care services.

Despite the far-reaching effects of the virus, the country has yet to see an overall statistically significant impact on enrollment in educational institutions. The South African Department of Education annually collects data regarding the gross enrollment rate (GER), a term defined as “the number of learners, regardless of age, enrolled in a specific school phase... as a percentage of the total appropriate school-age population. GER is used to show the level of participation in education.”⁷ According to the “Education Statistics in South Africa at a Glance in 2004”, the country had a national GER of 98% for grades 1-12.⁸ This indicates that 98% of the total number of students that were the appropriate age to attend school were enrolled in either primary or secondary school.

My study takes place in Gauteng province, South Africa’s business and industrial capital. It is a predominantly urban setting and has one of the highest prevalence rates in the country. The ease with which I identified

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ South Africa Department of Education. December 2005. *Education Statistics in South Africa at a Glance 2004*. Retrieved November 21st 2006 (<http://www.education.gov.za/emis/emisweb/o4stats/DoE%20Stat%20at%20a%20Glance%202004%20for%20web.pdf>), P6

⁸ South Africa Department of Education. December 2005. *Education Statistics in South Africa at a Glance 2004*, P7

HIV organizations and HIV positive interviewees made Gauteng an ideal location for data collection.

In 2004 the total primary school GER in Gauteng Province was 104% (indicating that there were a substantial number of students who were older or younger than the school-age population attending primary school) and the secondary school GER was 97%.⁹ These figures suggest Gauteng has very high levels of school enrollment. Furthermore these enrollment levels have persisted between the years 2000 and 2004. The Department of Education states that during this period the gross enrollment ratio in Gauteng increased by a net 1.2 %¹⁰ and the number of students increased by 9.2%¹¹. Moreover, there are almost equal levels of enrollment for both boys and girls in the province.¹²

However, these enrollment statistics do not describe all settings in South Africa. Although statistics have improved slightly in Gauteng Province, more rural areas like the Free State have witnessed some drastic falls in enrollment. In this province the GER decreased by 7.1%¹³ between 2000 and 2004 and the net change in students was -9.7%¹⁴. Thus, it is important to note that my findings are situated in an urban environment where education has been improving over the years. My results may very well be different in a poor, rural setting such as the Free State.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰South Africa Department of Education. December 2005. *Education Statistics in South Africa at a Glance 2004*, P16

¹¹ South Africa Department of Education. December 2005. *Education Statistics in South Africa at a Glance 2004*, P14

¹² South Africa Department of Education. December 2005. *Education Statistics in South Africa at a Glance 2004*, P7

¹³South Africa Department of Education. December 2005. *Education Statistics in South Africa at a Glance 2004*, P16

¹⁴ South Africa Department of Education. December 2005. *Education Statistics in South Africa at a Glance 2004*, P14

Also it is important to consider that although overall enrollment rates are high, the enrollment rates per grade show that fewer and fewer students continue to register during their final secondary school years. In 2004, only 53% of the age appropriate population was enrolled in grade 12 (the final year of schooling).¹⁵ During this period students write their final Matric examinations. The tests are a culmination of the student's high school work and are administered nationwide. Those who pass well are able to move on to higher education. Those who fail or do not enroll in grade 12 typically end up in vocational professions. Because of the high supply of labor for vocational jobs, it is much harder for high school dropouts to secure employment than their peers in university. There is also less opportunity for class mobility.

Since grade 12 is not a compulsory schooling phase, perhaps it is not so surprising that enrollment rates are low. The Department of Education asserts that these statistics may understate the number of students at this age who are in school, as the data does not account for teenagers who may have enrolled in training colleges or adult training classes.¹⁶ Whilst a number of older students join vocational training programs, it is important to note that the grade 12 enrollment rate has been falling for the last 4 years, suggesting there may be other factors influencing higher level school enrollment. In 2000, 61.5% of the age-appropriate students were enrolled in grade 12.¹⁷ This steadily decreased to 44.8% in

¹⁵ South Africa Department of Education. December 2005. *Education Statistics in South Africa at a Glance 2004*, P13

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ South Africa Department of Education. February 2002. *Education Statistics in South Africa at a Glance 2002*. Retrieved March 11th 2007 (<http://www.education.gov.za/EMIS/emisweb/oostats/2000%20Stat%20at%20a%20Glance.pdf>), P12

2003.¹⁸ The value increased again in 2004. The fall in enrollment may be linked to the impact of HIV and AIDS, but further investigation is necessary to determine the specific causal factors.

At a glance, the data from these reports suggest HIV and AIDS have had a limited impact on national average enrollment rates. Some of my research indicates that certain economic and social conditions associated with HIV and AIDS help mitigate the impact of the virus on educational enrollment. However, as suggested by the rapid decrease in school attendees in the higher grades, HIV and AIDS may be affecting educational attainment. Students may be kept back if they fail to perform in their classes or may be forced to drop out early to support their families.

2. Background Literature and Theory

With the escalation of the AIDS pandemic, there have been a number of studies investigating the impact of the virus on education. They broadly examine the effects on the entire sector by looking at students, teachers, curriculum and government support. Most of the literature specific to southern Africa uses statistical information such as enrollment rates and levels of absenteeism as well as small qualitative studies with specific groups of children to project the impact of the virus on students. In this section I will examine some of the predictions and conclusions in the literature.

One of the major assertions by theorists is that due to the upsetting and unstable conditions in HIV positive homes, children have to take on greater household responsibility resulting in low enrollment rates and

¹⁸South Africa Department of Education. May 2005. *Education Statistics in South Africa at a Glance 2003*. Retrieved March 11th 2007 (<http://www.education.gov.za/EMIS/emisweb/03stats/2003%20Stat%20at%20a%20Glance.pdf>), P12

increasing levels of absenteeism. HIV and education specialist, Carole Coombe has written a number of papers discussing these points. Using her secondary sources she predicts that;

...drop-out rates due to poverty, illness, lack of motivation and trauma will increase. Absenteeism among children who are care-givers or heads of households, those who help to supplement family income, and those who are ill, is bound to rise. Children who are orphaned will be particularly hard-hit.¹⁹

Similarly author Sheldon Shaeffer explains that;

...children... work and... care for ill adults... substitute their labour for others in the family who are ill or have died - a mechanism of the household to cope with a major impact of the presence of AIDS. Such activities lead to absenteeism which may be regular (every market day) or seasonal (to help with planting, weeding, and harvesting). Preliminary results of a study in Tanzania showed that the death of an adult female in the previous 12 months is associated with lower enrolment possibilities for both girls and boys, probably because of their substituting for female labour such as fetching firewood and collecting water (Ainsworth and Koda 1993).²⁰

I however found that due to support from extended family and community networks, children did not necessarily have to take on additional responsibility after their parents contracted HIV. These groups operate in what may be described as a “moral economy”: a system that functions on principles of goodness, fairness and mutuality. An individual’s

¹⁹ Coombe, Carol. 2006. *HIV/AIDS and the Education Sector: The Foundations of a Control and Management Strategy in South Africa*. Retrieved on November 1st 2006 (<http://www.harare.unesco.org/hiv/aids/webfiles/Electronic%20Versions/HIV%20AIDS%20and%20Ed.%20Sector%20The%20Foundations%20.doc>), P15

²⁰ Shaeffer, Sheldon for the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). 1994. *The Impact of HIV/AIDS on Education, A Review of Literature and Experience*. Retrieved on November 1st 2006 (http://portal.unesco.org/en/file_download.php/88b0375c67aa2c21fcd60cbd62190coimpacto_neducation.pdf), P15

traditional understanding of family obligation and strong communal ties causes them to sacrifice personal profit to ensure the survival of family and social units. Moreover, authors Donald Cox and Marcel Fafchamps claim that between households “private transfers might be part of an *informal insurance contract* among self-interested people.”²¹ By providing for someone in need, an individual can later call on that person or family for assistance. This premise ties into a greater literature on “risk-sharing” where “households provide mutual insurance to one another in order to smooth their consumption in the face of risk.”²² Cox and Fafchamps also discuss a range of emotions such as guilt and shame- feelings that are heightened when the individual identifies with a family or kinship group. They claim these emotions also strongly motivate individuals to care for members in their network. Thus, beyond altruistic reasons, extended families in this study take on the financial and social burden of assisting HIV positive relatives, due to an understanding of customary practices, strong social ties, a desire to maintain strong family units and a belief that they would be entitled to the same care if they fell ill.

Aside from changes in enrollment, attendance and levels of child responsibility, many authors also investigate the impact on financial resources. One would assume that poor, HIV and AIDS affected families need to redistribute their income away from education to take care of expenses relating to the virus. Michael J Kelly writes that;

²¹ Cox, Donald and Marcel Fafchamps. July 2006. *Extended Family and Kinship Networks: Economic Insights and Evolutionary Directions*. Retrieved April 16th 2007 (http://www.economics.ox.ac.uk/members/marcel.fafchamps/homepage/CoxFafchamps_FirstDraft.pdf), P16

²² Cox, Donald and Marcel Fafchamps. July 2006. *Extended Family and Kinship Networks: Economic Insights and Evolutionary Directions*, P50

...within the household, a large proportion of greatly reduced resources may be devoted to traditional healing, local and other medicines, special foods, and cleansing materials for an AIDS-infected person, to the detriment of what might be spent on meeting the education costs of children particularly girls. Meanwhile, reports from communities tell of many being so weakened through poverty, hunger and sickness that they are unable to participate in self-help activities in schools. Rural communities also state that even those among them who are strong and healthy cannot participate in such activities because so much of their time is given to back-stopping for those who are ill or who have died.²³

Similarly, Sheldon Shaeffer claims that;

...considerable anecdotal information (see UNICEF 1991; Mukoyogo et al) describes how one- or two-parent orphans often are forced to leave school because of a loss of ability to pay fees and other costs (books, uniforms, etc.). Research in Uganda described how orphans came to "school in dirty and unironed school uniforms. The response given by most pupils when asked why they were dirty was that they were only allowed to wash their uniforms once a week because there was not enough soap to wash [them more often] "(Katahoire 1993 :97).²⁴

I however found that through family support and government welfare programs, poor HIV positive families could still afford to send their children to school.

Finally, HIV and AIDS are stated to have considerable psychological effects, weakening students' performance. According to Carole Coombe;

²³Kelly, Michael J. February 2000. *The Encounter Between HIV/AIDS and Education*. Retrieved November 1st 2006 (<http://www.unesco.org/education/educprog/pead/GB/AIDSGB/AIDSGBtx/ImpEduc/Impact.pdf>), P14

²⁴ Shaeffer, Sheldon. 1994. *The Impact of HIV/AIDS on Education, A Review of Literature and Experience*, P14

HIV/AIDS will have a traumatic impact on students... Many live in families that are overextended and are under pressure to contribute to family incomes as poverty deepens. They are losing parents, siblings, friends and teachers to the disease. Many will have to move long distances to find new homes. For others, there are no homes at all. As a result, students are increasingly absent from school and distracted.²⁵

Moreover, in another study she recognizes that “pupils and students affected by HIV/AIDS experience stigma and discrimination, teasing by other children, ostracism, and teachers’ insensitivity to their loss and emotional deprivation.”²⁶ I found that the psychological effects were significant in families where parents disclosed their status to their children.

Most studies do not consider how these results may vary depending on which parent is HIV positive and whether or not the child is also HIV positive and/or male or female. Of the major studies examined, only Sheldon Shaeffer considers how parents’ attitudes to education may change depending on the HIV status of the child. He asserts that because parents view education as a null investment for an HIV positive child, they are less likely to continue to pay for their schooling. He writes;

There may also be relatively fewer children wanting education - or fewer parents wanting their children to be educated. This will be partly due to a reluctance of parents to make the considerable investment which an education requires.... The higher chance of the death of an educated child leads to a lower return of investment in education and therefore, perhaps, less willingness on the part of

²⁵ Coombe, Carol. December 1st 2000. *Keeping the Education System Healthy: Managing the Impact of HIV/AIDS on Education in South Africa*. Retrieved November 1st 2006 (<http://www.harare.unesco.org/hivaids/webfiles/Electronic%20Versions/Keepingtheeducationssystemhealthy%20%20.doc>), P8

²⁶ Coombe, Carol. 21 June 2001. *HIV/AIDS and Trauma among Learners: Sexual Violence and Deprivation in South Africa*, P12

the family to sacrifice for such an education. As a result, "the uncertainties due to AIDS, the weak family economic base, and the limited number of primary and secondary education graduates finding way to further education and subsequently to formal employment have reduced the parents'...beliefs that there was much to gain from school" (Katabaro 1993:92).²⁷

Shaeffer also considers how the sex of the student may influence the impact of the parents' status on his/her education. He writes;

...a further aspect concerns the desire of parents to keep daughters out of what is perceived as the pernicious influence of Western-style education - an influence seen as increasing due to the presence both of AIDS in the school and of sex education in the curriculum. In Rakai district, some "parents reported that due to an increase in defilement and pregnancy among school girls, they were forced to withdraw their children from school completely since the schools had become a centre for spoiling young children" (Katahoire 1993:89-90).²⁸

I address these variations in my research. I found that the sex and HIV status of children have no effect on parents' attitude towards education. Moreover I discovered that depending on which parent is HIV positive, children face different types of social and economic challenges.

Thus, in short, the literature surrounding this topic argues that the virus causes unstable conditions in the home that result in greater responsibilities for the children, increased absenteeism, decreased enrollment, adverse psychological effects and a redistribution of income away from education. Parents are less likely to invest in children that are HIV positive as they may not live long enough to join the workforce.

²⁷ Shaeffer, Sheldon. 1994. *The Impact of HIV/AIDS on Education, A Review of Literature and Experience*, P13

²⁸ Shaeffer, Sheldon. 1994. *The Impact of HIV/AIDS on Education, A Review of Literature and Experience*, P14

Moreover, they are less likely to support their girls going to school as they are suspicious of the increased HIV and AIDS and sex education campaigns on the campus. None of the studies examined considered how contracting the virus may influence parents' attitudes and perceptions of their child's education.

In the last few years, the South African government has provided infected families with greater financial assistance. Moreover, as knowledge of HIV and AIDS has spread in the country, communities and extended families have taken important steps to help support people living with HIV and AIDS. These groups operate in a moral economy. An individual's traditional understanding of family obligation, strong communal ties, feelings of altruism, guilt and shame as well as their belief in an informal insurance contract causes them to take on the financial and social burden of caring for their sick relatives. My study will show how these various sources of support as well as other policies and circumstances buffer the detrimental impact discussed by some authors in the review.

3. Hypotheses

Contrary to what the literature suggests, I hypothesized that parents who were HIV positive would value education more than their peers, as they may not be there to support their children in the future. With the onset of HIV, these parents would have a strengthened and more positive attitude towards the role of education in their children's lives.

However, before conducting my research, my initial hypotheses regarding the impact of the virus on students were similar to those in the studies examined. I believed that although parents would value education more, they would be forced to redistribute their resources away from

schooling to purchase essential medicines and pay for transportation to the hospital etc. I also believed that children would have more responsibility within the household as their parents would be sick more frequently. In some cases I thought it may even be necessary for the child to work part-time. I felt the biggest impact on the children would be psychological. They may be distracted from their studies, worrying about their parents and the future of their families.

I thought that these impacts would be less pronounced if it was only the father that was HIV positive as he is traditionally less involved in the running of the household. If the child was HIV positive, I hypothesized that even fewer resources would be spent on his/her education as the child's parents may believe that he/she will not live long enough to join the workforce. Moreover if the child was male, I believed his parents would be more invested in his education than that of his sisters', as South Africa is a very patriarchal society.

4. Project Research

4.1 Data Collection Method

My project comprises both quantitative and qualitative elements. It began with some preliminary research on the debates surrounding the impact of HIV and AIDS on education. I used this literature to help inform and frame my study.

Through the help of a local organization, "Let us Grow", which provides free, voluntary home-based care to poor, urban HIV positive individuals, I was able to identify a site and interviewees for my project. I liaised with the director of the organization for a few months about the research I wanted to do and how I could make the necessary logistical

arrangements. “Let us Grow” works in the Orange Farm community, a township outside of the capital city, Johannesburg, in Gauteng province. I settled on the poor urban location largely because it is an area hard-hit by the virus and because my interviewees would be among the social and racial group with the highest infection rate in South Africa.

“Let us Grow” agreed to arrange interviews with some of their clients and other members of their community. They selected parents who were comfortable discussing their status and how it had impacted their families. Together we identified a range of interviewees of different ages, sexes and backgrounds.

On arrival in South Africa, I met with one of the community workers who, for a small fee, helped me to translate the discussions and introduced me to my interviewees. We reviewed my questionnaires and decided what was appropriate to ask and how to handle cases where participants became uncomfortable or upset.

Each of my interviews began with me explaining my project.²⁹ The community worker helped to ensure that the participant understood that they could stop the interview at any time or could decline to answer specific questions. Once the respondent agreed to the terms of the interview, I asked for verbal consent on tape.

Each interview typically lasted 1hour. With the exception of the two school teachers, I conducted my interviews in the participants’ homes as this is where they felt most comfortable. Each participant received a fee of R100 (\$13.46)³⁰. I started my questions with a small background survey which I would use to compile quick quantitative statistics on my

²⁹ Please refer to Appendix B.

³⁰ “South African Currency Converter- OANDA Customizable Currency Converter.” *OANDA.com*. Retrieved March 17th 2007 (<http://www.oanda.com/convert/classic>)

interviewees. I followed with a detailed interview beginning with some personal information (such as living arrangements etc) and moving on to more difficult questions such as how they felt about education, how they contracted HIV and AIDS and what impacts the virus was having on their families.³¹

Three of the interviews were very emotional because participants discussed the way in which they contracted the virus, the difficulty of their daily lives as they became increasingly sick and how they thought their status was affecting their families. For example Thenjiwe³², a 51 year old, single, HIV positive mother of two believed she contracted the virus when she was sexually abused.³³ Discussing this incident was very painful for her.

However, there were also a number of interviewees, particularly amongst the men, who were reluctant to share personal and sensitive information during the interview and resorted to curt answers.

I believe this research design was appropriate for my study primarily because HIV and AIDS is a sensitive topic and I felt in-depth interviews would provide the most detailed and accurate information. Moreover, many of my participants had difficulty reading and did not speak much English, making it difficult to administer a broader survey. Through the help of the community worker and long interviews, I believe I was exposed to many key HIV and education issues, and was free to explore topics I had not initially considered. However because I could only speak with a small number of interviewees, the generalizability of my findings is low.

³¹ Please refer to appendix section for background survey and all questionnaires.

³² This is a pseudonym. All other names used in the study are also pseudonyms.

³³ Please refer to Appendix A for further background details

4.2 Test Procedures, Confidentiality and Data Treatment

Given the sensitivity and stigma associated with HIV and AIDS in South Africa, I ensured that all the participants were comfortable speaking to me and that their identity remained anonymous. As stated above, each participant verbally agreed to the terms of the interview and was told that he/she could discontinue the conversation at anytime. All of my interviews were taped and I made sure the interviewee's name was not used in conversation. For the purposes of this essay, I have assigned each participant a pseudonym. The community worker assisting me was obliged to sign a contractual agreement stating that any of the information exposed remained confidential.

5. Description of Project Site, Population and Background Demographics

Orange Farm and Ennerdale together form the 11th outer region of Johannesburg, one of South Africa's capital cities, located in Gauteng province. As it is a township, the statistics presented reflect a more impoverished and predominantly African community than many other parts of Gauteng. According to 2001 census data, 77.4% of the 11th outer region population is African whilst the remaining 22.6% is Indian, Colored³⁴ and White.³⁵ Approximately 69% of the population is between the ages 15 and 64.³⁶

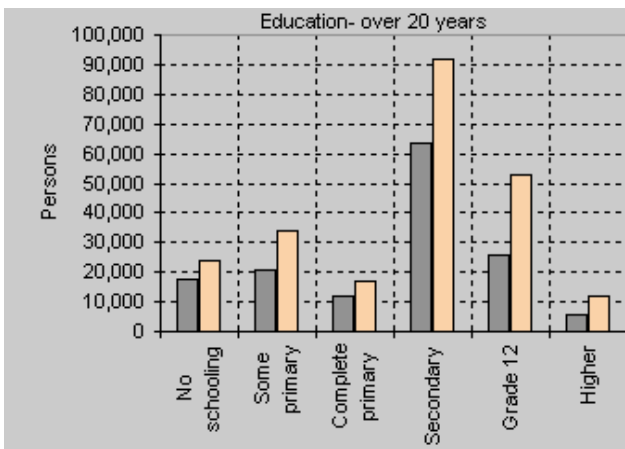
³⁴ The term 'Colored' refers to a mixed race category of South Africans descending from African, European and Malay heritage.

³⁵ "City Statistics Region 11." *Official Website of the City of Johannesburg*. Retrieved November 20th 2006 (<http://www.joburg.org.za/stats/region11.stm>)

³⁶ Ibid.

The table and graph below represent the highest education attained by residents of this area.³⁷

Highest education levels attained by over 20 year olds						
Persons	1996	2001	% change	1996%	2001%	% change
No schooling	17,329	23,979	38%	11.9	10.4	-1.6
Some primary	21,062	34,056	62%	14.5	14.7	0.2
Complete primary	12,195	16,983	39%	8.4	7.3	-1.1
Secondary	63,382	91,611	45%	43.6	39.6	-4.0
Grade 12	25,960	53,067	104%	17.9	22.9	5.1
Higher	5,417	11,688	116%	3.7	5.1	1.3
Total number of ppl. With some form of schooling	128,016	207,405	62%	88.1	89.6	1.6
Total	145,345	231,384	59%			



(Note Grey Columns = Statistics from 1996, Pink columns = Statistics from 2001)

³⁷ Ibid.

Given the rapidly expanding prevalence rates in Gauteng province and South Africa, it is reasonable to assume that between 1996 and 2001, HIV and AIDS prevalence also increased in Orange Farm. However, this did not significantly impact levels of overall school enrollment. According to the data in the table above, 88.1% of individuals in Orange Farm over 20 years old had received some form of education in 1996. This figure increased slightly to 89.6% in 2001. One could argue that the fall in secondary school enrollment from 43.6% to 39.6% might be attributed to HIV and AIDS related factors. However this is unlikely the case as 12th grade (the final year of schooling) enrollment rose from 17.9% to 22.9%. One would assume that if children have to leave school for financial reasons or have to taken on new responsibilities, the percentage of students who are able to reach their final year of schooling would decrease. Moreover, there was very little change in the percentage enrollment for other levels of schooling.

Low levels of education are accompanied by low levels of employment. The area had an unemployment rate of approximately 25% in 1996 which increased to 32% in 2001.³⁸ Again, this may be attributed to the rapid increase in the area's population. In 2001 the dominant employment industries included retail, followed closely by manufacturing and community/social and personal activity. Most people identified themselves as vocational workers, crafts/tradesman, clerks or service workers. Of the entire population, approximately 30% received a monthly salary in 2001.³⁹ The gross national income (GNI) for South Africa per capita in 2001 was \$2830.⁴⁰ Of the group that received a salary, approximately 11% earned

³⁸ "City Statistics Region 11." *Official Website of the City of Johannesburg*

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ This value is given in current US dollars, and was calculated using the "Atlas Method" (which applies a conversion factor that averages the exchange rate for a given year and the two

more than the GNI per capita.⁴¹ This figure indicates that only 11% of the community was living at a level on par or above the average South African, highlighting the level of poverty in the area.

In 2001 the average household consisted of 3 people. Approximately 43% of all households lived in informal settlements⁴²: “residential areas where a group of housing units has been constructed on land to which the occupants have no legal claim, or which they occupy illegally; [or] unplanned settlements and areas where housing is not in compliance with current planning and building regulations (unauthorized housing).”⁴³

As no one is obligated to divulge their HIV status in the census, it is unclear how many residents in this area are HIV positive. According to data from the 2005 national antenatal clinic survey, Gauteng (the province in which Orange Farm is located) has a prevalence rate of approximately 32.4%.⁴⁴ Based on observations provided by residents and organizations like “Let us Grow”, HIV prevalence is also likely to be high in Orange Farm.

preceding years, adjusted for differences in rates of inflation between the country, and the Euro Zone, Japan, the United Kingdom, and the United States).

“Data Query Website.” *The World Bank Development Group*. Retrieved March 12th 2007 (<http://devdata.worldbank.org/data-query/>)

⁴¹This figure was calculated using statistics from “City Statistics Region 11.” *Official Website of the City of Johannesburg*. I first converted the GNI per capita figure to current South African Rands using the “South African Currency Converter- OANDA Customizable Currency Converter.” *OANDA.com*. This figure was then divided by 12 to give a rough estimate of the GNI per capita, per month (R1746). I compared this figure to the salaries reported on the City of Johannesburg website. All persons belonging to salary bands over R1600 per month, I claim, earned roughly more than the GNI per capita.

⁴² “City Statistics Region 11.” *Official Website of the City of Johannesburg*.

⁴³ United Nations Habitat Programme definition. Taken from “People Living in Informal Settlements.” *World Health Organization*. Retrieved March 12th 2007 (<http://www.who.int/ceh/indicators/informalsettlements.pdf>), P1

⁴⁴ Department of Health South Africa. 2006. *Report National HIV and Syphilis Antenatal Seroprevalence in South Africa 2005*, P11

6. Subject Population

6.1 Interviewees

My sample comprised 15 families of similar ethnic backgrounds, residing in Orange Farm. I interviewed HIV infected parents and guardians. I had a total of 12 women and 3 men. Two of the women had sons that were HIV positive. Two of the women I interviewed were quite old and thus no longer had children in school. I included their interviews in my study as I thought it might be interesting to examine the possible effects the virus was having on their grandchildren. My sixteenth HIV positive interviewee was not a parent. I also included her interview as she lived with a number of nieces and nephews and her insight was useful in helping me analyze kinship ties and the effects of an extended family network. Because of the sensitivity of HIV and AIDS, I did not interview any of the children as their understanding of the virus and of their family's situation may be limited.

My study also included 5 interviews with HIV negative members of the community as part of my control group. By comparing their living conditions and daily challenges with HIV positive households, I was better able to determine whether the hardships faced by HIV affected families were a result of the virus or whether they were a consequence of living in the impoverished Orange Farm community. Interviews with the HIV negative parents were arranged by the community worker who is familiar with the area. All of these interviewees were women.

Finally I interviewed two teachers from the area to find out their perspectives on how HIV and AIDS are affecting education.

6.2 Quantitative Background Statistics on Sample

Background Statistics on Interviewees	HIV Positive Interviewees	HIV Negative Interviewees
Average Age	41.6	51.8
Number of Male Interviewees	3	0
Number of Female Interviewees	13	5
Ethnic Breakdown	2 Tswana	-
	5 Sotho	2 Sotho
	5 Zulu	3 Zulu
	1 Venda	-
	1 Xhosa	-
	2 Multiethnic	-
Percentage Unemployed	81.25%	60%
Percentage Not Looking for work	12.50%	20%
Percentage Employed	6.25%	10%
Sources of Monthly Income ⁴⁵	18.75% receive HIV and AIDS grant	40% receive pension/disability grant
	25% receive child support grant	60% receive child support grant
	For 12.5% of interviewees, at least one parent earns an income	For 40% of interviewees, at least one parent earns an income
	31.25% receive additional financial help from family	40% receive additional financial help from family
	43.75% receive financial help from family only	-
Percentage of Single Interviewees	56.25%	0%
Percentage of Interviewees divorced/separated/widowed	25.00%	60%
Percentage of married Interviewees	18.75%	40%
Average Final Year of Schooling of Interviewee	8 th grade	6 th grade
Average number of children (still alive) per interviewee ⁴⁶	Approx. 2	Approx. 3
Number of children who are of school age	17	14
Percentage of children of school		100%

⁴⁵ Parents received a combination of the sources of income listed.

⁴⁶ Please note- 1 of the interviewees considered her niece her daughter.

age who are enrolled in school	100%	
Average period of time Interviewee has been aware of their HIV Status	Approx. 2 years 1 month	-
Percentage of Interviewees using antiretrovirals	81.25%	-
Percentage of Interviewees suffering no/minor health effects ⁴⁷	75%	-
Percentage of Interviewees suffering severe health effects ⁴⁸	25%	-

⁴⁷ “Minor health effects” include headaches, rashes, swelling, soars and aches.

⁴⁸ “Severe health effects” include individuals that are on bed rest, have recently had operations, are recovering from TB or suffer from debilitating bouts of sickness and fatigue.

7. Results and Findings

My findings indicate that under certain circumstances, the effect of HIV and AIDS on educational enrollment and achievement is not as detrimental as my initial hypotheses and the literature states.

In this section I will look at whether parents viewed education as more important after contracting HIV and why the variables identified in my initial hypotheses (financial changes, levels of responsibility and psychological effects) were not having a more negative impact on students. Some of the reasons for the limited effect include the fact that infected households had support from extensive family networks and caregivers and financial assistance from the government. HIV and AIDS related trauma and psychological distress had the biggest effect on students' education. However this effect was more limited than I originally predicted as many parents were still reluctant to disclose their status to their children. As a result some students continued their everyday lives, unaware their parents were HIV positive.

I conclude the section with an analysis of whether these findings vary if the mother/father is HIV positive, if the child is a girl/boy and if the child is HIV negative/positive.

My findings ultimately illustrate how the community and government mobilize around the virus to support affected families. I argue that in places like Orange Farm, HIV positive households enjoy benefits that are unavailable to other members of the community, helping to ensure their children stay in school. For many families, poverty has an equally, if not more, significant impact on children's lives and education.

7.1 General Findings

The limited impact of HIV and AIDS on a child's school enrollment and achievement is most clearly demonstrated by statistics on how many children were in school during the time of the interview, and how well they performed. All children of the appropriate age in HIV positive families were enrolled in school even if their parents expressed difficulties paying fees on time. Some of the older (and in some cases working) children had not completed high school. However none of the explanations as to why they dropped out had anything to do with the fact that at least one parent was HIV positive.

Of the 17 students from HIV positive families that were in school, parents reported that 11 (or 64.7%) of them were "good" in school, 1 (or 5.88%) was "okay" while the remaining 5 (or 29.41%) performed "poorly". This spread was slightly better than the HIV negative group where 35.71% were "good", 42.86% were "okay" and 21.43% performed "poorly". This suggests that relative to the general Orange Farm community, students from HIV positive families did not perform worse than their counterparts. Thus the virus appears to have a limited impact on academic performance. It is however important to remember that these opinions are subjective and grade and test scores would have to be obtained to better measure performance.

When some of the HIV positive parents were asked to assess the impact of their status on their children's education, 9 of the 11 (81.82%) believed it had not affected their children's education. It is interesting to note that 3 of the 9 (33.33%) had disclosed their status to their children and still did not believe it had impacted their education. The reasons they shared their status remain unclear, though perhaps their children were mature

enough to understand how to cope with HIV and AIDS in the household, or maybe they already suspected their parents' status. The remaining 6 had not disclosed their HIV status, a likely reason why they felt it had not affected their children. However, because parents' responses may be influenced by feelings of guilt and shame about the consequences of HIV and AIDS on their families, it is difficult to determine how accurate their beliefs and statements are about the impact of the virus on their children's education.

HIV negative parents also felt that HIV and AIDS had a limited impact on a child's education. Of the 4 asked, 3 felt students in HIV positive families wouldn't face any significant challenges at schools. Some of the reasons behind this include the fact that many felt children were well educated about the virus, allowing them to accept their parents' status and better handle the situation. Only 1 of the 4 felt it would be more difficult for children in HIV positive families to succeed at school than children who came from non-infected families.

7.2 Value of Education

As demonstrated in the table below, all parents and guardians, irrespective of their HIV status, said they believed education was important.

HIV Positive Respondents		HIV Negative Respondents	
Participant	Do you think Education is Important?	Participant	Do you think Education is Important?
Thandi	Yes	1B	Yes
Lindi	Yes	2B	Yes
Sipho	Yes	3B	Yes
Bikiwe	Yes	4B	Yes
Zola	Yes	5B	Yes
Tshepo	Yes		
Busile	Yes		
Nonti	Yes		
Bebe	Yes		
Neo	Yes		
Khanyisa	Yes		
Dineo	Yes		
Vumile	Yes		
Muzi	Yes		
Letsiwe	Yes		
Thenjiwe	Yes		

Contrary to my hypothesis, the attitudes of the HIV positive interviewees remain relatively consistent both before and after they contract HIV. Parents clearly described the importance of education and how HIV had done little to change their beliefs. However, whilst it is clear the community has always valued education, it is important to remember that

the interviewees are speaking retrospectively. This makes it harder for them to accurately judge whether their attitudes have changed over time.

Interviewees explained that they valued academics because most were unable to find work due to their limited schooling. They thus understood the importance of education in their children's lives. The average final year of schooling for HIV positive parents was 8th grade, and for the HIV negative parents was 6th grade. 81.25% of the HIV positive parents and 60% of the HIV negative parent's were unemployed.

Most of the interviewees were forced to leave school due to extenuating circumstances. Given the opportunity, many stated they would return to school and were sad they had to leave. Some of the participants grew up during the Apartheid era, a period of legalized segregation in South Africa. The government provided few resources to assist African parents and students at that time. For example, Thenjiwe⁴⁹ a 51 year old, single HIV positive mother of two and Lindi⁵⁰, a 45 year old unemployed mother living with her daughter and granddaughter, stated their parents were too old to continue working and so they had to leave school to help support their families. Some parents preferred their children earn an income on the neighboring farms rather than go to school. Other interviewees like Vumile⁵¹, a 53 year old grandmother who had found out about her HIV status roughly 6 months before the interview, were sickly as children, leaving few additional resources to allow them to go to school.

Several interviewees also discontinued their education because of family problems. Thandi⁵² and Zola⁵³, aged 46 and 31 respectively and each

⁴⁹ Please refer to Appendix A for further background details

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

carrying for a child, claimed the divorce of their parents led to an unstable family and home life that eventually forced them out of school. Tshepo⁵⁴, a 41 year old father, and Letsiwe⁵⁵, a young, unemployed mother, both had children early and had to leave school to care and support them.

The few interviewees that found work were confined to low paying, vocational jobs. These included positions as care workers, welders, painters, bakers, shop assistants as well as factory employees in the laundry, motor, textile and construction industries. Unfortunately, even interviewees like Neo⁵⁶, a 29 year old mother with an HIV positive son, that had completed high school, were forced to work in these professions. Due to the high unemployment rate, completing one's education does not necessarily guarantee one a job.

During the interviews, many participants described how they hoped their children would be able to forge a future different from their own. Consider Busile⁵⁷, a 45 year old mother of four, who stated that education was important and that she did not want her children to end up like her. Similarly, Zola recognized that if her son had a standard 4 (6th grade) education like hers, he could not get a job. She thus felt it was very important he finish school.

Moreover, parents understood that many of their children's career ambitions would require at least a high school and often tertiary education. Some of the careers that children from HIV positive families hoped to pursue included becoming a model, lawyer, policeman, teacher, pilot and nurse. These careers were comparable to those selected by children in

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

families that were not affected by HIV and AIDS. These children also wanted to be teachers, pilots, nurses and policeman as well as social workers, IT technicians and engineers. Of all the interviewees only Thenjiwe stated she did not want her son to continue his education past high school as she felt she did not have the funds to support him further.

The comments made by the interviewees reflect the prevailing attitude towards education in the community. All the participants live in an environment where the government and local leaders encourage and stress the benefits of education. Its importance is clearly understood. Tshepo stated that although his son was not particularly enthusiastic about school, he continued to go because he understood that it was “a must”. The community is taught that education is fundamental to one’s future success. This is further evidenced by the fact that interviewees that received cash grants for their children, spent the money on fees, books, uniforms etc even though it would be easy for them to spend it on other household needs.

The high rates of enrollment and the explanations as to why some children dropped out of school, also demonstrate the value of education in HIV positive and negative households. The tables below reveal that the average final grade for a child who had left school in an HIV positive family was 10th grade. Two parents said this was a result of financial problems. However, as these interviewees were much older, these children had gone to school during the Apartheid era when expenses and financial support for Africans was very different. The same may be true for some of the children who had dropped out of school in HIV negative families. Other reasons why children dropped out included the negative influence of friends, falling pregnant or choosing to pursue a soccer career. These explanations did not necessarily relate to the parents’ value of education, but extenuating social

factors. Although parents sometimes struggled to pay fees on time, all the remaining children (of the appropriate age) were enrolled in school.

Statistics on Children from HIV Positive Households who are now out of School				
Participant	Sex of Child	Age of Child	Final Level of Schooling	Reason Child Ended at that Level
Sipho	Male	20	Dropped out in gr11	Wanted to pursue a soccer career
Busile	Female	21	9th grade (std 7)	Influenced by friends.
	Male	25	Matric	-
Bebe	Female	24	10 th grade (std 8)	Appears she had kids?
	Female	18	Matric	-
Dineo	Male	34	1st grade	She couldn't afford to pay the fees.
Vumile	Male	30	Not sure- but not until Matric	She couldn't afford to pay the fees.
	Male (Still lives with his mother)	32	8th grade (std 6)	She couldn't afford to pay the fees.
	Female	31	Matric (though didn't write exam)	She couldn't afford to pay the fees.
Thenjiwe	Female	31	12 th grade (Matric)	-

Statistics on Children from HIV Negative Households who are now out of School				
Participant	Sex of Child	Age of Child	Final Level of Schooling	Reason Child Ended at that Level
2B	Female	24	10 th grade (std 8)	Money problems
	Female	21	10 th grade (std 8)	Money problems
3B	Female	-	6 th grade (std 8)	Money problems
4B	Male	34	12 th grade (Matric)	-
5B	Female	30	-	-
	Female (passed away)	26	-	-
	Female	22	10 th grade (std 8)	Stopped for no particular reason. Also-money problems.
	Female	28	-	-

Thus education has a consistently high value in the Orange Farm community irrespective of the parents' HIV status. This is because many parents were forced to stop schooling at a young age and as a result have been confined to unemployment or low paying jobs. Many do not want their children to suffer a similar fate and see education as a way out. They also recognize that in order for their children to pursue their ambitions, they will need at least high school, and in many cases a tertiary education. The government and local leaders have emphasized the benefits of education and

its importance in the community is unquestionable. As a result, all HIV positive and negative parents place a high value on their children's education. All children of the appropriate age were enrolled in school at the time of the interview. The older children that had dropped out did so for a number of extenuating factors.

7.3 Impact of HIV and AIDS on Students

7.3.1 Support from Extensive Family Networks and Community Caregivers

Family and community networks play an important role in helping students cope with their parents' HIV status. Of my HIV positive interviewees, 56.25% were single, indicating many children do not live in nuclear families. I found most households, both HIV positive and negative, comprised a parent, their children and then either an immediate or distant relative. In some extreme cases households grew as big as 13 people. For example Letsiwe lived with her aunt, two cousins, four brothers and sisters, two sisters-in-law, a nephew and her two children. From interviews like this it is clear the extended family plays an important role in supporting children whose parents are infected.

Few of the researchers examined address the impact of the extended family on HIV positive households. Those that do believe relatives provide no support to HIV affected children. For example, Sheldon Shaffer claims;

children... "may be overworked by relatives or other guardians who consciously or unconsciously view them as a burden. Lack of supervision, proper caretaking, and school or vocational activities leads to poor socialization, alienation from guardians and the community, and possible delinquency. Guardians predict reduced

opportunities for orphans, who remain uneducated, untrained, and unemployable...” (Hunter 1990:686).⁵⁸

I however found that strong family networks provided vital assistance to HIV positive families. Parents relied on their relatives to support them financially, to help them with a growing number of household responsibilities and to provide alternative housing for their children if they became too sick to care for them. According to authors J. Seeley and E. Kajura;

It is commonly assumed that the extended family in Africa provides social and economic support for its members in times of need. The United Nations Regional Advisor on Social Welfare Policy and Training, Economic Commission for Africa explained in 1972 (Shawky 1972, pg 4-5): In rural Africa, the extended family and clan assume the responsibility for all services for their members, whether social or economic. People live in closely organised groups and willingly accept communal obligations for mutual support. (...) The sick, the aged and children are all cared for by the extended family. The care of AIDS patients is seen as falling within the sphere of extended family care.⁵⁹

The interviewees also relied on the free support of community caregivers from local organizations like “Let us Grow”. Upon request, these groups offer free food, counseling and medicines and assist sick HIV positive parents with general errands and housework.

Thus, whilst I initially hypothesized children may take on additional responsibilities when their parents are sick, I instead found the

⁵⁸ Shaeffer, Sheldon for the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). 1994. *The Impact of HIV/AIDS on Education, A Review of Literature and Experience*, P16

⁵⁹ Seeley, J. and E. Kajura. January 1993. “The Extended Family and Support for People with AIDS in a Rural Population in South West Uganda: A Safety Net with Holes?” *AIDS Care* 5:1: 117

extended family and community volunteers carried the burden of caring for the parents and household. This may be explained by the fact that these groups operate in a moral economy, where the needs and demands of the group outweigh individual desire for profit. These findings will be explored in greater detail below.

a) Financial support

Many single parents in Orange Farm cannot find work and have no steady income. Approximately 81.25% of all HIV positive interviewees were unemployed. When asked their sources of monthly income, 43.75% of the HIV positive respondents stated they relied solely on their families for financial assistance. An additional 31.35% stated they received some small financial assistance from their families in conjunction with money from other sources⁶⁰. Thus a total of 75% of all HIV positive interviewees had some form of financial help from their relatives, parents or siblings. According to author Malcolm Keswell, “In South Africa, extended families often play a crucial role when employment opportunities are scarce, through the now well documented efficacy of the social pensions system (Case and Deaton, 1998).”⁶¹ Men 65 and over and women 60 and above receive a pension grant of R780⁶² a month. Reports by authors like Elisabeth Ardington indicate how this trickles down to family members such as

⁶⁰ An example of “another source” would be a government grant. This will be addressed in greater detail in the section on financial resources.

⁶¹ Keswell, Malcolm for the Centre for Social Science Research. December 2003. *Social Networks, Extended Families, and Consumption Smoothing: Field Evidence from South Africa*. Retrieved April 16th 2007 (http://datafirst.cssr.uct.ac.za/resource/papers/keswell_0358.pdf), P15

⁶² This is the 2005 amount retrieved from De Koker, Christell, Liezel de Waal and Jan Vorster for the Department of Social Development South Africa. June 2006. *A Profile of Social Security Beneficiaries in South Africa*. Retrieved March 17th 2007 (<http://www.welfare.gov.za/documents/2006/profi.pdf>), P75

grandchildren. ⁶³ This occurred in at least one of my interviewee's households.

By taking care of infected parents, relatives help to lessen the financial strain on the children in the family. A steady flow of income into the household makes it more likely for children to stay in school. According to the data, it also ensured that none of the interviewee's children had to work part-time.

b) No change in child responsibility

Because of the close involvement of relatives in the lives of HIV positive families and frequent visits from community volunteers, I did not find that children had to take on more household responsibilities when their parents were ill. Contrary to my initial hypotheses, this meant that the amount of time they had available for their studies and leisure remained relatively consistent both before and after their parents' contracted HIV.

This was bolstered by the fact that many HIV positive parents spent their time at home and generally attended to all of the housework. Because their plots are small and because they own very few material possessions, the number of household tasks is minimal. When asked what a typical day was like, interviewees stated they went to the clinic, attended support groups, visited family members, did household chores, worked in the garden and rested. They were assisted with some of these tasks if they lived with other family members.

Relative to my control HIV negative group, the children from HIV affected families appeared to do the same types of chores as their

⁶³ Keswell, Malcolm for the Centre for Social Science Research. December 2003. *Social Networks, Extended Families, and Consumption Smoothing: Field Evidence from South Africa*, P15

counterparts. These included washing, cooking, polishing, general cleaning and doing the dishes. Both groups stressed there was a greater emphasis on school work than on chores. However, had my sample included households where both parents were deceased, children may have had much higher levels of household responsibility.

c) Escaping hardship to live with relatives

If for some reason the HIV positive interviewees were struggling to cope with the virus and the running of the household, some relatives provided alternative housing for the children. It is common in African culture for children to live with different family members due to lack of resources, to facilitate easy access to schools or to ensure someone is available to assist an elderly family member.

In all the case studies examined, children benefited from being in an environment where they did not have to constantly face and assist their HIV positive parent. They drew emotional support and strength from their extended family. According to the two case studies below, living with family members away from home helped to ensure children continued to perform at school.

This, of course, is a temporary measure and the ultimate deterioration or death of a parent will affect the student. However, if children are shielded from their parents' suffering, one could argue it better allows them to cope with the impact of the virus.

The story of Tshepo and his children below illustrates the benefits of having a child from an HIV positive household live with a close relative.

Case Study of Tshepo and his Children

Tshepo is a father of two, residing in Orange Farm. He has an older daughter of 22 who lives with her mother (his first wife) and a younger son of 17 who lives with him and his new wife.

He is unemployed and his current wife works as a trolley assistant. She offloads groceries for approximately R200 (\$26.93)* per month. Tshepo's son is aware of his HIV status. During our interview Tshepo remembers how concerned his son became when he contracted TB. He lost concentration at school and volunteered to care for his father. Tshepo compares this situation to that of his older daughter. He claims she has less difficulty dealing with his status as she only visits him twice a month and then returns home to her mother. When asked if having the virus has affected her education in any way, he states "no". Although his first wife is not necessarily an extended relative, this example clearly illustrates how limited exposure to and responsibility for a sick parent can help keep children focused on their studies. By providing an alternate space for HIV affected children, relatives can lessen the impact of the virus on students' schooling.

* "South African Currency Converter- OANDA Customizable Currency Converter." *OANDA.com*.

The following story of Zola and her son also highlights the educational benefits for children living with close relatives instead of their HIV positive parents.

Case Study of Zola and her son

Zola is 31 years old and lives alone in a small shack in Orange Farm. At the time of the interview she was incredibly sick. She was unable to work and spent most of the day resting. She relies on assistance from her mother who is a domestic worker and on community caregivers. Although she has known about her status for about a year, from the interview it is clear she is still coming to terms with the virus. She does not know how to check her CD4 count* nor is she aware of how to access antiretrovirals. She also became very emotional when discussing the death of a relative from AIDS.

This environment would be difficult for any child to live in. Zola has no resources and requires a lot of care. She has a 10 year old son that has been living with his paternal grandmother for 5 years. He only comes to visit her during his school holidays and on public holidays. His father's family takes full financial responsibility for him. Her son is unaware that she is HIV positive and thinks she is sickly. When asked about the kind of impact she thinks the virus is having on him and his education, Zola states her son worries about her health but, because he does not fully understand what is going on, it has not affected his school work. Zola reports he enjoys school and performs well.

In this example the reasons Zola's son went to live with his grandmother may not be directly linked to her status. However, now that she is aware she is HIV positive, it is likely he will continue to live with his grandmother, as Zola is too sick to care for him.

Because Zola's son is currently unaware of the fatality of her illness and because he does not see his mother lying sick in bed everyday, it appears the virus has not yet had a significant psychological impact on him. Living with his grandmother has shielded him from the realities of HIV and AIDS and helped him to maintain his performance at school. However, as he grows older he may begin to interpret his mother's symptoms. When we discuss his future, Zola states she is considering bringing him back to stay with her, but expresses some reservations as she realizes how this may affect and distract him.

* CD4 count is "a measure of the number of helper T cells per cubic millimeter of blood, used to analyze the prognosis of patients infected with HIV." "CD4 Count." *Free Online Dictionary, Thesaurus and Encyclopedia*. Retrieved April 9th 2007 (<http://www.thefreedictionary.com/CD4+count>)

My research indicates that the immediate and extended family gives valuable support to infected households. These intricate networks provide financial assistance, help take on responsibilities within the home and provide an alternate living space for children. The extended families' efforts are bolstered by the work of volunteer caregivers. Upon the HIV positive individual's request, caregivers will stop at the patient's home and provide free food and medicine. They also help to counsel, clean and assist with general errands if the patient is very sick. The community operates on the principles of a moral economy where, despite the financial and social burden, they take care of their sick relatives. Though altruistic, their actions may also be culturally motivated and based on an understanding that if they were in a similar situation, they would be cared for by their relatives. Extended families and volunteer caregivers mobilize and support HIV positive households, limiting the impact of the virus on the children's way of life and schooling.

7.3.2 Financial Resources

When a parent contracts HIV, one would assume their spending will change as they now have to budget for boosters, nutritious foods, funeral schemes, transportation to the hospital etc. Thandi explained "It [her spending] change a lot...because now I must eat healthy, I must keep my house clean, I must have money for transport to go and collect my medication...so I spend my money a little bit wiser now."

However, not all parents changed their spending habits. Both Neo and Busile said that they continued to spend their money on food and school fees. They did not buy boosters as they felt they could not afford them. Their interviews suggest that for those with very little income, there is not much room to change their spending habits as they can only afford

basic survival goods. Their budgets looked very similar to interviewees from the HIV negative control group.

The question then is how do the parents who said their spending changed continue to pay for their children's education? I will explore the wide range of responses below. Contrary to my hypothesis, I found that funds available for school fees did not decrease.

a) *Government grants*

One of the major reasons why children could afford to go to school was because of the child support grant and HIV and AIDS disability grant. The government provides a monthly child support grant of R190 (\$25.58)⁶⁴ to the primary caregiver of a child.⁶⁵ The grant money is meant to support the child's welfare and many interviewees used the grant to pay school fees. 26.6% of the HIV positive parents received a child support grant. The government pays the grant in cash and recipients are not required to provide receipts or other evidence that they spent the money on their children. The fact that many parents use the income to ensure their children are able to stay in school indicates that poor families in Orange farm highly value and prioritize education.

⁶⁴ "South African Currency Converter- OANDA Customizable Currency Converter." *OANDA.com*.

⁶⁵ If the caregiver lives in an urban area, they must live "in an informal dwelling with a personal income of less than R13 200 (\$1777.06)⁴⁵ per annum. If a primary caregiver and child live in an urban area in a formal dwelling with an income of less than R9600 (\$1292.41)⁴⁵ per annum, they will also qualify for the CSG [Child Support Grant]." (De Koker, Christell, Liezel de Waal and Jan Vorster for the Department of Social Development South Africa. June 2006. *A Profile of Social Security Beneficiaries in South Africa*, P232)

As of October 2005, children must be below 14 years of age to apply for the grant. A caregiver can receive the grant for up to 6 non-biological children and an unlimited number of biological children.

The government also provides a temporary HIV and AIDS disability grant of R820 (\$110.39)⁶⁶ for between 6 months and a year to assist people who are too sick to support themselves financially.⁶⁷ To be considered too sick to work, the HIV positive parent must have a CD4 count⁶⁸ below the baseline. Before approving the grant and allowing the HIV positive individual to access treatment, officials consider if he/she has demonstrated reliability (i.e. he/she has attended scheduled visits to an HIV clinic), has had no active problems with substance abuse and that he/she has accepted and disclosed their status to members of their family or community.

For some unemployed HIV positive parents, their largest source of monthly income was the HIV and AIDS disability grant. During the period of my project, 18.75% were receiving the grant and another 18.75% stated they had received the grant before. Parents receiving the HIV and AIDS grant had a far higher amount of money flowing through their household

⁶⁶ "South African Currency Converter- OANDA Customizable Currency Converter." *OANDA.com*.

⁶⁷ According to government specifications "the applicant must be willing to accept employment which is within his or her capabilities and must not refuse to receive treatment which may improve his or her condition... The eligible ages for women is 18 to 60 years and for men 18 to 65 years. After exceeding the eligible ages for men and women, older people receive the older person's grant." (De Koker, Christell, Liezel de Waal and Jan Vorster for the Department of Social Development South Africa. June 2006. *A Profile of Social Security Beneficiaries in South Africa*, P144)

An adult cannot receive the grant if they earn over R16 920 (\$2 227.87)⁶⁵ per annum, after all permissible deductions, or have total assets over R252 000 (\$33 925.70)⁶⁵. If they are married, the total assets of the couple cannot exceed R504 000 (\$67 851.50)⁴⁷ and their combined annual income after all possible deductions cannot be over R31 320 (\$4 216.28)⁴⁷. (De Koker, Christell, Liezel de Waal and Jan Vorster for the Department of Social Development South Africa. June 2006. *A Profile of Social Security Beneficiaries in South Africa*. Retrieved March 17th 2007 (<http://www.welfare.gov.za/documents/2006/profi.pdf>), P144)

⁶⁸ CD4 count is "a measure of the number of helper T cells per cubic millimeter of blood, used to analyze the prognosis of patients infected with HIV." "CD4 Count." *Free Online Dictionary, Thesaurus and Encyclopedia*. Retrieved April 9th 2007. (<http://www.thefreedictionary.com/CD4+count>)

than ever before. This money ensured that when parents were at their sickest, they could still afford to support their families.

b) Government provision of antiretroviral treatment

Antiretroviral treatment inhibits the development of HIV. With the necessary drugs, parents can live far longer than ever before and can function normally. Antiretrovirals have a number of side effects and have to be taken consistently to prevent viral resistance. However, because of the many benefits of the drugs, 81.25% of my sample was using them. Only 15.38% of the group on the treatment reported suffering or having suffered severe sickness.⁶⁹ The rest had minor health effects and were able to go about their daily lives.⁷⁰

The South African government provides free antiretroviral treatment to all HIV positive individuals with a CD4 count above 200 cells/mm³. “Let us Grow” played an important role in ensuring the local clinic provided these drugs. Thus my interviewees received the expensive treatment for free and did not have to travel long distances to collect it. As a result they were relatively healthy and productive and could use funds that may have gone towards medication for school fees. The healthier parents are, the lower their medical expenses.

c) Assistance from relatives

As explained in the section 7.3.1, extended families provide significant support to HIV positive parents. 75% of all HIV positive

⁶⁹ “Severe health effects” include individuals that are on bed rest, have recently had operations, are recovering from TB or suffer from debilitating bouts of sickness and fatigue.

⁷⁰ “Minor health effects” include headaches, rashes, swelling, soars and aches.

interviewees received some form of financial assistance from their families. These funds could then be used to pay school fees.

d) Subsidized schooling

Public schooling is heavily subsidized in South Africa. Parents can often raise the money necessary to send their children to school. The fees for schools in the area varied significantly. Busile claimed she paid fees of R50 (\$6.73)⁷¹ a month per child. This value was much higher than some of the figures cited by the control HIV negative group. Their fees ranged from R40- R150 (\$5.39- \$20.19)⁷² per year, depending on the age of the child. This suggests there are a range of schools in the vicinity that can accommodate poorer members of the community, who struggle to send their children to school.

From my interviews with the HIV negative control group it is clear that school fees are one of the most important expenses for members of the Orange Farm community. Whilst almost everyone in my sample had access to the child support grant, in some ways HIV positive parents had a financial advantage over their peers, as they also had access to resources like the HIV and AIDS grant. Unlike the conclusions by the literature and my initial predictions, I found HIV positive parents continued to pay their children's school fees and many did not prioritize money for HIV and AIDS related expenses over their child's education. Government financial support mitigates the impact of the virus on students' lives. It demonstrates the potential and power of the welfare system and welfare state.

⁷¹ "South African Currency Converter- OANDA Customizable Currency Converter." OANDA.com.

⁷² Ibid.

7.3.3 Psychological Impact

The psychological impact of having an HIV positive parent is perhaps the biggest challenge to the education sector. Parents who had disclosed their status to their children expressed concern, and in some cases cited examples of instances where a child's performance began to decline because they were worried about their parents' wellbeing. Many children have seen their parents suffering from a range of minor aches, pains, rashes, sores and coughs, to more serious diseases like Tuberculosis. For those that are aware of their parents' HIV status, they must also face the possibility that their parents may not live as long as they expect them to. As a result they must also address what will become of their families.

This was the only finding that supported my initial hypothesis and the studies of many researchers and theorists. Author Carol Coombe focuses much of her work on the psychological impact of the virus on students. The following include some her predicted effects of HIV and AIDS related trauma on children;

- secrecy and silence about parental illness for fear of being stigmatised, combined with the cultural communication gap between adult and child in this region; denial that the illness is related to HIV/AIDS; no acknowledgement or discussion of the child's fears even though the child is perceptive, and knows by signs and symptoms what is wrong
- grief at witnessing the wasting sickness of a parent or other loved person, often in the most dehumanised circumstances; inability to discuss illness and death prior to the parent's death, to say farewell; and then lack of opportunity to express such grief

- insufficient time to grieve and come to terms with loss, leading to problems with resolution of grief, **learning difficulties at school** [emphasis added], problems of confiding in people, behavioural changes, loneliness and isolation
- grief after death of a parent or significant other further compounded by continuing silence and denial, breakup of the family home, and separation from siblings, friends and community: *'The grief experience of AIDS orphans is a very silent, secretive and commonly unfulfilled process'* (Devine & Graham, n.d.)
- confusion and distress about family quarrels over disposal of family property
- anxiety about re-starting life in unfamiliar surroundings, in a new location, often in a new school, and about where or how HIV/AIDS will strike the family again.

Children without emotional support may withdraw, resign and isolate themselves. They will have a strong sense of insecurity and instability, a sense that life is empty and that adults are not to be trusted (Kelly, 2000a).⁷³

I find this aspect of Coombe's research particularly astute and a number of her points surfaced during my interviews. The case studies below help illustrate how and why knowledge of a parent's HIV status affects students psychologically, and what impact this has on their schooling.

⁷³ Coombe, Carol. *HIV/AIDS and Trauma among Learners: Sexual Violence and Deprivation in South Africa*, P13-14

Case Study of Thandi and her Niece

Thandi is a single HIV positive aunt living with her niece in Orange Farm. The two have lived together since 1998 and she considers her niece her daughter. Throughout the interview she speaks fondly of her niece, who was an active member of the school community, had won several awards and had competed in beauty pageants. Thandi has known about her status for approximately 2 years. She regularly attends support groups and is on medication. She disclosed her status to her niece soon after she found out. During the interview Thandi expressed some guilt about the impact of sharing this information with her niece. She states, "Sometimes I think I am the one to be blamed because now she is 16 years old now and she is pregnant... I don't know really... I think I am the one to be blamed or what... because she take care of me when she was very young, and I tell her each and everything about my sickness all that. If that thing did disturbed her a little bit I don't know." When I asked Thandi to expand on how she thinks her status has impacted her niece's life and education, she recounted the following story: "... there was time that she was here on school holiday, it was last year, so I fell sick then she phoned the ambulance, I go with the ambulance with her. So when I came back I went back home... so when I was home, when I was in the hospital there's a Thursday that she didn't came to look at me. So when I went back home I asked her why you didn't come on Thursday because I wanted some things from home. She said, "No, I was at school." But after a month later, then she tell me that I was *clipping* [lying]... actually I went out. When I went out then I came early in the morning then I slept. So she said what's wrong with you, are you sick? I said no I am not sick. She said, oh, if you sick you know, remember that [Thandi starts crying] day I took you to the hospital? Hmm? I even have a boyfriend that is a medi...uh... I even have a boyfriend that is the ambulance boyfriend so that when you sick, you mustn't wait long for the ambulance."

Because Thandi is very upset, we do not elaborate on the story further. However it is reasonable to assume that the boyfriend, who ran the ambulance, got her niece pregnant. Thandi believes it is her fault her niece sought out a boyfriend who operated an ambulance.

Having seen her aunt very sick and having to take her to the hospital must have made Thandi's niece very upset and concerned. Thandi thinks her status contributed to her niece's pregnancy. This case illustrates how anxiety and fear for an HIV positive guardian may refocus a student's energies and tear them away from their studies.

Case Study of Neo and her Daughter

Neo is a young HIV positive mother. She has 2 children, one of whom is also HIV positive. She lives with her parents and volunteers at "Let us Grow". She found out she was HIV positive approximately 2 years ago, and seems comfortable with her status. She states "I didn't even cry when they told me about my HIV status" and explains "I was fine because, I was already knowing about HIV."

Neo however admits that her HIV status has impacted her 9 year old daughter. Neo did not intend on disclosing her status, but her daughter accidentally found out.

Although Neo claims her daughter has accepted that both her mother and brother are HIV positive, Neo is worried about how this has impacted her psychologically. Neo recounted a story where her daughter told her she did not want her to get thin like other HIV positive individuals. Neo thinks because her daughter has been worrying about her and her brother, her performance has fallen at school. She states, "At school they give him [her] some counseling, because I also go to school and tell... tell them about my status because I thought that maybe it was my status that affect her at school, so... they just give me support at school. They told me that they will always talk about HIV so that she can be right."

This case study illustrates the psychological difficulties of coping with the virus and how this can affect a child's studies. Neo hopes that by answering all of her daughter's questions and keeping her informed, her daughter will better handle the situation.

Thus, from these case studies it appears that the psychological impact of the virus is considerable and distracts students from their schooling. However, because I did not speak directly with the children, it is difficult to detail the specific experiences of students in HIV positive households. I rely on their parents and not first person accounts. Moreover, because of potential feelings of guilt, shame or denial, parents may understate the impact of the virus on their children.

The interviews indicate that households need adequate counseling to counter detrimental psychological effects. Neo attempted to do this by speaking to her daughter's teachers. Families should investigate what government resources are available help HIV positive parents to cope with the virus. Antiretroviral treatment will allow infected interviewees to live long, productive lives.

In a few outlying interviews, some parents stated that they did not believe their status had a negative psychological impact on their children's education. For example Lindi said that once her 19 year old daughter was aware Lindi was HIV positive, she was motivated to work even harder at school so she could earn money to help her mother. Thus whilst one can generally assume children struggle emotionally to cope with the status of their parents, one must also acknowledge the minority who became more focused on their studies as a result of the presence of HIV in their households.

7.3.4 The Impact of Stigma and Lack of Disclosure

The section above illustrates how and why the psychological effects of HIV and AIDS have the potential to distract students from their studies. However, I found that to avoid the harmful psychological impact, many

parents chose not to disclose their status to their children. Thus whilst the trauma associated with HIV and AIDS has a substantial effect on a child's performance, these effects were potentially limited as few parents discussed their status.

Most parents were selective about who they shared their HIV status with, particularly because there is still a stigma associated with virus. Not only is it linked to deviant or promiscuous sexual behavior, according to authors Peter Delius and Clive Glaser, "it is also associated with death, which invokes notions of pollution in African ancestor religions... the 'living dead' are often regarded as polluting while still alive."⁷⁴ Fearing discrimination and isolation from their communities, many interviewees did not openly disclose their status. Generally only close family were aware of the parent's HIV status. Interviewees like Bebe⁷⁵, a 49 year old unemployed mother of 3, who had only been aware of her status for 3 months, had not told anyone she was HIV positive and had no plans to tell her family. According to Donald Skinner and Sakhumzi Mfecane, "a prime impact of discrimination is that it pushes the epidemic [HIV and AIDS] underground, forcing people who have contracted HIV, and anything else associated with the disease, into hiding.... so its perceived threat is reduced."⁷⁶

I discussed this issue with 12 HIV positive parents who had a total of 17 children enrolled in school. Of those 17, 7 (or 41.2%) knew at least one parent was HIV positive. Arguably the remaining 10 children did not know of their parents' status because they were too young. However 6 of these

⁷⁴Delius, Peter and Clive Glaser. 2005. "Sex, disease and stigma in South Africa: Historical Perspectives." *African Journal of AIDS Research* 4:1: 35.

⁷⁵ Please refer to Appendix A for further background details

⁷⁶ Skinner, Donald and Sakhumzi Mfecane. November 2004. "Stigma, Discrimination and the Implications for People Living with HIV/AIDS in South Africa." *Journal of Social Aspects of HIV/AIDS*, 1:3:160-161.

children were 10 years and above- an age older than the youngest child who knew their parent was HIV positive. Moreover the oldest child who did not know of their parent's status was 17. One could also argue that parents still coming to terms with being HIV positive may not be ready to tell their children. In one instance, the interviewee had only been aware of her status for 2 months. However there was another who had known for 7 years.

I then investigated whether there was a correlation between if a child was informed of his/her parent's HIV status and if the parent thought HIV and AIDS had impacted the child's education. Of the 11 parents asked both these questions:

- 3 parents had told their children their HIV status and felt it had not impacted them.
- 2 parents had told their children their HIV status and felt it had impacted them.
- 6 parents had not told their children their status and none of them felt it had impacted their children's lives.

From these results and the stories of Neo and Thandi in the previous section, it is clear that for some families, disclosure impacts the performance and mental wellbeing of students. However 3 parents claim disclosure has no impact. Whilst these respondents did not provide any specific explanations, this belief could be attributed to a number of different reasons. Firstly, the child could be well educated about HIV and antiretrovirals and understand that their parents can potentially live many years. Conversely, the child may know nothing about HIV and its effects. Parents could also be in denial or unaware of their children's true feelings

about their HIV status. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that of the 3 parents' 4 children, 75% were performing poorly at school.

What is clear from the statistics is that many parents choose not to disclose their status. This may be due to a number of factors, though some still refuse to discuss the issue even if they have known their status for a while and if their child is of an appropriate age. Those that do not disclose their status feel the presence of HIV and AIDS in the household has not impacted their children's lives. The group of 6 interviewees had a total of 9 children and only 1 child (11.1%) was reported as performing poorly at school. The parent claimed that this was because he had always been a slow learner and had to go to a special school. Thus his poor performance does not appear to be related to his mother's status. These statistics suggest that children who are unaware their parents are HIV positive are able to perform well at school.

A number of interviewees explicitly stated that lack of disclosure had ensured the wellbeing of their children. For example Muzi⁷⁷, a 55 year old father of 3, was adamant that none of his children discover he is HIV positive. He felt that his status had not affected their education. He was particularly concerned that if his oldest daughter found out she may start worry about his death. However, it is important to remember that respondents like Muzi may be rationalizing. Parents may assume that if they say nothing is wrong, their children will not think anything is wrong, though this may not be the case. Again, parents' possible guilt and shame of the consequences of the virus may cause them to understate the impact of HIV and AIDS on their families.

⁷⁷ Please refer to Appendix A for further background details

Arguably, even if parents do not disclose their status, children may be aware of their periodical sickness or increased stress. High levels of secrecy promote confusion and may be a distraction for students. However dealing with these bouts of illness may be easier than the fatality of AIDS. For example in Busile's interview she stated that her 17 year old daughter, who was not aware of her status, did well in school. Whilst she was concerned about her mother's weight loss, she was still able to perform academically. Busile worries what will happen when her children become aware she is HIV positive.

As parents become increasingly ill and as their children get older, they may begin to deduce their parent's HIV status. Lack of disclosure will not shelter children from the pain and grief of ultimately losing a parent. By keeping their HIV status secret, parents are able to keep their children in school for longer and ideally performing at a consistent level. In some instances the child may be able to complete high school. However, the benefits of keeping this information are short-lived. As soon as the parents become severely ill, or their children find out their parents are HIV positive, it is likely this information will affect children's school enrollment and performance.

7.4 Variation in Findings by Gender and HIV Status

I examined how the association between HIV and AIDS and education varies depending on whether it is the mother or father who is HIV positive, whether the child is a boy or girl and also whether he/she is HIV positive. My results are listed below.

a) Mother or father is HIV positive

I found that the impact of HIV in the household differed depending on whether the father or mother was HIV positive. In African culture, mothers typically care for the children. Of the 12 HIV positive mothers⁷⁸ interviewed, 9 identified as single and were not living with the father of their children. Only 1 of the 3 fathers interviewed had children living with him. This suggests many HIV positive children do not see their fathers on a regular, daily basis.

Of the 9 single mothers, 2 reported receiving some financial assistance from the father of their children. This might be a consequence of the fact that the father had passed away or was unable to work due to HIV and AIDS related sickness. Since men are typically the breadwinners in traditional African households, their inability to work suggests less money is available to support children going to school. However the fact that so few women received monetary assistance from the father of their children may also indicate that few depend on him financially anyway.

Thus given that HIV positive mothers are in closer contact with their children and that some may take full financial responsibility for them, their status will have a significant impact on a child's welfare. If the HIV positive father supports his children financially, then his status will also affect the child's wellbeing. Thus a student's school enrollment and academic performance may be affected differently by each parent.

⁷⁸ Please note one of these women was not "technically" a mother though she had been the guardian of her niece for 8 years and considered her, her daughter.

b) Sex of child

Unlike the literature and my initial hypothesis suggest, all parents (both HIV positive and negative) recognized that children of different sexes had the right to go to school. They unanimously stated it was important to educate both boys and girls. At first I was a little surprised by this finding. However, given that the majority of my participants were unemployed women, many may have recognized the importance of educating and empowering their daughters so they could care for themselves. Also, education is highly revered and respected in the community and there is no apparent opportunity cost for sending girls to school. This finding however may be different in other regions.

c) Child is HIV positive or negative

I initially predicted HIV positive parents would be reluctant to send their HIV positive children to school as they would view this as null investment. The child may not live long enough to join the work force and earn an income. However, when I asked 8 of the HIV positive guardians whether, if their child was HIV positive, they would send them to school, only 1 was uncertain. The remaining 7 cited several reasons why it was important for the child to enroll in school. Thenjiwe, Muzi, Dineo⁷⁹ (a grandmother with 1 son and 2 granddaughters), Busile and Zola stated that either during or after the time the child is at school, someone may find the cure for AIDS. Khanyisa⁸⁰, an unemployed mother aged 27, said she would send her son to school, but would not tell him his status as it may affect him. She was uncertain of when her son would die and until then, it would

⁷⁹ Please refer to Appendix A for further background details

⁸⁰ Ibid.

be important for him to go to school. Bebe was uncertain whether the school would allow her child to finish. However, because she felt education was important to pursue a career and that her child may still be alive at the end of high school, she advocated he enroll. Nonti⁸¹, an unemployed woman aged 39, who had no children but lived with various nieces and nephews, stated that provided her hypothetical child was on medication and the school knew of his/her status, he/she should enroll.

These statements were reiterated by all 5 of the HIV negative interviewees. Both parties recognized that HIV positive children have the right to be treated as equal human beings. The control group had no problems with their children playing with HIV positive children.

Thus it appears that irrespective of whether the family is affected by HIV, the community supports HIV positive children attending regular school.

I interviewed two infected women who each had one child that was HIV positive. Their stories more convincingly illustrate why parents are keen to send their infected children to school.

Case Study of Neo and her HIV Positive Son

Neo, one of my earlier case studies, is a volunteer at “Let us Grow”. Her 4 year old son is HIV positive. Neo discovered her and her son’s status after he contracted tonsillitis and was tested for HIV at the hospital. At the time of the interview, he had been on antiretrovirals for about 2 months. He had suffered some side effects such as diarrhea and vomiting, though Neo claimed these problems would eventually subside.

Neo’s son is currently aware of his HIV status and reminds his mother to give him his antiretrovirals. Neo is keen he continue with his schooling as she believes it is very important. She does not think he will have difficulties at school because he is HIV positive. She has taught him how to interact with other children (for example he should not bite other toddlers) to ensure his and their safety. Neo also has confidence in the teachers and their ability to help him and make sure he takes his medication. Neo states that despite her son’s status he is strong and manages well in preschool.

Case Study of Letsiwe and her HIV positive Son

Letsiwe is a young HIV positive mother whose 3 year old son is also HIV positive. She has not yet told him about his status, as she feels he is too young to understand. Letsiwe's son is not yet on anitretrovirals, but he is taking Bactrim*. Letsiwe hopes to enroll him in primary school soon. She feels it is important for HIV positive children to go to school because an HIV positive person is the same as anyone else- they are entitled to all the same rights.

Letsiwe hopes to eventually tell her son about his status. With some counseling, she does not foresee his status causing any problems for him at school. Letsiwe states she will only disclose his information to the school if her son gives her permission. She is reluctant to discuss the matter with teachers, as she fears it may make him uncomfortable. Letsiwe is confident her son will manage well at school and will be able to interact with other children without any problems.

* "Bactrim is used to treat infections such as urinary tract infections, bronchitis, ear infections (otitis), traveler's diarrhea, and Pneumocystis carinii pneumonia". "Bactrim." *Drugs.com*. Retrieved March 17th 2007 (<http://www.drugs.com/bactrim.html>)

7.5 Poverty vs. HIV and AIDS

The emotional and financial support of the extended family and community caregivers as well as government assistance, mitigate the effect of HIV and AIDS on students' enrollment and academic achievement. This was illustrated by the fact that all children of the appropriate age in HIV positive households were enrolled in school and their performance was comparable to their counterparts in HIV negative households. In this section I argue poverty has an equal, if not more, significant impact on a student's schooling, by comparing HIV negative and positive participants.

In general, I found that the lives of HIV negative and positive parents were similar in many ways. The stress of being unemployed and the challenges of living in a poor community appears to have the most significant impact on family life. HIV negative respondents suffered from an 81.25% unemployment rate. 26.6% relied on child support grants, 37.5% had or were receiving an HIV and AIDS disability grant and 75% received some financial assistance from their families. They used these resources to keep their children in school. Similarly 60% of the HIV negative respondents were unemployed. 40% received some financial assistance from their families, 60% received a child support grant and 40% received some form of government welfare. The same dependence on government and family support meant children in HIV positive and negative families faced similar financial and social constraints. Moreover, both groups had high educational aspirations for their children. Within each group the limiting condition for their children's achievement was not ambition, but a lack of available resources.

Of four HIV negative interviewees, half of them cited social, emotional and family distractions that may impact their children's school performance. These included a physical disability and the recent death of a family member. Thus, not only HIV positive families fight to keep their children focused on their studies. The depression, anxiety and worry associated with HIV and AIDS is not exclusive to HIV positive families. Children in HIV negative families struggle with similar emotions due to the stressful and difficult Orange Farm way of life.

From the findings amongst the control group it appears that whilst HIV and AIDS affects many households, poverty and unemployment have equally substantial effects on a child's welfare and schooling. Thus, perhaps

what really impacts educational enrollment and attainment in this area is not so much HIV, as it is the challenges associated with life in Orange Farm.

The success of government programs assisting HIV positive families suggests that stronger welfare initiatives, particularly for the unemployed, will have widespread positive and trickledown effects.

8. How Schools and Teachers Address HIV and AIDS on Campus

To give these findings broader context and scope, I investigated how schools handle students from HIV affected families. I interviewed 2 teachers from the Orange Farm community to find out their perspectives on the epidemic. They explained that HIV and AIDS is taught as part of “life orientation skills”: a core class that helps students make and understand important life choices. The government has addressed the impact of HIV and AIDS on education by developing the curriculum for this class and training teachers. Skilled teachers can support students and arm them with information.

None of the teachers suspected any of their students were struggling with the challenges of living in an HIV affected family. However, from the large class size and the lack of a fulltime counselor, the school staff cannot give students individualized attention and it is easy for teachers to overlook students in infected families.

The teachers concluded their interviews by discussing how the government and community could better help them assist children affected by the virus. The following subsections will dissect the important points raised in these interviews, so one can better assess how policies can be improved to support students in HIV positive families.

a) Description of a typical public school

Ms. Dlamini taught at a high school of approximately 1300 pupils who paid school fees of about R100 (\$13.46)⁸² per year. She had just started working there in 2006. Her largest class comprised 65 students and her smallest, 35. Ms. Molobatse taught at a primary school, for 7 years, with a body of 1078 students. Students paid about R50 (\$6.73)⁸³ per year. She states each class comprised an average of 54 students. These figures clearly illustrate the low teacher-student ratio and how a lack of one-on-one attention makes it difficult for staff to address difficult HIV and AIDS related problems.

b) How is HIV and AIDS addressed at school?

As stated earlier, one of the key ways in which teachers address HIV and AIDS is through the “Life Orientation Skills” class. It educates students about cultures, home life, nutrition, human rights, decision-making, HIV and AIDS and explores different beliefs and views on various issues. Students begin the course in primary school and continue through high school. There is a book that accompanies the class. The section on HIV and AIDS looks at causes, prevention, treatment and strategies to cope with the virus. Students start to learn about HIV and AIDS in first grade and both teachers felt students had sufficient awareness of the virus. This opinion was reiterated by most HIV positive parents. However Ms. Molobatse felt that despite this knowledge, students still continued to engage in risky sexual behavior and the syllabus did not do enough to change attitudes.

⁸² “South African Currency Converter- OANDA Customizable Currency Converter.” OANDA.com.

⁸³ Ibid.

The public schools also host organizations like “Let us Grow” and “Loveliflife” who educate students through peer support programs. Sometimes drama groups perform to promote awareness. On occasions such as World AIDS Day, the school joins with the community to further educate students.

c) What are the difficulties of addressing HIV and AIDS in the classroom and assisting students from infected families?

In terms of disseminating information to students about HIV and AIDS, teachers complained that they were supposed to teach in English but sometimes were forced to revert to Zulu or Sotho so students could understand them.

The 2 teachers also discussed a number of difficulties in identifying and assisting students in HIV affected families. Firstly both complained that because their classes were so large, they were difficult for them to control and the circumstances made it harder to get to know students. The lack of space and privacy made it difficult for staff to have more personal, intimate conversations with students. Moreover, because schools do not require students to disclose their status or the status of their parents, teachers cannot look out for students who may be struggling with the impact of HIV. This is compounded by the fact that although there is a school nurse, there is no full time counselor available for students. At the primary school where Ms. Molobatse taught, a school support committee (made up of staff) met occasionally to identify problematic children and in some cases would bring someone in to counsel a student. However, with the large student body, identifying troubled children can be difficult. Ms. Molobatse

explains that teachers must act as counselors, though admits that in her 7 years as a teacher there, she had never been approached in that capacity.

According to Coombe, “It is essential that educators provide psychosocial support for children who are in HIV/AIDS related trauma. Failure to do so will provoke ‘second generation’ difficulties including alcohol and drug abuse, violent behaviour, suicidal tendencies, unwanted pregnancies and STD/HIV infections.”⁸⁴ Since the psychological trauma of HIV and AIDS has the biggest impact on performance and enrollment, the of lack counselors is particularly challenging.

d) Teacher recommendations

Both teachers wanted to see more ongoing support of HIV and AIDS and Ms. Molobatse wanted more money to bring in speakers. From their interviews it is clear public schools could benefit from a fulltime, onsite counselor, whose responsibilities also include finding funding and continuing awareness of HIV and AIDS and other community issues. He/she could be available to advice troubled students and could better gauge the impact of the virus on the school community. At present it seems the staff knows very little about students living in infected homes and so cannot offer support and advice nor monitor the students’ academic performance.

9. Evaluation of Findings

Given my small sample size and the fact that my study takes place in a very specific urban area of Johannesburg, the generalizability of my

⁸⁴ Coombe, Carol. *HIV/AIDS and Trauma among Learners: Sexual Violence and Deprivation in South Africa*, P13- 14

results is low. Factors like child labor or family networks are likely to be different in areas such as farming communities. My results are only applicable to poor respondents of African origin living in Orange Farm, as this was the only demographic I interviewed. There are likely to be large discrepancies between ethnic groups and residents of urban and rural communities. Furthermore, I only interviewed families with parents that were still alive. My observations and conclusions would have been different if the oldest child or grandparent were caring for the entire household.

Whilst the scope of my findings is limited, I believe their reliability is high. This is because my interviews were long and detailed and the same types of issues and concerns surfaced. Moreover, having a community member to help guide the interview and put the participant at ease gave me greater confidence in my interviewee's statements and analysis. Participants generally spoke freely and openly about the virus.

However it is also important to remember that interviewees were self-reporting and thus one has to consider what may have motivated their responses. This is particularly pertinent when interviewees discuss what impact they perceive the virus has had on their children. Feelings of denial, guilt or shame may cause them to understate the effects.

Another potential source of error was selection bias. Because all of my participants were affiliated with 'Let us Grow', they knew how to cope with their HIV status and were aware of their rights. Moreover they were chosen because they were open to discussing their status, suggesting a certain level of acceptance. They thus have a more positive outlook on the effects of the virus within the household. This is illustrated in the example of Neo who, when finding out about her status said, "I was fine because, I was already knowing about HIV" and that "I didn't even cry when they told

me about my HIV status”. She also explained “...I am fine with my HIV status, no matter what people say... I don’t care what they say.” Neo is a “Let us Grow” volunteer who has a positive and accepting attitude towards her HIV status. Her views on its impact and the degree to which it has affected her children’s education are likely to be more optimistic as she knows how to access resources like antiretrovirals and the HIV and AIDS grant.

This selection bias was difficult to overcome as I had no access to HIV positive interviewees without the help of the “Let us Grow”. Thus when analyzing the findings it is important to consider that in communities that have little access to information and counseling on HIV and AIDS, it is likely that the impact of the virus on educational enrollment and achievement will be more pronounced. This is because parents will not have the necessary knowledge and resources to help their families cope with the virus.

The final inaccuracies in the study include the fact that I am basing my results on the voices of a small number of male respondents. Moreover, I did not interview children in the household so my data on the psychological impact of HIV and AIDS is limited. Finally, I may also have lost important details in the translations.

10. Summary and Conclusion

Former research on the impact of HIV and AIDS on students in South Africa asserts that due to the difficult and challenging environment created by the virus, students will have to take on greater responsibilities within the household, may miss school more frequently, may fail to enroll (due to a

lack of finances available for schooling), and will suffer adverse psychological effects.

These studies shaped my initial research. The goals of my project were two-fold. Firstly I investigated how HIV and AIDS influenced the attitudes of parents to education. Second, I examined how the virus affected the enrollment, achievement and performance of students in poor, HIV positive, urban South African households. I focused on three variables to determine the impact on the students: whether the virus affected the child's level of responsibility in the home, whether finances were redistributed away from education to cover HIV and AIDS related costs, and whether the child suffered from psychological distress due to fear of losing his/her parent(s). I also examined whether the association between HIV and AIDS and education varied depending on whether it was the mother or father who was HIV positive, whether the child was a boy or a girl and whether he/she was HIV positive.

I conducted my project in Orange Farm, an outer region of the capital city Johannesburg, located in Gauteng province. Orange Farm is a poor township with rampant levels of poverty and unemployment. Because I only interviewed a small sample of poor HIV positive and negative parents of African origin living in the region, the generalizability of my findings is low. My results can be summarized as follows:

a) General

I found that the impact of HIV and AIDS on educational enrollment and performance was not as detrimental as the literature and my initial hypotheses stipulated. This is highlighted by the fact that all children of the appropriate age associated with my study were enrolled in school.

Amongst the older children who had dropped out, none blamed their parents' HIV status. Moreover, the performance of students from HIV positive families was comparable to students from HIV negative families. 81.82% of HIV positive parents felt the virus had not had an impact on their children's education. 33.33% of this group had disclosed their status to their children.

b) Value of education

I predicted parents would value education more once they contracted HIV, as they may not be around to support their children in the future, and they would want them to secure employment. I however found that parents valued education equally throughout their lives. This was a consequence of not being able to finish their own schooling, struggling with unemployment and living in an environment where attendance at school is encouraged.

c) Impact on students

i) Levels of responsibility in the home

Like the literature, I believed students would have to take on more responsibility around the house as a result of their parent's periodic sickness. This would ultimately deter students from their studies. I however found that because HIV positive parents received significant support from large extended family networks and community caregivers, children did not have to take on the burden of caring for their parents and household. The community participates in a moral economy: a system based on cultural traditions and principles

of fairness. Despite the financial and social burden, relatives care for HIV positive households, understanding they would be entitled to similar benefits if they were ill. Other possible motivations include feelings of altruism or, if they considered neglecting their relatives, fear of guilt and shame.

ii) Redistribution of finances

I predicted that due to increased medical, nutritional and transportation costs, HIV positive parents would redistribute their income away from their children's education. This hypothesis was supported by the literature. However, given the changes in legislation and financial assistance from family networks, this was not the case. Through government child support and HIV and AIDS disability grants, parents were able to pay fees even when they were really sick. Moreover, public schooling is heavily subsidized, making it relatively affordable for parents on a tight budget. Finally, the government provides free antiretroviral treatment, keeping parents healthier for longer and ensuring that the money that they may have spent on medication for HIV and AIDS related sickness can be spent on fees.

iii) Psychological distress

Influenced by the literature, I hypothesized that the fear of death and constant exposure to a sick parent would affect the psychological health of students in HIV positive families. This would ultimately affect their school performance

and potentially their enrollment. This was indeed the case in many families. Parents reported a fall in the performance of their children once they became aware of either their mother or father's status. Unfortunately, as I was unable to speak to the children directly, these experiences could not be detailed.

During my research, however, I found a number of factors that limit the level of psychological distress in the household. Firstly some children had the opportunity to live with their relatives and did not have to constantly see their parents sick. Whilst one might perceive relocating to a new home as traumatic, it is common in African culture for children to live and be raised by different family members.

Next I discovered that due to stigma and concern that their children would worry, many parents did not disclose their status to their children. Thus, because students were unaware their parents were HIV positive, they continued to perform well at school. This however is short-lived as lack of disclosure merely postpones the impact of the virus. As students begin to suspect something is wrong, they are likely to suffer from stress and anxiety.

The variation in my results can be summarized as follows:

a) *Mother or father is HIV positive*

As initially hypothesized, a mother's HIV status has a significant impact on a child's welfare and academics since she is in closer contact with her children and may take full financial responsibility for them. However

this impact is not necessarily greater than the impact of having an HIV positive father. If he supports his children financially, then his status will also affect their wellbeing.

b) Sex of child

Unlike my initial prediction, all parents believed both boys and girls had the right to go to school. Whilst I originally believed my subject population would subscribe to more traditional beliefs about the role of men and women in society, I found many unemployed women were adamant their daughters go to school. This was contrary to the literature which assumed that increased sexual awareness campaigns around HIV and AIDS would make parents weary of sending their daughters to school.

c) Child is HIV positive or negative

Whilst the literature and I predicted parents would view HIV positive children as a null investment, I found most parents, including the two women with HIV positive sons, wanted HIV positive children to go to school. This was because they recognized that HIV positive children had the same rights as other children and many believed the cure for AIDS would be available soon.

These findings ultimately indicate that the extended family, community and government have mobilized around the virus to support affected families. HIV positive households enjoy financial benefits and services that are unavailable to other residents of Orange Farm, helping to ensure their children stay in school. Thus community and government

efforts have mitigated the impact of HIV and AIDS on students. The study demonstrates the potential power of a strong welfare system.

By comparing the lives of HIV positive and negative people from Orange Farm, it appears that poverty defines much of a child's daily life. Both groups suffer high rates of unemployment, similar financial difficulties, and various other social challenges associated with life in the impoverished community. I thus argue that poverty is an equal, if not more, significant determinant of a student's enrollment and performance. Given the success of HIV and AIDS welfare initiatives, I argue government welfare programs for the unemployed will have similar widespread positive and trickledown effects.

Finally, through interviews with the teachers, I found the government is attempting to address the impact of the epidemic on education through a "life orientations skills" class. However I found that the large class size and limited one-on-one attention in public schools made it difficult for teachers to identify, monitor and support children from affected families.

11. Recommendations

These results indicate HIV positive households can generally cope with new responsibilities associated with the virus and additional financial strain, through government, community and family support. Thus the government should aim to strengthen awareness and access to the resources like disability grants and free antiretrovirals for HIV positive families. They should also support community organizations like "Let us Grow", who educate and care for infected families. These various sources of assistance played a significant role in ensuring children were able to continue going to

school without too many distractions. South Africa should especially look to strengthen these factors in remote rural areas. In sub-Saharan African countries that do not have similar welfare support systems or community and nonprofit assistance, the virus continues to seriously affect students and the education sector. Perhaps these areas can use South Africa as model for how to minimize the impact of HIV and AIDS on individual households.

My research shows that children mainly suffer from the psychological distress of having an HIV positive parent. This affects their academic performance and potentially their enrollment. Public schools are not equipped to deal with these kinds of issues. At present, the government has only invested in developing a “life orientation skills” program in public schools, where amongst many other pertinent topics, students learn about HIV and AIDS. Teachers cannot monitor students from HIV affected households as parents are not required to disclose their status to the school.

I would recommend the government help community organizations like “Let us Grow” establish a part-time counselor at the school. The counselor could help gauge the impact of the virus on campus and help identify and support children from HIV affected families. These local organizations train their volunteers and they would be easy to integrate into stable, well-funded school programs. The government could also look into establishing independent counselors in public schools who not only address HIV and AIDS related issues, but a host of other problems challenging students in poor communities.

The government could also further support awareness campaigns and programs to help combat stigma. My interviews indicate that because many parents do not disclose their status, children are unaware of the presence of the virus in their homes and can still perform well at school.

However, by not discussing the virus, parents merely postpone its impact. Perhaps a better way to address the situation is to encourage parents to share their status and provide necessary counseling, education and support mechanisms in schools, so children understand that the virus is controllable and that with care and antiretroviral treatment, their parents can live relatively long, stable and healthy lives.

Finally, my findings reveal that poverty perhaps has the greatest impact on the everyday life and schooling of students. By addressing poverty and unemployment in Orange Farm, the government can help keep children performing well in school. This may have an even greater impact on students from HIV positive families than some of the other suggested measures. This is because some of the biggest concerns for HIV positive families such as monthly income, access to food and a stable home environment have more to do with levels of poverty than the parents' HIV status. Moreover, if parents can better cope financially and have less stress and anxiety about their everyday lives, they can better handle the virus. This will have a positive effect on students.

I thus advocate a continual strengthening of the government welfare system. Given the success of the HIV and AIDS initiatives, the benefits of welfare programs are potentially far-reaching. Moreover, as asserted by author Richard M. Titmuss, "...as more and more people are raised above a minimum standard of living to a position of freedom in which they may purchase whatever medical care, education, training and other services they require... 'The Welfare State' would eventually be transformed into 'The Middle Class State'."⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Titmuss, Richard. 1963. *Essays on 'The Welfare State'*. London: Unwin University Books, P35-36.

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14. Local Organizations Consulted

Let us Grow

Director: Rose Thamae

Address: 11898 Extension 7A

Orange Farm

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South Africa

Tel: +27 72 118 8945

13. Appendix Section

Appendix A

Brief Background Information on Interviewees Referenced in the Study

Pseudonym	Brief Background Description of Interviewee
Thenjiwe	<p>Thenjiwe was a 51 year old single, HIV positive mother who was once married. At the time of the interview she was not looking for work. She relied on her family for financial assistance and up until April 2006 she was receiving a government HIV and AIDS disability grant. She had known about her status for approximately 3 years. She was sick often and was on antiretrovirals.</p> <p>Thenjiwe had 2 children. Only her son of 19 years old was in school. He was aware she was HIV positive. She felt her status had not impacted his education, even though he had not been performing well in school.</p>
Lindi	<p>Lindi was a 45 year old, unemployed, single, HIV positive mother. At the time of the interview she was receiving the HIV and AIDS disability grant. Before she received assistance from her sister. She had known about her status for 2 years. She was on antiretrovirals and suffered minor health effects.</p> <p>Lindi had one daughter, who after having a child, returned to school. Her daughter was aware Lindi was HIV positive. Lindi believed it had encouraged her daughter to work harder at school.</p>
Vumile	<p>Vumile was a 53 year old HIV positive grandmother separated from her husband. She was not actively seeking work and received financial assistance from her family. She had known about her status for approximately 6 months. She has had some serious operations in the past and was on antiretrovirals.</p> <p>Vumile had 3 children, all of whom are out of school and 5 grandchildren. Only some of her children completed their final year of schooling as she was unable to afford school fees.</p>
Thandi	<p>Thandi was a 46 year old single, unemployed HIV positive woman. At</p>

	<p>the time of the interview she was receiving the HIV and AIDS disability grant. Thandi had been aware of her status for 2 years. She was on antiretrovirals and only suffered from minor health effects.</p> <p>Thandi lived and cared for her niece as if she were her own daughter. Her niece knew of her HIV status and although she continued to perform well at school, Thandi believed it had affected her education.</p>
Zola	<p>Zola was a 31 year old, single, unemployed, HIV positive mother. She received assistance from her mum who was a domestic worker. Zola had known about her status for about 1 year. She was very sick during the interview and was not on antiretroviral treatment.</p> <p>Zola had 1 son who lived with his paternal grandmother. He visits her during the holidays. He was unaware Zola was HIV positive. As a result, he continued to perform well at school.</p>
Tshepo	<p>Tshepo was a 41 year old, unemployed HIV positive father. At the time of the interview he was married and relied on the income his wife earned as a trolley assistant. He had known about his status for approximately a year, and had suffered minor health effects. He was on antiretrovirals.</p> <p>Tshepo had 2 children. His son of 17 years lived with him whilst his daughter of 22 lived with her biological mother. Both children were aware of he was HIV positive. He felt his status had not impacted his daughter's education. Both of his children performed poorly at school.</p>
Letsiwe	<p>Letsiwe was a 28 year old unemployed, single HIV positive mother. She relied on assistance from her family and the government child support grant. She had been aware of her status for approximately 1 year 7 months. She had suffered serious health effects (such as TB) in the past. She was not on antiretrovirals at the time of the interview.</p> <p>Letsiwe had 2 children. Only her 11 year old son was enrolled in school. He did not know she was HIV positive. His performance in school was average. Her youngest son was HIV positive. She hoped to eventually enroll him in school too.</p>
Neo	<p>Neo was a 29 year old single, HIV positive mother. At the time of the interview she was a volunteer with "Let us Grow". She relied on income from her father and 2 child support grants. Neo had been aware of her</p>

	<p>status for about 2 years. She had suffered minor health effects and was on antiretrovirals.</p> <p>Neo had 2 children. Her oldest daughter was 9 years old and struggled a bit at school. Neo thought her daughter's academic performance was affected by the fact that she had disclosed her status to her.</p> <p>Neo's youngest son was also HIV positive. He was aware of both his and Neo's status. He was enrolled in preschool and managed well.</p>
Busile	<p>Busile was a 45 year old, unemployed, single HIV positive mother. She relied on assistance from her children and the government child support grant. Busile had known about her status for about 7 years. She had suffered minor health effects and was on antiretrovirals.</p> <p>Busile had 4 children, 2 of whom were in school. Neither of the children in school was aware of her status, and she thus did not feel it had affected their education. Both children performed well academically.</p>
Bebe	<p>Bebe was a 49 year old unemployed, married, HIV positive mother. She received a child support grant for one of her daughters. She had known about her status for approximately 3 months. She was not on antiretrovirals and did not complain of any sickness.</p> <p>Bebe had 3 children. None of them were aware of her status. Only her youngest son of 12 years old was still in school. Because she had not yet told him she was HIV positive, she did not feel her status had impacted his education. Her son performed well in school.</p>
Muzi	<p>Muzi was a 55 year old unemployed, married, HIV positive father. He received assistance from his family and church and sometimes earned some money doing odd jobs. He had known about his status for approximately 2 months. He had some minor health effects and was on antiretrovirals.</p> <p>He had 3 children who lived with their mother elsewhere. He had not disclosed his status to them. He thus felt HIV and AIDS had not impacted their education. All of his children performed well in school.</p>
Dineo	<p>Dineo was a 55 year old, unemployed, single, HIV positive grandmother. She received assistance from her family as well as the HIV and AIDS disability grant. She also collected tins from a local rubbish dump and</p>

	<p>sold them. Dineo had been aware of her status for approximately 3 months. She had suffered minor health effects and was on antiretroviral treatment.</p> <p>Dineo had 1 son still alive and 2 grandchildren whom she saw over the holidays. Her son was 34 years old. He had only finished 1st grade as Dineo could not afford to pay school fees beyond that year.</p>
Khanyisa	<p>Khanyisa was a 27 year old, unemployed, married, HIV positive mother. She relied on her family for financial assistance. She had known about her status for approximately a year. She had suffered from minor health effects and was on antiretroviral treatment.</p> <p>Khanyisa had one son still alive. He was 10 years old and performed well in school. Khanyisa had not disclosed her status to her son.</p>
Nonti	<p>Nonti was an unemployed, single, HIV positive woman. She relied on assistance from her family. She had known about her status for about 2 years. She suffered from minor health effects and was on antiretroviral treatment. Nonti had no children but lived with a number of her nieces and nephews. She expressed concern when discussing the impact her status would have on them.</p>

Appendix B

Informed Consent Form

(Please note- this form will be read out and translated where necessary. My interviewee and I will establish a formal verbal agreement).

Project Title: HIV/AIDS and Education

Primary Investigator: Janine Morna, Yale University

Before I begin, please feel free to ask me questions about your involvement in the study as I go along.

Purpose:

This study examines how HIV/AIDS influences attitudes to education within a household.

Procedures:

I will be interviewing you individually with the help of a community worker. The interview will take about 1,5 hours and it will be taped.

Risks and Benefits:

The risks associated with this study are small. None of the services you receive from Let's Grow will be affected by participating. Also, nothing you say will be shared with the rest of your community. You will receive R20 (approximately \$3.06) for the interview.

Confidentiality:

Only the people involved in this study will have access to your interview tapes. We will use a fake name during the interview so that your real name is not listed anywhere. I will only reveal details from your interview if I am asked to by a court.

Voluntary Participation:

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. This means you do not have to do the interview- you can chose whether you would like to participate. During the interview we can stop whenever you like and you do not have to answer all my questions. You will still receive R20 even if you do not complete the interview.

Questions:

If you have any questions about this study, you may contact me, Janine Morna at janine.morna@yale.edu or on the following land line [number to be provided].

If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant or concerns about the this study, you may contact Let's Grow at [information to be provided].

Agreement to Participate:

Please state, on the tape that you have listened and understood all of this information and have been able to ask questions about the study.

Finally, please state that you have agreed to participate in the study.

Appendix C

Questionnaires

All interviews began by firstly filling out the following background information:

Participant ID Number _____

Background Data

1. Age _____
2. Sex _____
3. Ethnic background _____
4. Current Employment and salary _____

Questionnaire for HIV Positive Parents

Personal Information

1. Explanation of the family arrangements including marital status, household size, living arrangements. Can you describe what these arrangements were like in the past and how they might have changed today? Why did you move to Orange Farm? How long have you lived here?
2. Educational background and experiences. What kind of schooling have you had? Where? And up until what level? Why did you leave then?
3. Employment Background
4. Some description of your daily life

5. Information about your income and support (e.g. welfare or government pension).
How your income has changed since contracting the virus.
How your spending has changed since contracting the virus.
Are other members of the family now contributing to the household income?

HIV/AIDS Related information

6. When and how did you contract HIV?
7. How long have you known about your HIV status?
8. How did you react to finding out you were HIV positive?
9. Who have you told about your HIV status?
10. How did these people react?
11. What kind of care and support do you receive and who is it from?
12. Have you ever been on antiretrovirals?
13. Tell me a little bit about your general health and how it has been impacted by the virus.
14. Do you know of any other family members or friends who are infected with HIV?
15. Has anyone in your family died from AIDS and how has this affected you? How has this affected your children?

Information about the Children

16. Number of children in the household. Their ages and sex.
17. Are any of your children HIV positive? If so what kind of care and support are they receiving? Are they on ARVs?
18. Do all your children live with you on the same compound?
19. Are your children aware of the HIV presence in the family?
20. If so, how long have they known? How did they find out about HIV in the family? How did they first react? Have they been through any kind of counseling? How have their attitudes changed over time?

Education Related Questions

21. How many children are in school?
22. How much are the current school fees? Who pays them? With what income?
23. How has HIV/AIDS impacted spending on your children's education?
24. How well are your children performing at school?
25. Do you think your children are focused on school?
26. Do your children enjoy school?
27. What kinds of activities have they been involved in, in the past? What kinds of activities are they involved in now?

28. Do you help/encourage your children to go to school? If so, how?
29. Do your children work part-time? If so, where do they work? How long have they worked there? What were the reasons behind them getting this job (for eg. Was it to help with HIV related costs)?
30. What kinds of responsibilities do they now have in the home? How have these changed over time?
31. How much time is dedicated to caring for their parents?
32. How much time is spent on homework?
33. (IF CHILD IS AWARE OF HIV IN THE HOUSEHOLD)- Has the child discussed the virus with their teachers or peers?
34. If your child was HIV positive, would it still be important for them to go to school?

The Future

35. What are your children's future aspirations?
36. What do you perceive of your children's futures?
37. How important is education to your children's futures?

If Children are out of School

38. How old are they?
39. Final level of schooling- did they complete Matric or did they drop out? Why?
40. Does HIV have anything to do with why they are no longer in school? If so, explain.

41. Are they employed?
42. Do they take care of you and the family?
43. What are your child's future goals?
44. How do you feel about these goals? What are your expectations for your child's future?
45. Is your child supported by the family?

Attitudes towards Education

- 46. The parent's attitudes to primary, secondary and tertiary education**
- 47. How these attitudes have changed as a result of HIV**
- 48. Why or why don't the parents believe education is valuable**
49. Does the parent believe education is important for both boys and girls
50. Does the parent see a link between HIV prevention and education
- 51. How they feel HIV/AIDS has impacted their child's education**

Interview Questions- HIV Negative

Personal Information

1. Explanation of the family arrangements including marital status, household size, living arrangements. Could you describe what these arrangements were like in the past and how they might have changed today? Why did you move to Orange Farm? How long have you lived here?
2. Educational background and experiences. What kind of schooling have you had? Where? And up until what level? Why did you leave then?
3. Employment Background
4. Some description of your daily life
5. Information about your income and support (e.g. welfare or government pension).

How Spending has Potentially Changed over the Years

Are other members of the family now contributing to the household income?

HIV/AIDS Related information

6. Their HIV status
7. How did you first find about HIV/AIDS?
8. Do you know of any other family members or friends who are infected with HIV?

9. Has anyone in your family died from AIDS and how this has affected you? How this has affected the children?

Information about the Children

10. Number of children in the household. Their ages and sex.
11. What are the family's living arrangements? Do all the children live together on the same compound?
12. How many children are in school?
13. Who pays for their fees?
14. How well are they doing?
15. Do you think the child is focused on school?
16. Do they have any distractions at home? For example has anyone been sick or anything like that?
17. Do your children enjoy school?
18. What kinds of activities have they been involved in, in the past? What kinds of activities are they involved in now?
19. Do your children work part-time? If so, where do they work? How long have they worked there? What were the reasons behind them getting this job?
20. What kinds of responsibilities do they now have in the home? How have these changed over time?
21. How much time is dedicated to caring for their parents?
22. How much time is spent on homework?
23. Do you help/encourage your children to go to school?

The Future

24. What are your children's future aspirations?
25. What do you perceive of your children's futures?
26. How important is education to your children's futures?

If Children are out of School

27. How old are they?
28. Final level of schooling- did they complete Matric or did they drop out? Why?
29. Is your child employed? If so, what do they do?
30. Does your child take care of the parents and family?
31. What are your child's future goals?
32. What do you think about these goals? What are your expectations for your child's future?
33. Is your child supported by the family?

Attitudes towards Education

34. The parent's attitudes to primary, secondary and tertiary education
35. Why or why don't the parents believe education is valuable
36. Does the parent believe education is important for both boys and girls

Impact of HIV/AIDS

37. How big of a problem do you think AIDS is in your community?

38. Do you see a link between HIV prevention and education?
39. How open do you think children about HIV/AIDS?
40. How open do you think schools are about HIV/AIDS?
41. Have you discussed HIV with your children??
42. Do you think students that come from HIV positive families will have difficulties at school? Why or why not? (I.e.- how exactly?)
43. How would do you feel about HIV positive children interacting with your children? Why?
44. Do you think HIV positive children should go to school? Why or why not?

Questions for Teachers

Personal Information

1. Are you married?
2. Do you have any children?
3. Where do you live? How long have you lived here?
4. Whom do you live with?
5. What is your HIV Status?
6. Do you know of any other family members or friends who are infected with HIV?
7. Has anyone in your family died from AIDS and if so, how has this affected you?

School Related Questions

8. Educational background and experiences. What kind of schooling have you had? Where? And up until what level? (If applicable- why did you leave then?)
9. Employment Background
10. Current employment. Exact position at the school.
11. What are your responsibilities?
12. Can you describe a typical day?
13. How long have they taught at the school?
14. How big are your classes?
15. Are they easy to control?
16. How would you describe your relationship with the students? Formal? Are you friends?

Impact of HIV/AIDS

17. How big of a problem do you think AIDS is in your community?
18. How prevalent was HIV at the school when you began teaching?
19. How prevalent is HIV now?
20. What sort of HIV education programs does the school have (if any)?
21. Are you involved in them? If so- how?
22. How open are students about the virus and their status?
23. Do students discuss the status of their parents?
24. In what ways do you think the students are affected by the virus?
25. Has HIV/AIDS impacted the students' academic performance? Why or why not?
26. Are there any unique challenges HIV positive children or children from AIDS affected families face relative to other students?
27. How do HIV positive students interact with other students?
28. (IF THE TEACHER HAS CHILDREN)- How would do you feel about HIV positive children interacting with your children?
29. Do you think parents are worried about their children interacting with HIV positive students?

30. How do you treat HIV positive children? Are there any special precautions taken?
31. What does the staff do to counsel, educate and support students?
32. What sort of support does the community provide for the HIV positive students?
33. How could school and community initiatives be strengthened?
34. Personal examples of interactions the teacher has had with HIV positive children.

Appendix D: Background Statistics from HIV Positive Interviewees

Background Statistics on Interviewees (HIV Positive)									
Participant	Age	Sex	Ethnic Background	Employment Status	(If Applicable) Place of Employment	Current Marital Status	Final Year of Schooling (Interviewee)	Sources of Monthly Income at Present	How long have they known of their HIV Status
Thandi	46	F	Tswana	Unemployed	-	Single	9th grade (std 7)	Government grant for just under a year = R820	Approx. 2yrs
Lindi	45	F	South Sotho	Unemployed	-	Single	10th grade (std 8)	Government grant for just under a month= R820. Before got money from sister.	Approx. 2yrs
Sipho	41	M	Sotho	Unemployed	-	Single (But was married before)	9th grade (std 7)	Used to receive a government grant (R820) (expired). Now receives money from family.	Approx. 6yrs
Bikiwe	30	F	Zulu	Unemployed (Never, ever worked)	-	Single	8th grade (std 6)	Used to receive a government grant (R820) (expired). Now receives support from father.	Approx. 4yrs
Zola	31	F	Zulu	Unemployed	-	Single	6th grade (std 4)	Receives money from her mum (brings food)	Approx. 1yr
Tshepo	41	M	Sotho and Xhosa	Unemployed	-	Traditional Marriage	7th grade (std 5)	His wife is a trolley assistant (helps ppl offload groceries and brings trollies back to the store)- earns about R200	Approx. 1yr
Busile	45	F	Venda	Unemployed	-	Single	3rd grade (std 1)	Receives money from her kids- R300 and her daughter gets a child support grant of R190	Approx. 7yrs
Nonti	39	F	Sotho	Unemployed	-	Single	8th grade (std 6)	Older brother sends money- R500	Approx. 2yrs
Bebe	49	F	Sotho	Unemployed	-	Married for 24 years, now widower	4th grade (std 2)	Receives a child support grant for her youngest daughter (R190) and her other daughter receives 2 grants for her 2 children.	Approx. 3 months
Neo	29	F	Sotho	Employed	Let us Grow	Single	12th grade	Father makes about R800 a	Approx. 2yrs

Khanyisa	27	F	Zulu	Unemployed	-	Volunteer for 7 months	Married	11th grade (std 9)	Her older sister who lives in the household (5 adults, 3 kids) works. No one presently receives any grant. Sister pays her child's school fees. Sister gives her food. Goes to the Madiki rubbish dump and sells tins she finds there. Also recently started receiving the R820 grant.	month doing "peace jobs" and each of her 2 children receives R190 child support grant	Approx. 1yr		
Dineo	55	F	Xhosa	Unemployed	-	Single	4th grade (std 2)	8th grade (std 6)	Family provides groceries for her and approx. R100 a month	Brother helps, sometimes does odd jobs and also the church sometimes assists him. His mother and sister pay for his children's school fees.	Approx. 3 months		
Vumile	53	F	Sotho/Zulu	Not actively seeking work	-	Separated	7th grade (std 5)	10th grade (std 8)	Relies on her family. She uses money from the social grant to pay for her eldest son's school fees. Grandmother supports her oldest son.	Relies on her family who buys her groceries. She received a government grant last year (which ended April 2006). Son's fees paid by family and his father.	Approx. 6 months		
Muzi	55	M	Zulu	Unemployed	-	Married since 1979	7th grade (std 5)	7th grade (std 5)	Relies on her family. She uses money from the social grant to pay for her eldest son's school fees. Grandmother supports her oldest son.	Relies on her family who buys her groceries. She received a government grant last year (which ended April 2006). Son's fees paid by family and his father.	Approx. 2 months		
Letsiwe	28	F	Tswana	Unemployed	-	Single	7th grade (std 5)	7th grade (std 5)	Relies on her family who buys her groceries. She received a government grant last year (which ended April 2006). Son's fees paid by family and his father.	Relies on her family who buys her groceries. She received a government grant last year (which ended April 2006). Son's fees paid by family and his father.	Approx. 1 year and 7 months		
Thenjiwe	51	F	Zulu	Not actively seeking work	-	Single (But was married before)	7th grade (std 5)	7th grade (std 5)	Relies on her family who buys her groceries. She received a government grant last year (which ended April 2006). Son's fees paid by family and his father.	Relies on her family who buys her groceries. She received a government grant last year (which ended April 2006). Son's fees paid by family and his father.	Approx 3 yrs		
Average	41.5625												

Appendix E: Background Health Statistics on HIV Positive Interviewees

Participant	Current Health Status	On antiretroviral treatment?
Thandi	Functional (only minor health effects)	Yes
Lindi	Rash, minor health effects	Yes
Sipho	Headaches etc. minor health effects	Yes
Bikiwe	Minor health effects	Yes
Zola	Very Sick	No
Tshepo	Minor health effects	Yes
Busile	Swelling, minor health effects	Yes
Nonti	Minor health effects	Yes
Bebe	Strong and in no pain. No sickness.	No
Neo	Minor health effects	Yes
Khanyisa	Sores around private areas. Generally minor health effects	Yes
Dineo	Sore bones in hands, joints. Generally minor health effects	Yes
Vumile	More serious health effects. Reported growths. Had several operations.	Yes
Muzi	Minor health effects	Yes
Letsiwe	More serious health effects (had TB in the past)	No
Thenjiwe	More serious health effects. Sick often. Problems with tonsils	yes

Appendix F: Background Statistics on HIV Positive Interviewees' Children

Background Statistics on HIV Positive Interviewees' Children									
Participant	Number of Children	Sex of Child A	Age of Child A	Level of Schooling	Child Aware of HIV Status in household?	Performance of child at school	Work Part-time?	More on homework/school work?	Child's Aspirations
Thandi	Cared for sister's daughter	Female	15	9 th grade (std 7)	Yes	Good	No	More working in the house	Model
Lindi	1 Daughter, 1 Granddaughter (1 Son who was killed)	Female	19	11th grade (Std 9)	Yes	Good	No	School work	-
Sipho	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bikiwe	1	Male	12	5 th grade (std 3)	No	Poor, a slow learner. Needs to go to a special school. Always been like that.	No	Helps cook and wash, does school work in the morning	Lawyer
Zola	1	Male	10	4 th grade (std 2)	No	Good	-	-	Police man
Tshepo	2	Male (lives with father)	17	8 th grade (std 6)	Yes	Poor, a slow learner	No	Both homework + school work	-
Busile	4= 1 boy+ 3 girls. 2 currently in school	Female (lives with granny)	17	11th grade (Std 9)	No	Good	No	Kids lazy, she does homework. So more school work	-
Nonti	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bebe	2 girls, 1 boy and 2 grandchildren (boy 3yrs, girl)	Male	12	6 th grade (std 4)	No	Good	-	Does dishes, polishes his shoes. Does school work before other	-

Neo	4yrs). Only boy in school.	2	Female	9	3 rd grade (std 1)	Yes	Poor, struggles a bit	-	She just washes her socks. Spends a lot of time on her school work	Pilot			
Khanyisa	1 (and 1 daughter died of pneumonia) 1 son and 2 grandchildren (whom she only sees over holidays) (1 daughter died at 8months)		Male	10	3 rd grade (std 1)	No	Good	-	Does dishes and school work. He also helps to care for her when she is sick.	Lawyer			
Dineo	3 children, 5 grandchildren		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
Vumile			-	-	-	-	-	-	Wash, cook and clean and they do their homework. He takes care of himself when he is sick.	Nurse			
Muzi	3	Female	14	7 th grade (std 5)	No	Good	-	-	-	-			
Letsiwe	2 (1 of whom is not her in school)		Male	11	4 th grade (std 2)	No	Passing	-	He does the dishes. He however does not do more than before his mum fell sick.	Teacher			
Thenjiwe	2 (though only her son is still at school)		Male	19	12th grade (Matric)	Yes	Struggles-repeated grade 12	No	-	-			

	4yrs). Only boy in school.																					
Neo	2	Female	9	3 rd grade (std 1)	Yes	Good	Poor, struggles a bit	-	-													
Khanyisa	1 (and 1 daughter died of pneumonia)	Male	10	3 rd grade (std 1)	No	Good		-	-													
Dineo	1 son and 2 grandchildren (whom she only sees over holidays) (1 daughter died at 8months)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-													
Vumile	3 children, 5 grandchildren	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-													
Muzi	3	Female	14	7 th grade (std 5)	No	Good		-	-													
Letsoiwe	2 (1 of whom is not her in school)	Male	11	4 th grade (std 2)	No	Passing		-	-													
Thenjiwe	2 (though only her son is still at school)	Male	19	12th grade (Matric)	Yes	Struggles- repeated grade 12		No	No													

Participant	Sex of Child B	Age of Child B	Level of Schooling	Child Aware of HIV Status in household?	Performance of child at school	Work Part-time?	More on housework/school work?	Child's Aspirations
Thandi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lindi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sipho	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bikiwe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Zola	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Female (Doesn't live with father)							
Tshepo		22	9th grade (std 7)	Yes	Poor, a slow learner	No	-	-
Busile	Female	7	Preschool	No	Active and Bright	-	-	-
Nonti	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bebe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Neo	Male (HIV positive)	4	Preschool	Yes. Also aware he is positive	Manages well	-	-	-
Kharyisa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dineo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vumile	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Muzi	Male	9	4th grade (std 2)	No	Good	-	Cleans and does his homework. Muzi takes care of himself when he sick	-
Letiwe	Male (HIV positive)	3	Not yet in school	-	-	-	-	-
Thenjiwe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Participant	Sex of Child C	Age of Child C	Level of Schooling	Child Aware of HIV Status in household?	Performance of child at school	Work Part-time?	More on housework/school work?	Child's Aspirations
Thandi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lindi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sipho	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bikiwe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Zola	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tshepo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Busile	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nontl	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bebe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Neo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Khanyisa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dineo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vumile	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Muzi	-	7yr	1st or 2nd grade	No	Good	-	Wash, cook and clean and they do their homework. He takes care of himself when he is sick.	-
Letsiwe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Thenjiwe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Statistics on Children who are now out of school						
Participant	Sex of Child	Age of Child	Final Level of Schooling	Reason Child Ended at that Level	Child Aware of HIV Status in household at present?	Current Job
Sipho	Male	20	Dropped out in gr11	Wanted to pursue a soccer career	No	Training for soccer team
Busile	Female	21	9th grade (std 7)	Influenced by friends. Note- mum not HIV positive at the time.	No	Doesn't work, lives with her boyfriend and child
	Male	25	Matric	-	Yes	Works temporarily at Shoprite
Bebe	Female	24	10th grade (std 8)	<i>Appears she had kids???</i>	No	Unemployed, but training to be a security guard
	Female	18	Matric	-	No	Unemployed
Dineo	Male	34	1st grade	She couldn't afford to pay the fees.	No	Thinks he is working in a shop
Vumile	Male	30	Not sure- but not until Matric	She couldn't afford to pay the fees.	Yes	Works for the Star Newspaper
	Male (Still lives with his mother)	32	8th grade (std 6)	She couldn't afford to pay the fees.	Yes	Patching tires
	Female	31	Matric (though didn't write exam)	She couldn't afford to pay the fees.	Yes	Not working- she lives with her husband
Therijiwe	Female	31	12th grade (Matric)	-	Yes	Was going to be a social worker, but after a bad accident joined the South African Police.

Appendix G: HIV Positive Interviewees' Opinions on Education and HIV and AIDS

Education and HIV/AIDS Opinions			
Participant	Do you think Education is Important?	Do you Think Education Important for both Boys and Girls?	At present, has your HIV status impacted your Children's Education
Thandi	Yes	Important for both	Yes
Lindi	Yes	Important for both	No- has encouraged child to work harder so she can help her mum
Sipho	Yes	Important for both	-
Bikiwe	Yes	Important for both	No
Zola	Yes	Important for both	Not yet
Tshepo	Yes	Important for both	Not daughter, (perhaps son?)
Busile	Yes	Important for both	No
Nonti	Yes	Important for both	-
Bebe	Yes	Important for both	No
Neo	Yes	Important for both	Yes
Khanyisa	Yes	Important for both	No
Dineo	Yes	Important for both	-
Vumile	Yes	Important for both	-
Muzi	Yes	Important for both	No
Letsiwe	Yes	Important for both	-
Thenjiwe	Yes	Important for both	No

Appendix H: Background Statistics from HIV Negative Interviewees

HIV Negative Participants										
Participant	Age	Sex	Ethnic Background	Employment Status	(If Applicable) Place of Employment	Current Marital Status	Final Year of Schooling (Interview)	Sources of Monthly Income at Present	Do you think Education is Important for both Boys and Girls?	Do you think Education is Important?
1B	42	F	Zulu	Unemployed	-	Single (was married before long ago)	8th grade (std 6)	Receives the social grant for her last born. Sometimes does peace jobs. Has about R500 per month. She pays for their fees.	Yes	Important for both
2B	49	F	Zulu	Unemployed	-	Separated	9th grade (std 7)	Receives a social grant for 1 of her grandchildren. Her two children also help support her with food. She pays and cares 4 her 4 grandchildren	Yes	Important for both
3B	57	F	Zulu	Self-Employed	Sells sweets and snacks to kids at the local school	Widowed	4th or 5th grade (std 2 or 3)	Earns about R50 a month from selling snacks at the school. No other money coming in from anywhere else. Pays school fees	Yes	Important for both
4B	62	F	Sotho	Not looking for work, pensioner	-	Traditional Marriage (Since 1962)	4th grade (std 2)	From age 60 she started receiving her pension of R810 a month. Also receives a social grant for her grandchildren to pay for their fees.	Yes	Important for both
5B	49	F	Sotho	Unemployed	-	Married	3rd grade	Husband receives social	Yes	Important

									for both
Average	51.8								
Teachers									
1C	44	F	Northern Sotho	Employed	Teacher (8th grade, life orientation and 9th grade, technology)	Married	Teacher's Training College	Earns an income	-
2C	49	F	Zulu	Employed	Teacher	Divorced	Higher education- has primary teacher's certificate and diploma in Engineering Studies	Earns an income	-

Appendix I: Background Statistics on HIV Negative Interviewees' Children

Background Statistics on Interviewees' children									
Participant	Number of Children	Sex of Child A	Age of Child A	Level of Schooling	Performance of child at school	Work Part-time?	More on housework/school work?	Does anything at home distract your child from their school work?	Child's Aspirations
1B	3	Female	21	12th grade (Matric)	Okay	No	School work more. Chores = wash and clean.	Nothing	Teacher
2B	2 daughters, 4 grandchildren (she cares for them)	Male	12	5th grade (std 3)	Struggles	-	School work and sometimes help her. Most time playing.	Father passed away (naturally). That's why she thinks he has a hard time at school	Pilot
3B	3 daughters (1 of which is actually her grandchild, but since her mother died, she has raised her like her own child), 2 grandsons, 1 granddaughter	Female	17	10th grade (std 8)	Doing fine	No	Housework on weekends. Spend more time on school work.	Nothing	Work in IT
4B	7 children (4 passed away- one from HIV/AIDS) + 3 grandchildren that live with her (have included their school info)	Female	9	-	Good	-	Concentrate on school and help her	Parent passed away and became distracted. But she is their new mum now- so better.	-

5B	4 (one of whom passed away) + 2 grandchildren that live with her (have included their school info)	Male	14	7th grade (std 5)	Good (bright)	-	Does the dishes	Nothing	Social worker
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Participant	Sex of Child B	Age of Child B	Level of Schooling	Performance of child at school	Work Part-time?	More on homework/school work?	Does anything at home distract your child from their school work?	Child's Aspirations
1B	Male	16	8th grade (std 6)	Okay	No	School work more. Chores = wash and clean.	Nothing	Teacher
2B	Male	11	4th grade (std 4)	Okay	-	School work and sometimes help her. Most time playing	-	-
3B	Female	17	10th grade (std 8)	Little bit slow and lazy	No	Housework on weekends. Spend more time on school work.	Nothing	Nurse
4B	Female	5	-	Good	-	Concentrate on school and help her	Parent passed away and became distracted. But she is their new mum now- so better.	-
5B	Male (disabled)	8	2nd grade	Good (bright)	-	Does the dishes	Disability- physical. One hand not working. One leg longer than the other. No real distractions at home.	Policeman

Participant	Sex of Child C	Age of Child C	Level of Schooling	Performance of child at school	Work Part-time?	More on homework/school work?	Does anything at home distract your child from their school work?	Child's Aspirations
1B	Male	9	4th grade (std 2)	Okay	No	School work more. Chores = wash and clean.	Nothing	Social Worker
2B	Male	5	Preschool	Struggle	-	School work and sometimes help her. Most time playing	Suffers from a physical problem-fits. They are not sure what the specific problem is.	-
3B	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4B	Male	16	-	Good	No	Concentrate on school and help her	Parent passed away and became distracted. But she is their new mum now- so better.	Engineer
5B	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Participant	Sex of Child D	Age of Child D	Level of Schooling	Performance of child at school	Work Part-time?	More on homework/school work?	Does anything at home distract your child from their school work?	Child's Aspirations
1B	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2B	Female	9	2nd grade	Okay	-	School work and sometimes help her. Most time playing	-	-
3B	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4B	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5B	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Statistics on children who are now out of school						
Participant	Sex of Child	Age of Child	Final Level of Schooling	Reason Child Ended at that Level	Current Job	
2B	Female	24	10th grade (std 8)	Money problems	Let us Grow	
	Female	21	10th grade (std 8)	Money problems	Unemployed	
3B	Female	-	6th grade (std 8)	Money problems	Unemployed	
4B	Male	34	12th grade (Matic)	-	Unemployed- wants to be a policeman	
5B	Female	30	-	-	-	
	Female (passed away)	26	-	-	-	
				Stopped for no particular reason. Also- money problems.	Not working	
	Female	22	10th grade (std 8)	-	-	
	Female	28	-	-	-	

Appendix J: Opinions of HIV Negative Interviewees on HIV and AIDS

Attitudes and Perceptions of HIV/AIDS					
Participant	Do you talk to your children about HIV/AIDS?	Do you think schools and teachers are open to discussing HIV/AIDS?	Do you think students who come from HIV positive families will have difficulties at school?	How do you feel about HIV positive children playing with your children?	Should HIV Positive children be allowed to go to school?
1B	Yes	Yes	Thinks it harder for these children than if they came from non-infected families	It's alright	Yes
2B	Yes	Yes	No problem- it's fine.	No problem	Yes
3B	Yes	Don't know	Doesn't think the children would be disturbed. They will accept. They learn a lot about HIV/AIDS	No problem. Child did not choose to be positive. Just should be aware and careful.	Yes
4B	Yes	Yes	-	No problem	Yes- they are still the same as other children
5B	Yes	Yes	She feels they won't have problems because they are educated about HIV.	No problem	Yes- they are still the same as other children

Appendix K: Summarized Statistics

Sources of Monthly Income at Present (note 'family' does not include spouse of interviewee)	
HIV Positive Interviewees	HIV Negative Interviewees
3- HIV/AIDS grant	-
3- formerly received HIV/AIDS grant	2- Pension/Disability grant
4- Social Welfare Grant	3- Social Welfare Grant
2- One parents earns an income	2- One parents earns an income
7- Help from family only	-
5- Additional help from family	2- Additional help from family
Education	HIV Positive Interviewees
Do you think Education is Important?	HIV Negative Interviewees
Do you think Education is Important for both boys and girls	5 (100%) = yes
	5 (100%) = yes
	16 (100%) = important for both

Children and HIV/AIDS	
Number of Children who are currently at school who are aware parent is HIV positive	12 parents, 23 children, 17 of which are in school. Of those 17, 7 know one their parents is HIV positive and the other 10 do not yet know. This may be because some parents believe their child is to young. Of the 10 who are unaware of the presence of the virus, (X2 are 7yrs old), (X2 are 10 yrs old), (X2 are 12 years old) (X 1 is 9), (X 1 is 14), (X1 is 11) and (X1 is 17). Moreover some of the parents may only have known about their status for a limited period and need sometime before they are ready to discuss it with their children. Amongst those that did not tell their children one woman had only been aware of her status for 2 months whilst another had known for about 7 years.
Performance of children at school	12 parents, 17 kids at school, 11 perform "good", 5 perform "poorly" and struggle at school, whilst 1 simply passes. Similar spread with students in HIV negative family. Of the 14 currently in school, 5 perform "good", 6 do "okay" and 3 perform poorly and struggle with school
Children at school also work part-time?	Of the children old enough to work part time, not a single one had a part-time job. Same for HIV families too.
Do students spend more time on house work or school work?	Do some house work and their school work. Greater emphasis on school work. The types of chores the children have to do include, washing, cooking, polish, do the dishes, cleaning, at times help to care for sick parent. These chores are comparable to those from HIV negative families. They also tend to focus on their school work, though they also wash, clean and do the dishes.
At present, has your HIV status impacted your Children's Education	11 parents asked- 2 responded yes, 9 responded no. 5 of these parents had told their children about their status and 3 of them felt it had not impacted their children, whilst the other 2 felt it had. None of the 6 parents who had not told their children felt their status had impacted their children's lives. HIV negative parents also felt that HIV/AIDS had a limited impact on a child's education. Of the 4 asked, 3 felt students in HIV positive families wouldn't face any significant challenges at schools. Some o the reasons behind this include the fact that many felt children were well educated about the virus, allowing them to accept their parents status and handle the presence of the virus. Only 1 of the 4 felt it would be more difficult for children in HIV positive families to succeed at school than children who come from non-infected families.

Diversity in Classroom and Curriculum? Discourses of Race and Homosexuality in Elm City High School Social Studies Classrooms

Elizabeth Humphries

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Abstract:

This study examines language used in the classrooms of two eleventh grade American History and Civics teachers at Harrison High School in Elm City. Through direct observation in the classroom, I documented the frequency and context of classroom discourse on the topics of race and homosexuality. I then used interviews to enhance my understanding of each teacher's personal background and educational philosophies. One aim of the study was to compare speech about race and speech about homosexuality in an environment where race is seen as the primary axis of difference among students. I was also concerned with the task of understanding and explaining the patterns of language use observed in the classroom, and exploring the relationship of these patterns to the intersecting identities of "speakers" and "audience members." I found that the race of the speaker and the classroom context do seem to have an effect on the use of language about race and homosexuality. These factors combine with curricular constraints to shape the patterns of language use in each classroom. I conclude by discussing the implications of these discursive patterns for students and teachers themselves, with regard to individual identity formation and representation.

I. Introduction

[There] is an official silence about all kinds of sexuality in the vast majority of mainstream schools in Anglophone countries. And even where sexuality is permitted, the form of sexuality allowed is the straightest of straight versions. At the same time, sexualities of all kinds pervade schools, with their effects unrecognized, because their very existence is denied.¹

Education is a social institution imbued with enormous power to shape the lives of individuals. On one level, education serves to provide students with the necessary academic skills to function as adults. On another level, the latent content of education informs students as to what and who warrant attention or resources in contemporary society, and conversely what and who do not. Furthermore, education serves as a locus for a variety of socialization processes, ranging from gender socialization to socialization based on age to racial socialization to sexual socialization. Setting aside the first level, despite its obvious importance, the latter two levels of education send important information to students that is explicitly related to their individual identities (that is, where they fall along certain socially-constructed axes of difference such as race, gender, or sexuality). This information may read positively, as in, “you are valued here.” More likely, it reads as “you are valued as a white person but not as a female,” or, “you are valued here as a male, but not as a black male, or as a homosexual male, or a homosexual, black male,” or something of that

¹ Epstein, Debbie, Sarah O’Flynn, and David Telford. 2000-2001. “Othering” Education: Sexualities, Silences, and Schooling.” *Review of Research in Education*, Vol. 25. 127-179. 129.

nature. In other words, what occurs in the classroom conveys information to students as to which identities are associated with value and authority, and which identities are not.

Thus, education is very much a double-edged sword – easily reflecting broader social inequalities and reproducing those inequalities among students, and yet also possessing the potential to *challenge* inequalities through curriculum content and classroom discourse. The degree to which the institution of education in general meets that potential varies depending on what axis of difference one examines. For example, great strides have been made to challenge gender inequality in education, so much so that girls appear to be excelling beyond boys in many subjects. Another area that has seen improvement is that of racial inequality (one of the primary topics of this study), although serious inequalities still remain. However, as the above quote suggests, sexuality (the other primary topic of this study) has yet to be incorporated into mainstream classroom content, except in the most limited forms. In what follows, I assert that the dynamics of classroom discourse surrounding race and (homo)sexuality have real consequences in the identity formation of students, and that the absence of sexuality, and specifically homosexuality, may have particularly negative consequences.

Context and Relevance

The United States, among the most culturally diverse nations in the world, has historically had a tense relationship with its varied population. More than a century after the abolition of slavery, inequalities between ‘black’ and ‘white’ people remain deeply entrenched in American society. As recently as 1998, “The amount of

income available to the average black family has been at or just under 60% of that available to white families,” with this figure being “lower on average in the 1990s than it was in the late 1960s and early 1970s.”² Furthermore, blacks still face discrimination in the housing and job markets.³

Racial tension in the U.S. is by no means limited to the black-white dichotomy. Today, Asian Americans suffer conflicting treatment as both “perpetual foreigners” and members of a “model minority,”⁴ while people of Hispanic origin are continually targeted by politicians and media outlets as illegal immigrants, high school dropouts, or victims of poverty.⁵ Most Americans recognize that racism still exists in the United States. Nonetheless, only 13% of Americans see *themselves* as racist.⁶ This discrepancy suggests that many Americans fail to take responsibility for their own part in perpetuating racial inequality.

Similar tensions and inequalities exist along other axes of diversity. Sexuality in particular is a subject that produces heated socio-political controversy. At this point, all but nine states have passed statutes that define marriage as between a man and a woman, ensuring that gay, lesbian, and bisexual people cannot enter into marriages equal

² Cotton, Jeremiah. 1998. “On the Permanence or Impermanence of Black-White Economic Inequality.” *Review of Black Political Economy*; Fall 98, Vol. 26 Issue 2. 47-56.

³ “Poll: Most Americans see lingering racism -- in others.” *Cable News Network*. 12 Dec, 2006. CNN.com. Accessed 7 April, 2007.
<<http://www.cnn.com/2006/US/12/12/racism.poll/index.html>>.

⁴ Ancheta, Angelo. 2006. *Race, Rights, and the Asian American Experience*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press. xi, 13.

⁵ Delgado, Richard and Jean Stefancic. 1998. *The Latino/a Condition: a critical reader*. New York: New York University Press. 1.

⁶ CNN 2006.

to those of heterosexual couples.⁷ Furthermore, only in recent years have the last lingering anti-sodomy laws been overturned.⁸ In addition to such legal struggles, non-heterosexuals continue to face structural barriers in the workplace.⁹ So great is the social stigma against homosexuality that the majority of homosexual hate crime victims do not even report the crimes committed against them, for fear of their sexuality being revealed.¹⁰

These figures suggest that although the United States contains people of a wide range of racial-ethnic backgrounds and sexual orientations, non-white, non-heterosexual citizens continue to face hostility at the structural and individual level.

The institution of education is certainly not exempt from problems of racism and homophobia – indeed, education is among the most powerful sites of social reproduction in our society. Historically, education has been employed in agendas of both assimilation and segregation.¹¹ And today, a significant achievement gap exists between middle class, usually white students and their less affluent, often non-

⁷ "Same Sex Marriage." National Conference of State Legislatures 2006. Last updated October 2006. Accessed April 9, 2007.

<http://www.ncsl.org/programs/cyf/samesex.htm#DOMA>

⁸ As recently as 1986, in *Bowers v. Hardwick*, the US Supreme Court upheld Georgia's sodomy law. This decision was explicitly overruled in the case of *Lawrence v. Texas*, 2003. See

Elliott, R. Douglas, and Mary Bonauto. 2005. "Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity in North America: Legal Trends, Legal Contrasts." *Journal of Homosexuality*. Vol. 48, No. 3/4, pp. 91-106.

⁹ See

Schatz and O'Hanlan. 1994. "Anti-Gay Discrimination in Medicine: Results of a National Survey of Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Physicians," San Francisco.

and

Badgett, M.V. Lee. 1995. "The Wage Effects of Sexual Orientation Discrimination," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, July 1995.

¹⁰ *New York Gay and Lesbian Anti-Violence Project (NYGLAVP)*, Annual Report. 1996.

¹¹ Tyack, David B. 1993. "Constructing difference: Historical reflections on schooling and social diversity." *Teachers College Record*. Vol. 95, Issue 1. 8-34.

white, peers. African-American and Latino students in particular consistently fall behind their white counterparts.¹² Such educational inequalities are also reproduced in higher education, not only because non-white *students* are less present on college campuses, but also because non-white *professors* are rarely present as tenured faculty.

In addition, schools often serve as the most devastating sites of homophobia. According to a 1993 report by the Massachusetts Governor's Commission on Gay and Lesbian Youth, 85% of teachers oppose integrating lesbian, gay and bisexual themes in their curricula.¹³ A 1996 report by the New York Gay and Lesbian Anti-Violence Report found that the majority of hate crimes are committed by people under the age of 30, with some of the most egregious examples occurring in schools.¹⁴ Not surprisingly, lesbian, gay and bisexual youth are at a much higher risk of suicide than their straight peers.¹⁵

Despite this tendency to reflect and perpetuate social injustices, education has also served as a site of significant progress in achieving positive attitudes towards diversity. Famous turn-of-the-century American educational theorist John Dewey posits that education can serve as "the fundamental method of social progress and reform."¹⁶ And Dewey is not alone or antiquated in this belief. Many modern educational theorists advocate practices that include a broad

¹² Haycock, Kati. 2001. "Closing the Achievement Gap." *Educational Leadership*. Volume 58, No. 6.

¹³ "Making Schools Safe for Gay and Lesbian Youth: Report of the Massachusetts Governor's Commission on Gay and Lesbian Youth," 1993.

¹⁴ NYGLAVP 1996.

¹⁵ Gibson P., LCSW. 1989. "Gay Male and Lesbian Youth Suicide," Report of the Secretary's Task Force on Youth Suicide, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

¹⁶ Dewey, John. 1897. "My Pedagogical Creed." *The School Journal*, Vol. LIV, No. 3 (Jan 16, 1897), 77-80. 79.

range of individual identities and challenge the injustices and inequalities that exist inside and outside of the classroom. Such practices often fall under the labels of “critical” or “multicultural” pedagogy.

Multicultural and Critical Pedagogy

This general concept of “multicultural education” is hardly a recent phenomenon. It has its roots in the civil rights movements of the 1960s and has since undergone several iterations. Originally, the multicultural movement focused primarily on incorporating more diversity into curriculum content. During the 1980s, new scholarship emerged that called for holistic changes in the system of education, from curriculum content to counseling services for students.¹⁷ Theorists such as James Banks, Geneva Gay, Carl Grant, Christine Sleeter, and Sonia Nieto emphasized equal educational opportunity and a connection between school transformation and social change. This trend continued into the 1990s, as multicultural education scholars increasingly stressed social justice, critical thinking, and equal opportunity. Joel Spring, Peter McLaren, Henry Giroux, and others began incorporating larger societal and global dimensions of power and privilege into their critiques of localized institutions of education. These trends reflect a movement towards a slightly different philosophy of education, often termed “critical pedagogy.”

Multicultural theorists cite a variety of objectives, including the integration of content that reflects the multicultural society we live in, prejudice reduction, challenging the traditional Western canon,

¹⁷ Banks, J. 1989. Multicultural education: Characteristics and goals. In J. Banks & C. Banks (Eds.). *Multicultural education: Issues and perspectives*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

and student empowerment, as motivations for making education more multicultural¹⁸. Critical pedagogy has an interest in these goals as well, but it incorporates a more systematic examination of the power structures at play both in the classroom and in the world at large. It also includes a more systematic emphasis on creating social change and justice.¹⁹

Multicultural and critical pedagogy suggest that schools can become social spaces in which to confront and engage critically with society's problems and injustices. In the context of this study, this philosophy implies that the classroom can and should serve as a forum in which to not only spread knowledge about the range of life experiences that exist in this country, but to give young people tools to understand and think critically about how such diverse experiences may operate in and influence their own lives. The hope is that these critical thinking skills will cause students to reflect on their own ideologies, and allow them to interpret and react to their own experiences with diversity and discrimination. More specifically, the goals of this type of education are to foster an appreciation for many forms of diversity, to alleviate racial tension, and to curb racial discrimination. Although these goals may appear idealistic, they are fundamentally pragmatic in light of the reality of diversity in the United States.

¹⁸ Enns, Carolyn and Forrest, Linda. 2005. "Toward Defining and Integrating Multicultural and Feminist Pedagogies." In Enns, Carolyn and Sinacore, Ada (eds.). *Teaching and Social Justice: Integrating Multicultural and Feminist Theories in the Classroom*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association. 4

¹⁹ Moss, Glenda. 2001. Critical Pedagogy: translation for education that is multicultural. *Multicultural Education*. Vol. 9, No. 2. 2-11.

Note on Terminology

This study is concerned with two nebulous and potentially problematic concepts – “race” and “homosexuality.” As such, I would like to comment briefly on my understanding of each of these terms, and my intentions in using them.

The concept of “race” is only meaningful to the extent that it structures the lives of students and teachers. Considering that race is referenced extensively in school documentation, in spoken and written curriculum, in informal discourses between students, not to mention in sociopolitical discourse beyond school walls, I would argue that it indeed has significant meaning. My interest in the term does not reflect a belief in any sort of natural or essential basis for racial difference. Rather, I am interested in race as a meaningful social taxonomy with tangible consequences in the lives of individuals. Similarly, I prefer to conceptualize sexuality as a meaningful, but *constructed*, system for classifying individuals, as opposed to an essential characteristic of any given individual. As Foucault notes, the concept that sexuality is embodied in individuals, rather than acts, did not become predominant until the 19th century.²⁰ Since then, at least in the Western context, sexuality has been constructed as an identity, ordering not only the sexual but also the social and political lives of individual subjects.

Based on this philosophy, I use terms that reflect dominant racial discourses in the United States, such as “black,” “African-American,” “Asian,” “Hispanic,” and “white.” While each of these terms

²⁰ Foucault, Michel. 1978. *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*. New York: Random House, Inc. 43.

is problematic, I am assuming for the purposes of this paper that they represent socially meaningful classifications.

My language use surrounding sexuality is somewhat more complicated. I refer to non-normative sexuality alternatingly as “homosexuality,” “non-heterosexuality,” or “queerness.” As such I refer to individuals as “homosexual,” non-heterosexual,” or “queer.” Although I recognize that each of these terms has different political and individual connotations, for the purposes of this paper I generally do not make distinctions between them.²¹ Rather, I am concerned with linguistic references to any of a diverse set of non-normative sexualities, and I suggest that these three terms collectively represent that varied set. Of course, these terms do not reflect the language I heard in the classroom, where one rarely hears the latter two terms. It is important to note that whereas I am more comfortable using terms such as non-heterosexual and queer, if these concepts come up in classroom discussion one hears about “gays,” “lesbians,” and “homosexuals,” or perhaps even “homos” and “fags.”²²

This discussion of terminology provides a fitting segue into the theory and literature that have informed the study.

²¹ Although, in general I use “non-heterosexual” and “queer” interchangeably to refer to individuals who do not consider themselves exclusively attracted to the “opposite” sex, while I use “homosexual” in a more specific sense to refer to individuals who positively identify as being attracted to the same sex.

²² Note that these terms have stronger implications as essential or political identities than the terms I use. This study is situated somewhat awkwardly between my interest in language as constructive of identity and my understanding of queer theory and its reaction to (against) identity politics. However, because I am interested in the social significance of identities that are constructed relationally through discourse, identity politics are necessarily relevant.

II. Situating the Study: Literature and Theory

A fundamental premise of the study is that language plays a crucial role in the construction of individual identities. Judith Butler writes, “If the subject who speaks is also constituted by the language she or he speaks, then language is the condition of possibility for the speaking subject, and not merely its instrument of expression.”²³ This statement recalls Foucault, who asserts that discourses are “practices that systematically form the object of which they speak.”²⁴ This may be especially true for axes of identity such as race and sexuality, which can be termed “relational constructs” – meaning that they are negotiated by individuals over time, and therefore are “unstable,” “contingent,” and “subject to historical contexts.”²⁵ Although we tend to conceptualize of race and sexuality as having their basis in essential, a priori characteristics (skin color, “natural” desires), the ways we classify individuals both racially and sexually are negotiated and regulated socially and *discursively*. Ian Burkitt qualifies the extremely strong statement made by Judith Butler earlier in this paragraph, suggesting that discourse is not so much the condition of being for subjects, but rather a crucial means by which subjective identities are “analyzed, categorized, and governed.”²⁶ His statement nonetheless affirms the critical role that language plays in identity construction.

²³ Butler, Judith. 1997. *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative*. New York: Routledge. 28.

²⁴ Foucault, Michel, 1972. *The Archeology of Knowledge*. New York: Tavistock Publications Ltd. 49.

²⁵ Tabili, Laura. 2003. “Race Is A Relationship, And Not A Thing.” *Journal of Social History*. Vol. 37, Issue 1. 125-130.

²⁶ Burkitt, Ian. 1998. “Sexuality and gender identity: from a discursive to a relational analysis.” *The Sociological Review* Vol. 46, Issue 3. 483–504.

Furthermore, individuals may assert varying degrees of agency in this process. In considering agency, we must first recognize that “historical actors have been ‘present at [their] own making.’”²⁷ We are accordingly compelled to “specify and identify historical actors and to evaluate their influence over outcomes.”²⁸ In other words, we must acknowledge that the individuals who are classified as a result of discourses surrounding race and sexuality may also participate in that discourse. The degree to which individuals participate and literally speak, and in doing so construct their own identities, is worthy of examination.

All this is not to say that silence is necessarily oppressive or unproductive. As Foucault writes,

There is no binary division to be made between what one says and what one does not say; we must try to determine the different ways of not saying such things, how those who can and those who cannot speak of them are distributed, which type of discourse is authorized, or which form of discretion is required in each case.²⁹

In other words, the context of discourse is far more consequential than simple dichotomies of presence/absence (speech/silence). What is said, who says it, and when and how they do so all give important clues as to the power dynamics at play in a given discursive setting. In the following section, I examine existing studies that shed light on the potential nuances of such dynamics.

²⁷ Tabili 2003.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Foucault 1978: 27.

Discourses of Diversity

Mica Pollock's *Colormute: Race Talk Dilemmas in an American School* explores the unstated rules that govern "race speech" at a racially diverse school, "Columbus," in California. In conducting her research, Pollock asked "when--in relation to which topics and in which social or institutional situations--you might describe the people at Columbus racially, and when you might resist doing so."³⁰ She writes,

I am interested here not as much in what it meant in some internal fashion to Jake to be black, what it meant to Felicia to be Filipina, what it meant to Luis to be Latino, or what it meant to Steve to be white, as in when, in the institution of schooling, people drew lines around Jake or Felicia or Luis or Steve that categorized them as race-group members--and when Jake and Felicia and Luis and Steve drew such lines around themselves.³¹

In other words, Pollock is not concerned with "racial differences" *per se*, but rather which circumstances *allow* or *compel* various actors at Columbus to recognize or codify such differences, (and conversely, which circumstances do not). Pollock found that teachers and administrators often struggled to confront racial inequalities, due to their discomfort with using racial language to describe these inequalities. Although racial differences existed at Columbus, specific language about those differences was 'markedly absent' from classroom

³⁰ Pollock, Mica. 2004. *Colormute: Race Talk Dilemmas in an American School*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 8.

³¹ *Ibid.* 10.

and administrative discourse. As a result, racial inequalities were never fully addressed. In Pollock's words, "although speaking in racial terms can make race matter, not speaking in racial terms can make race matter too."³²

In the case of my study, I posit that Pollock's statement is true for both race and sexuality. Research suggests that sexuality is consistently missing from sanctioned classroom discussion. Loutzenheiser and MacIntosh point out, "Queer citizenship is not part of multicultural or anti-racist teaching as it has been popularly constructed"³³. Indeed, discourse about non-hetero-sexualities is generally tabooed in the classroom environment, even while students routinely refer to each other as "gay" and "faggot" in informal conversation. The contradictory presence/absence of language about homosexuality implies a structure that simultaneously acknowledges and ignores or even silences non-heterosexual students; "What is invisible and markedly absent from curriculums is often rendered visible and saturated with meaning outside the classroom, as queer bodies are named in high school hallways and cafeterias, or erased in popular epigrams such as, 'Oh, that's so gay.'"³⁴ This paradox of silence/discourse closely resembles the dynamic described by Mica Pollock – on one hand, because it suggests that speech about sexuality occurs in certain contexts and not in others, and on the other hand, because the taboo against speaking against sexuality has the potential to preserve an environment in which sexuality "matters."

³² Ibid. 174.

³³ Loutzenheiser, Lisa and MacIntosh, Lori. 2004. "Citizenships, Sexualities, and Education." *Theory Into Practice*, Vol. 43 Issue 2, 151-158.

³⁴ Ibid.

Research by Margaret Smith Crocco, a professor at the Teachers College of Columbia University, examines the conditions of this environment further. Crocco suggests that if homosexuality is mentioned at all in the classroom, it is rarely done in direct reference to a homosexual person. One of Crocco's students, "Marcia," makes this important point in describing her own high school experience. She states,

It was not uncommon to hear the words "queer," "fag," "homo," and very rarely "lesbo" echoing in the hallways or on the grounds of the school, yet "nobody" was *one*. It's amazing how much time was spent referring to persons that were not present.³⁵ (my emphasis)

Moreover, another of Crocco's students, "Janice," writes,

The teachers treated homosexuality like it was something that did not affect high school students and in response the students reacted with fear and bias toward anyone who did not fall within their boundaries of "normal."³⁶

These quotes suggest that whether in formal or informal discourse, references to homosexuality are often abstracted away from queer subjects themselves, and may even deny the possibility that such subjects exist in the school environment. Furthermore, when queer subjects, as opposed to some abstract or absent "homosexuality," are referenced, the context is usually negative. At Janice's high school,

³⁵ Crocco, Margaret Smith. 2001. "The Missing Discourse About Gender and Sexuality in the Social Studies." *Theory Into Practice*. Winter2001, Vol. 40 Issue 1, 65-71.

³⁶ Ibid.

“Anyone who exhibited the slightest stereotypical signs of being homosexual, such as talking with too high a voice or having too feminine or flamboyant an attitude, would be subjected to ridicule and abuse.”³⁷ Crocco asserts that this ridicule serves to reinforce heterosexual norms by punishing non-normative behavior.³⁸

As a result of the negative consequences of non-normative behavior, queer students may choose to remain silent about their sexuality. This silence is neither completely oppressive nor completely agentic – it represents both an effect of the taboo against non-heterosexualities and a means of self-protection and resistance in the face of such a taboo.³⁹ However, when we examine this scenario in terms of relationships of power, queer students seem at a distinct disadvantage. An element of their identities is not represented in formal classroom discourse, yet choosing to openly represent themselves as non-heterosexual may result in mockery or even physical harm. As a result, non-heterosexual students have fewer opportunities to participate in the active construction of their sexual identities through classroom discourse.

This power dynamic contributes to an environment in which students of non-normative sexualities are at risk of being made invisible in a way that non-white students are not. The nature of homosexuality is such that being “homomute” or simply “sexmute” is often easily accomplished – often, queer students and teachers are visually indistinguishable from their heterosexual counterparts. The potential

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ She also asserts that schools serve as a site for the establishment and enforcement of norms regarding both gender and sexuality.

³⁹ Foucault 1978: 70.

invisibility of homosexuals has long been used to distinguish sexuality from race, which is characterized as an undeniably, inescapably visible trait. Of course, this simple dichotomy represents a vast oversimplification. First of all, as became more and more clear over the course of my observations, a person's racial-ethnic background is not always visibly legible. Conversely, it is certainly possible to be visibly queer. Nevertheless, the fact that queer people are not “naturally” visible, or at least are not expected to be so, places them in a particular bind. They have the option of remaining invisible, avoiding social recognition and disapproval. As Audre Lorde writes, “the transformation of silence into language and action is an act of self revelation, and that always seems fraught with danger.”⁴⁰ For queer subjects, this self-revelation is especially dangerous, as it represents a direct challenge to heteronormativity. However, bell hooks adds that the act “of ‘talking back,’ [...] is no mere gesture of empty words, that is the expression of our movement from object to subject—the liberated voice.”⁴¹ Thus, for the non-heterosexual subject, the act of speaking about non-heterosexuality is imbued with both vulnerability and power, the proportions of which may vary widely depending on the context.

Intersectionality

As I mentioned in a previous section, sexuality has not been incorporated into acceptable curriculum in the way that race and multiculturalism have. Nonetheless, just as oftentimes classrooms contain students of many different races/ethnicities, classrooms are

⁴⁰ Lorde, Audre. 1984. *Sister Outsider*. Freedom, CA: Crossing. 42.

⁴¹ hooks, bell. 1989. *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press. 9.

likely to contain students of a variety of sexual orientations or preferences. Indeed, each student's identity is produced through complex interactions among multiple dimensions of variability, with race and sexuality being just two examples. This is a primitive outlining of the concept of "intersectionality." Leslie McCall defines intersectionality more technically, as "the relationships among multiple dimensions and modalities of social relations and subject formations."⁴² Intersectionality originally emerged in reaction to feminist theories that examined gender differences without attention to racial differences within gender categories.⁴³ In terms of my own research, my interest in intersectionality centers on the interaction between multiple socially constructed and socially regulated axes of identity – such as race-ethnicity, gender, sexuality, or socio-economic status. These categorical identities, and the interactions between them, play a large role in the process of individual identity formation and performance, though some axes of identity may be more consequential than others. Furthermore, differing intersecting identities may affect individual reactions to others with differing intersecting identities.

Theories of intersectionality provide a compelling reason to examine multiple dimensions of difference in conjunction. This study, due to its limitations, is concerned with only two of those dimensions—race and sexuality. I do not wish to suggest that these are the only, or the most important intersecting identities a person has. Rather, I am

⁴² McCall, Leslie. 2005. "The Complexity of Intersectionality." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, Vol. 30, no. 3. 1.

⁴³ Knudsen, Susanne. 2005. "Intersectionality - A Theoretical Inspiration in the Analysis of Minority Cultures and Identities in Textbooks." Originally prepared for the 8th IARTEM conference on Learning and Educational Media, Caen, France, October 2005.

personally interested in the relationship between race and sexuality, the ways the two may be separated or linked, explored or ignored, in classroom discourse, and the power relationships associated with this discourse.

As Loutzenheiser and MacIntosh state, “neither race nor sexuality can be separated from the other, as the construction of one, in many ways, relies on the construction of the other.”⁴⁴ Indeed, speech about race and speech about sexuality are inextricably related, as they both contribute to and construct students’ complex and intersecting identities. This has the converse implication that students with different intersecting axes of identity will consequently employ language about race and sexuality differently. For example, differing use of language about homosexuality may be a means of expressing differing racial identities, and vice versa. This also implies that the intersecting identities of the speaker and the audience may be an important element to take into account in determining the contexts in which language about race or homosexuality is acceptable.

My goal in this study was to integrate Loutzenheiser, MacIntosh, Pollock, and Foucault’s sensitivity to the power of language in matters of race and sexuality. In the words of Judith Butler, “speech does not merely *reflect* a relation of social domination; speech *enacts* domination, becoming the vehicle through which that social structure is reinstated.”⁴⁵ With this philosophy, the speech patterns of teachers and students have everything to do with the institutional, structural,

⁴⁴ Loutzenheiser and MacIntosh 2004.

⁴⁵ Butler 1997: 18. original emphasis.

and individual forms of racism and discrimination on the basis of sexuality that I mentioned at the beginning of this paper.

On a more optimistic note, language also has the potential to challenge various axes of discrimination by disrupting states of silence and invisibility, or counteracting discursive patterns that erase or undermine certain subjects. As such, language itself was the key element I observed in the classroom. My analysis examines the differences between ways in which the two teachers in whose classrooms I observed conceive of acceptable contexts for discussing race and homosexuality, and probes the implications of these differences.

III. Methodology

I conducted a case study of two eleventh grade American History and Civics teachers at Harrison, using a variety of methods to produce multifaceted data. Before I discuss these methods, I will briefly explain certain choices involved in the design of the study.

I limited my observations to eleventh grade history and civics for several reasons. First of all, I wanted to limit the contributing variables in my study, in the hope that I might be able to make stronger conclusions about which factors play a real role in determining the type of language used⁴⁶. My choice of subject matter was also deliberate; social studies classes are ideal vehicles for multicultural education, especially at a school as diverse as Harrison. At Harrison, all juniors are expected to take U.S. History II, “Reconstruction to the present,” and

⁴⁶ Limiting my observations to one subject, although it left a myriad of other variables, did prove an effective means of controlling the variable of course content. Elm City has recently adopted district-wide content standards in core subjects such as history, and each student is assessed accordingly using district-wide tests. Teachers throughout the district are accountable for meeting the same content requirements in the classroom.

Civics in order to satisfy graduation requirements. AP U.S. History is acceptable as a substitute for U.S. History II.⁴⁷ As a result of this system, I was able to observe classes at every tracking level – from “sheltered content” for non-native English speakers, to “college level” courses (the basic track), to “honors” courses (the honors track), to AP courses (the highest track available). I had less control over the decision to observe two teachers. Out of three possible teachers, Mr. Richards and Mr. Levy were the two that agreed to participate in my study. The fact that one of those teachers is African-American and the other is white is merely a coincidence, although it did give me the opportunity to investigate the effect of the race of the teacher on classroom discourse. This proved a salient point of comparison, as my analysis illustrates.

Having made these practical decisions, I proceeded with a multi-part methodology that included field observation, interviews, and examination of written classroom materials. Through the observation portion of my methodology, I sought to get a tangible sense of the teacher’s methods that would not be as clear through interviews alone. In addition, I believe observation is crucial to understanding how teachers interact with students, especially with regards to the language both teachers and students use. This information could never be conveyed in an interview because interviews are governed by their own set of unique language rules. As Mica Pollock writes, “prompted race talk [is] always particularly packaged for a researcher and...the ‘informal logic of actual life’ ... [is] best demonstrated by more

⁴⁷ Harrison Course Guide, 2006-2007(a).

naturalistic interaction with both students and adults.”⁴⁸ With this philosophy in mind, I used classroom observation as my primary means of deciphering that “informal logic.” I visited each teacher’s classroom seven to eight times over the course of a month and a half, in the hopes of observing a range of techniques and subject matter.

In order to systematically record my observations and to allow for quantitative content analysis, I took a strict inventory of the words used by teachers and students relating to race or homosexuality. I created an observation chart, which allowed me to take note of the specific subject matter and words used, whether the teacher or a student was speaking, whether a word was spoken in informal conversation or as part of the formal curriculum, as well as the race and gender of the speaker.⁴⁹ In observing these last characteristics, I was forced to create a simplified schema of race and gender based on my own visual perception of the student. This schema allowed me to classify students as either male or female, and either Black, Hispanic, White, or Asian.⁵⁰ This schema is in many ways contradictory to my thinking about gender and race- constructs that I believe to be

⁴⁸ Pollock 2004: 11.

⁴⁹ See Appendix A for observation chart used. Note, some words on the chart were taken from:

Mohr, John et al. 2004. “How to read an institution: a structural approach.” originally prepared for the Sunbelt Social Networks Conference, New Orleans, LA, February 14-16, 2002.

<http://ishi.lib.berkeley.edu/cshe/publications/papers/papers/ROP.Mohr.9.04.pdf>.

Mohr’s study examined written references to race and other forms of diversity made by the University of California. Words were also taken from:

Thurlow, Crispin. 2001. “Naming the ‘outsider within’: homophobic pejoratives and the verbal abuse of lesbian, gay and bisexual high-school pupils.” *Journal of Adolescence* 2001, No. 24. 25-38.

Other words were added over the course of observations, as I became more familiar with colloquial language use in the classroom.

⁵⁰ These are the same racial categories used to describe students in Harrison’s NCLB profile.

ambiguous, hybridized, or simply illegible. Indeed, my racial schema proved somewhat problematic over the course of my observations, as I often struggled to determine which racial category a student belonged in, and whether just one category was sufficient to describe their racial identity. In these cases I was forced to make a note to myself and settle for an imperfect observation, as I did not have permission to question students about their racial/ethnic backgrounds. Furthermore, the four-race schema effectively conceals the extreme ethnic variation that exists within each category at Harrison- for example, students that I classified as “Hispanic” could be from Mexico, Puerto Rico, Uruguay, Peru, or any number of Spanish-speaking countries. These ethnic differences could correspond with important differences in socialization and individual identity that I was simply unable to incorporate into my observations and conclusions. It is important to note that by this logic, the ‘unmarked’ category “white” becomes just as dubious as the others, as there are a multitude of “white ethnicities” (for example, German, Russian, English).

Despite my lack of attention to ethnic differences, I believe that what I was able to record- the “legible race” of the students- may indicate meaningful differences. After all, visual cues are extremely important in the ways that humans interact with one another socially. They also serve an important purpose in processes of stereotyping, which is not a process I wish to perpetuate but may nonetheless play a significant role in the lives of students at school. Furthermore, theorists such as David Hollinger argue that ethnic differences are rapidly losing their importance in contemporary society. Hollinger suggests a “postethnic approach,” that is, one that “favors voluntary over

involuntary affiliations, balances an appreciation for communities of descent with a determination to make room for new communities, and promotes solidarities of wide scope that incorporate people with different ethnic and racial backgrounds.”⁵¹ A study in the true spirit of Hollinger’s postethnic model would take into account friendship circles, ‘cliques,’ and other forms of affiliation between students at Harrison. While I was unable to do this, the time I spent at Harrison suggested that these affiliations often fall along “racial” lines- for instance, although the term ‘Hispanic’ encompasses a number of ethnic groups, ‘Hispanic’ students form affiliations based on the fact that many of them speak Spanish. In this way the “legible race” that I attempted to observe often reflected postethnic affiliations.

As it happened, one of the teachers who agreed to participate in this study is an African-American male, and the other is a white male. Rather than starting out with the goal of drawing a direct comparison between the two teachers and their classrooms, I sought to form a coherent qualitative sense of each teacher, and the language patterns in his classroom, individually. This often included hanging around after my scheduled observations, talking to the teachers when they initiated conversation, and generally establishing a good rapport with the teachers. This process was facilitated by the fact that I very much enjoyed the company and conversation of both teachers I also conducted formal interviews to probe further into each teacher’s background- their sense of their own intersecting identities, their pedagogical philosophies, their feelings about diversity (in and out of

⁵¹ Hollinger, David. 1995. *Postethnic America: beyond multiculturalism*. New York: BasicBooks, A division of HarperCollins Publishers, Inc. 3.

the classroom), and their thoughts on whether/how 1) race and 2) homosexuality fit into the curriculum of American History and Civics.⁵² As I mentioned above, I considered the language used in these interviews to be highly structured by the interview format itself. As a result I did not consider the interview to be indicative of classroom language dynamics, but rather of each teacher's autobiographical self-presentation. I was also aware that this self-presentation was likely influenced by each teacher's perception of me, both as an individual and as a researcher, and took this into account when analyzing the content of the interviews. I would like to think, however, that the time I spent with teachers leading up to the interviews made them more comfortable and more willing to speak candidly.⁵³

In addition to observing in the classroom and interviewing the teachers, I collected the written materials being presented to students. By examining the texts and handouts being used, I was able to enrich my understanding of the overall content of these classes and to assess the degree to which language of racial/sexual diversity is incorporated into the written curriculum in addition to the verbal curriculum. This exercise was intended to supplement my observation and interview data, rather than to serve as a point of analysis in its own right, and as such I have not included quantitative data regarding written materials in the classroom. I will note now that both teachers introduced written material that addressed a range of racial topics, and that for the most part the written materials very much reflect the patterns of spoken

⁵² See Appendix B for interview schedule.

⁵³ I should also note that although I thoroughly enjoyed observing in the classroom, the opportunity to form friendly relationships with these teachers has been equally rewarding, and for that I am extremely grateful to both of them.

language that exist in the two classrooms. Where appropriate, I include information about written material as further evidence of the patterns I propose.

This study required a high degree of sensitivity due to the controversial position of sexuality in schools. In conducting my interviews and in informal conversations with teachers, I tried to keep in mind the possibility of creating psychological discomfort. I was also aware that teacher's opinions about race and sexuality in the classroom could potentially put their jobs and their relationships with other teachers at risk. In my opinion, neither teacher said anything to me formally or informally that would endanger their employment or interpersonal relationships. Nevertheless, I am keeping the identities of the teachers who participated in my study completely confidential. Because teacher/administrator communities are small, and in my case even smaller because of my focus on eleventh grade American history and Civics, I am also keeping the name and location of the school confidential. In arranging the interviews, I attempted to arrange private settings, but ultimately prioritized the convenience of the teachers over the privacy of the interview. As a result, both interviews took place at Harrison. During the interviews, neither teacher expressed discomfort or anxiety at the questions I posed; and although I was careful to pause the interview when the occasional student interrupted by knocking on the door or entering the room, often the teachers continued talking, seemingly unperturbed by the presence of students and general lack of privacy.

I framed my questions carefully, to avoid offending or alienating the teachers or giving the impression that I favored certain

answers. Nonetheless, it is likely that each of the teachers had formed an impression of me by the time I conducted our interviews. I am a young, female college student, who has openly expressed interest in becoming a teacher. The teachers may also have picked up on my 'queerness,' though I did not express this openly to them, in part because I believe it would have altered the way they discussed homosexuality with me. Of course, both teachers were aware from the beginning of my role as a researcher, as well as of the topic of my study. The fact that I openly expressed an interest in the discussion of race and homosexuality in the classroom may have caused them, consciously or unconsciously, to alter their answers to my interview questions to better correspond with this interest. However, in my opinion, the answers given by teachers during the interviews correspond accurately with what I witnessed of their teaching practices throughout my month and a half of observation, and with the content of the written materials they provide to their students. For this reason, I feel comfortable "trusting" the interviews as sincere self-representations, understanding that self-representations must be interpreted as such and not as some sort of reified "truth."

My methodology has certain weak points. In order to avoid possible ethical problems having to do with discussing sexuality with minors, I did not interview or survey students. As I mentioned above, this prevented me from gaining a nuanced understanding of each student's ethnic identity. Indeed, I was unable to gain any depth of understanding as to how students perceive the language used in the classroom, and how their own identities may influence their perceptions. I had no way to confirm that either of the classrooms

contained students who identified as something other than heterosexual. Furthermore, assuming such students do exist, I had no way to probe their specific thoughts on the language used/not used in the classroom setting. In addition, I feel compelled to note that my time in the classroom made it clear that each student is a vibrant, living individual, with a unique history and personality. Unfortunately, for the most part, students are present in my analysis only in the form of impersonal tally marks, which do not do justice to their individuality. These shortcomings detract from the richness of the study.

In addition, the study is unquestionably limited in scope. A sample of just two teachers does not allow for broad generalization. I have, however, attempted to counteract the limited scope of my study with deeper qualitative information about my two teacher subjects. My hope is that although the results of the study cannot be assumed to hold true in other situations, the details of the study provide interesting insights into the specific dynamics at play in these two classrooms. As such, my study might help other researchers construct and improve related research projects.

IV. The Fieldsite

The Physical Setting

I began weekly observation at Harrison in the fall of 2006 as part of a teacher preparation class. During this time I was able to observe and interact with various teachers, in environments ranging from the intensive reading program for students who are severely below grade-level, to an honors English course about the works of William Shakespeare. I was also able to explore areas of the school outside the classroom, including the library and cafeteria. This

experience supplemented the impression of Harrison I gained through intensive observation during the winter and spring of 2007, making me more confident in any generalizations I make about the school in this paper.

The school itself is recently renovated, with a warm but modern brick exterior, and many windows. The light, airy effect created by the high ceilings and white walls in the front hall is somewhat overshadowed by the metal detector and security guard at the entrance. Across the entrance hall are doors leading to Harrison's large, modern auditorium, which received substantial upgrades in the recent remodel. Continuing into the school, one passes through a long, open foyer of sorts. During one of my weeks of observation, a group of students had set up shop here, constructing decorations for an upcoming school dance. Harrison's interior is characterized by narrower hallways, lined by bulletin boards and red student lockers. At almost every corner sits a hall security guard, who checks students and visitors for passes. Upstairs on the second floor, the library is consistently full of students, working at tables or using the computers to access their MySpace pages. During the few minutes between classes, the halls fill completely with students, so much so that it is virtually impossible to get anywhere without pushing through someone else. For the inexperienced visitor, the effect of this sea of diverse faces and bodies is somewhat overwhelming.

Diversity at Harrison

Harrison High School has one of the most diverse student populations in its district. This diversity is reflected proudly in official

statements made by the school's administration and faculty. For example, the school's mission statement reads as follows:

Harrison High School is a richly diverse community committed to the pursuit of academic excellence and social responsibility. With the help of family and the community, we strive to provide a safe environment that fosters respect for self and others. Through rigorous instruction based upon high standards and accountability, we challenge students to become lifelong learners and empowered citizens.⁵⁴

A statement made by Harrison administrators in the school's No Child Left Behind (NCLB) profile is more precise:

The Harrison student population is the most culturally, ethnically, and racially diverse in Elm City. Our staff and students teach and participate in courses dealing with cultural diversity. Many of our staff and students have also participated in Diversity Training with the ADL and will continue to do so in the future. Our commitment to the problem of racial and ethnic isolation can be demonstrated by the Mission Statement of our school which is crafted around increasing and celebrating our diversity.⁵⁵

These statements reflect the high level of awareness of racial-ethnic diversity at Harrison. Indeed, this diversity seems to be one of the most salient elements of Harrison's projected "identity" as a school, as it is consistently referenced in various official descriptions of the school.

⁵⁴ Harrison High School Mission Statement, 2006-2007(b).

⁵⁵ Harrison High School NCLB "Strategic School Profile" 2004-2005.

However, other dimensions of diversity, including diversity of sexualities, are absent from the school's self-description. I argue that this reflects a particular challenge at Harrison – namely that in general, racial-ethnic diversity is acknowledged and privileged above other dimensions of diversity. This bias is also evident in district standards for social studies education. For example, in grade eleven, according to content standard 1.0, "Diversity," students are expected to

- **Read, view and listen to multiple sources that reflect the diversity of culture.**
- **Assess the impact of Reconstruction on African-Americans, the rise of tenant farming, the Buffalo soldiers, and the growth of African- American political leadership.**
- **Discuss current relations with Native Americans.**
- **Examine the impact of migration and immigration on the development of the West.**
- **Explore the movements for suffrage and women's rights.**
- **Assess the expanding role of the United States in world affairs.**
- **Investigate the effects of new inventions, new industrial production**

methods, and new technologies in transportation, communication and the economy.

- **Investigate** the Spanish-American War, and relations with **Cuba, Puerto Rico and Latin America.**
- **Describe** different aspects of the “**Roaring Twenties**”: Prohibition, organized crime, the growth of organized sports and the **Harlem Renaissance.**
- **Assess** the **collapse of communism** and the **end of the Cold War.**
- **Consider** new **challenges to America's leadership** role in the world.
- **Examine** recent **trends in immigration.**
- **Examine** the effects of **segregation and desegregation.**⁵⁶

[Original emphasis]

A cursory review of these topics reveals that ethnic/racial diversity is the foremost theme of the “diversity” content of American History II. Equally notable is the complete absence of homosexuality as a relevant

⁵⁶ Elm City Public School District, Curriculum Framework, Social Studies/History grades 9-12.

For the complete text of the Elm City Public School District Curriculum standards for eleventh grade Social Studies, see Appendix C.

dimension of diversity in the United States during the 20th century. This dynamic is certainly not unique to schools – as I suggested earlier in the paper, the same phenomenon can be found in many other arenas, including educational theory, where the privileging of race over sexuality is evidenced by the abundance of literature on multicultural education and the corresponding dearth of literature on queer or “multisexual” education.

This bias towards racial/ethnic diversity has many potentially problematic implications, one being that schools, as institutions, are denying a dimension of diversity that plays a significant role in shaping students’ lives. On the other hand, such a bias may reflect the fact that race and ethnicity simply play a larger role in shaping students’ and teachers’ lives than does sexuality. Theories of intersectionality allow for the potential that certain identities are more consequential in the lives of individuals than others. If this is the case, schools may assume they are addressing the most influential dimension. Of course, these scenarios are not mutually exclusive- perhaps race and ethnicity have a far greater impact on students’ lives than sexuality; nonetheless sexuality remains an element of students identities, especially at the high school level, as is evidenced by the abundance of language that references sexuality in informal encounters between students. Their use of this language may not only reflect the presence of sexuality in their lives, but may even be part of an ongoing process of their identity construction.

As a field site, Harrison provides me with the opportunity to explore how the language of non-heterosexualities is used/suppressed in highly racialized classrooms, compared to how the language of race

and racial diversity is used/suppressed in the same environment. This specific context elicits several questions. What approaches do teachers take to satisfy racially themed content standards? Why do they choose these approaches? What factors might cause a teacher to incorporate explicit discussion of queer topics into legitimate classroom discussion? If they do so, what approaches do they use to address these taboo subjects? Are there identifiable rules that dictate use of sexual/racial language in the classroom? And how do the race of the speaker and the racial composition of the audience affect the language used? And finally, what are the implications of these language patterns for the subjects present in the classroom?

V. Hypotheses

I entered the classroom with certain expectations. In general, I expected to hear much more discussion of race than of homosexuality. This expectation was based on own experiences in high school, my knowledge of the content of the required curriculum, and the controversial/ tabooed nature of homosexuality, or any reference to sexuality for that matter, in the classroom. Nevertheless, based on past observations at Harrison, I expected homosexuality to at least be present in informal conversation between students, if not in formal classroom discussion.

Based on the theories of intersecting identities and the power of language in constructing those identities, I predicted that students of differing racial backgrounds would speak differently/with differing frequency about homosexuality. I predicted that the same would be true for teachers of differing racial backgrounds. Specifically, I expected non-white students and teachers to make more references to race than

their white counterparts, and fewer references to homosexuality, because I predicted that race is likely a far more tangibly consequential aspect of their identity than sexuality. This prediction was due in part to the institutional emphasis on race that I noted in my description of Harrison, and partly due to the fact that “marked” identities – that is, identities considered ‘non-normative’ – tend to be more consequential. White students could generally be assumed to have an unmarked racial identity, therefore a non-normative sexual identity might be of greater significance for them. In addition, I expected each speaker would be more likely to use words that reflect their own identity than words denoting another racial group, based on the idea that in referring to one’s own identity, one draws upon a sort of “subjective authority,” that is, an authority based in subjective experience, that allows and legitimates personal opinions. Applying this idea to the classroom as a whole, I expected that the racial composition of the classroom would be reflected in the overall patterns of language used. Before I discuss the results of my observations, I will provide some background information on each of the teachers.

VI. Two Teachers; Two Classrooms

Mr. Richards

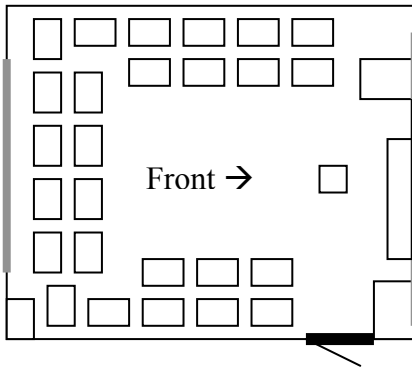
The walls of Mr. Richards’ classroom are barely visible under the dozens of posters that cover their surfaces. Even the floor is partially covered- with maps of the United States and the world. The titles of many of the posters reflect the content of Richards’ history and civics classes – “The Bill of Rights,” “The Electoral College,” “The 14th Amendment (Equal Protection),” “Confederate/Union Generals,” “Native American Heritage,” “Pearl Harbor,” and “The Constitution

and You.” Other titles, such as “Effort,” “Inspire,” “Winners,” and “~~Can’t~~,” reflect the influence that coaches have had on Mr. Richards’ teaching style. Those remaining appear to be more personal touches. These include large iconic photographs of Gandhi, Nelson Mandela, Che Guevara, and Mohammad Ali, as well as more message-based posters such as “The real purpose of books is to trap your mind into doing its own thinking.” On the front wall, a whiteboard contains notes for today’s lesson. Higher on the wall, the American flag is displayed with the words of the Pledge of Allegiance, and the Harrison mission statement is displayed in both English and Spanish (as it is in every classroom at Harrison). On the back wall, a bulletin board displays the visual component of two student projects, one on birth control, and the other on local Elm City gangs.⁵⁷

Mr. Richards arranges the desks in his classroom in a U-shape, with one row of desks against the walls and a second row inside of that row (See Fig. 1). This arrangement is conducive to more than one teaching technique. It orients students in such a way that all the students in the class can simultaneously face the teacher, say, during a lecture. The arrangement also has the advantage of orienting students towards each other, which facilitates discussion among students.

⁵⁷ Each student in Mr. Richards’ class is required to undertake a research project on a controversial topic. I will discuss this assignment further later in the paper.

Figure 1



Mr. Richards himself is an African-American man of athletic build, with a shaved head, a friendly smile, and a no-nonsense attitude. He dresses casually, usually wearing jeans, work boots, and crewneck sweatshirt. When I asked if he identified with any religious or socioeconomic groups, he responded rather tentatively that he is Christian (Presbyterian), and identifies as middle class. This prompted me to ask if these other identities are less important to his identity as an African-American, to which he immediately responded “of course.”⁵⁸ This comment supports my hypothesis that race may trump other axes of identity in terms of importance, especially if the subject in question is not white. My interview with Mr. Richards revealed that he has been married and had three children, although he is currently divorced from

⁵⁸ Richards. Personal interview. Interview conducted 2 March, 2007(b). Harrison High School, Elm City.

his wife.⁵⁹ Based on this information, I have assumed that he is heterosexual.

As an undergraduate, Mr. Richards majored in economics. He then went on to study education at numerous institutions, including Johns Hopkins and Wesleyan University. He started his teaching career in private schools, and says that in hindsight it was a good decision. “I was glad that I started off in private schools. Because that, I guess it gave me the support that I needed, and that the mentoring was there, the people were there, they gave me a lot of insights. [...] I don’t necessarily think you get that in public schools.”⁶⁰ Nonetheless, he does not think everything he learned during his private school years is applicable to his work at Harrison. He noted that “What’s good for me here may not work at a [names a private, predominantly white institution].”⁶¹ Furthermore, even within Harrison, Mr. Richards says his “approaches may vary from class to class because the levels of the kids are different.”⁶² In other words, rather than subscribe to a particular method or pedagogical philosophy, Mr. Richards draws on a variety of approaches to best suit his particular classroom environment. He cites the coaches he has had throughout his life as major influences on his decision to teach and certain methods he uses, although still emphasizing his individualistic style of teaching.

I watched and emulated the guy that coached me in high school, and then in college, all that, those guys had a major

⁵⁹ During the interview Mr. Richards indicated that his ex-wife is white. An interracial marriage may have had significant effects on Mr. Richards’ experiences of race relations in the United States, however, I was unable to fully explore these effects.

⁶⁰ Richards 2007(b).

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

impact on me. I wanted to involve myself with coaching and teaching in some way. But their...the ways that they taught, or the ways that they coached, were different from the way that I do. I don't just take, you know, I borrow from others and then make it uniquely mine because of my own personality.⁶³

Indeed, Mr. Richards' personality is a distinctive feature of his classroom. When I asked Mr. Richards what students should gain from their high school education, he answered, without hesitation, "how to function out there in society, period."⁶⁴ This bold, straightforward manner of talking is characteristic of Mr. Richards' teaching style. As he explains, "I'm very raw, I'll be honest with you, I'm just straightforward, right in their face, just tell them what life is like."⁶⁵ Fortunately history and civics serve as suitable forums for incorporating these "Real life lessons."⁶⁶ He stresses the idea of "exposure," that is, exposure to the realities of life outside of Harrison. He is concerned with conveying to students that although Harrison is a fairly diverse and harmonious environment, most people live far more insular lives and have less positive attitudes towards diversity. Even just one town over, "they don't have any kids that look anything like the kids I teach. ... Even when the white kids go to [nearby schools], [students from those schools are] like, 'Oh, they're from *Elm City*.'"⁶⁷ Mr. Richards

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

extends this idea of exposure beyond the borders of this country. He tells his students,

If you have to do anything in life, make it your mission to get outside the United States and see what life is like for other people. I know some of you guys can't even get out of your own community, but if you can afford the opportunity to go elsewhere and not just do the touristy things but go elsewhere and see how the other half lives, what other people are exposed to, then I think you would truly understand why a lot of people are trying to scratch and claw to get their way here. And what we take for granted.⁶⁸

This concept, again, has great relevance to history and civics in the context of immigration, which is required as a content standard in eleventh grade.⁶⁹ Furthermore, Mr. Richards himself has traveled extensively, to “places that some people wouldn’t go, and I’ve been a lot of places that are, well, kind of a touristy thing. I’ve been able to afford this, so I try to enjoy it. But then there are places I go like ‘wow, people live like this.’”⁷⁰ Here again, Mr. Richards uses his own experiences to augment his teaching.

Mr. Richards’ interactions with students are in keeping with his raw, uncensored approach to teaching. His deadlines are explicit and absolute. He makes it clear that the burden of responsibility- to make up late work, to keep up with reading, to be prepared at all times- falls firmly on the shoulders of his students. For example, at one point,

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ See Appendix C.

⁷⁰ Richards 2007(b).

Mr. Richards and I were talking during his preparation period and a student came in to inquire about procedures for making up some late assignments. The student asked Mr. Richards a question, to which he characteristically responded, “That’s on you. That’s on you.”⁷¹ Furthermore, he does not shy away from stirring up debate in his classroom. He warns, “I’m gonna say certain things that are gonna piss you off.”⁷² Of course, his inflammatory remarks are generally said in jest, contributing to an atmosphere of playful sparring, both personal and academic, that pervades his classroom. In this vein, Mr. Richards often adopts comical nicknames for his students, such as “Pinkeye” and “Reverend.” He also encourages students to take him on in historical and political debates, often provoking students by playing the devil’s advocate or by feigning bigotry or ignorance.

Mr. Richards’ playfully confrontational teaching style and his distinct worldview are important in considering the patterns of language use in his classroom. Before I elaborate on these relationships, I will introduce Mr. Levy.

Mr. Levy

Posted on the door to Mr. Levy’s classroom is list of procedures for the start of class. Though the paper states sternly that students will be expected to comply with these procedures, I learned quickly that enforcement was not strict. Inside, Mr. Levy’s classroom decorations reflect his interests in history, civics, journalism, photography, and music. The whiteboard at the front of the classroom displays notes for the day’s lesson, including its “content objective” and

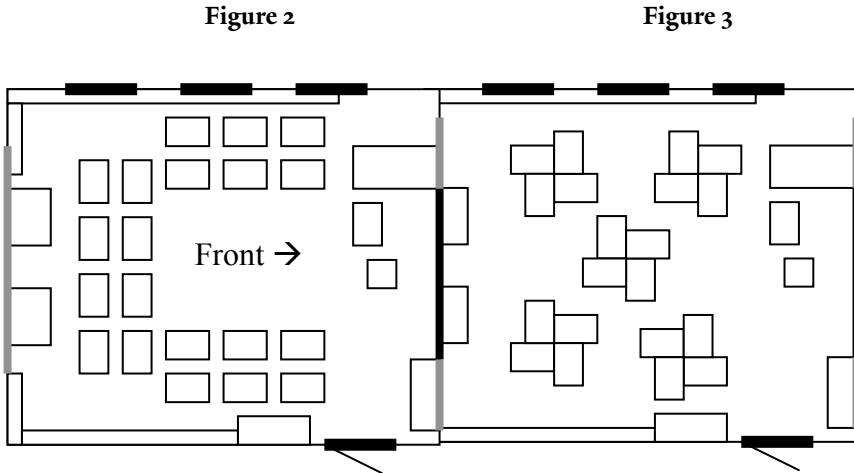
⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

“language objective.” For example, one day’s content objective read, “Summarize the Bill of Rights,” and the language objective read,”1) Right to privacy- where is it? 2) Search and seizure.” To the right of the whiteboard, a bulletin board displays posters of Malcolm X and Miles Davis, and a newspaper clipping comparing Harrison with a nearby high school. To the left, near Mr. Levy’s desk, another bulletin board displays a poster containing the text of the First Amendment, the “Student’s commitment to scholastic journalism,” and some sort of tribal drum. The outside wall contains large windows, below which are bookshelves containing various movies, books, teaching resources, and textbooks relating to American history, civics, and journalism. Pinned to the wall between two windows is the most recent edition of the school newspaper (Mr. Levy teaches the journalism class at Harrison and serves as the chief faculty advisor to the student newspaper staff). At various other points throughout the room are nicely framed photographic posters- Ansel Adams’ photograph of the Tetons and Snake River, Edward Curtis’ photos of North American Indians, Sebastiao Salgado’s “Workers,” the “State of the Blues,” and a commemoration of W. Eugene Smith’s “Life and Photographs.” At the back of the classroom are two desks, each with a computer, likely intended for journalism students, as I never witnessed them being used in the history/civics classes I observed. The back wall contains a bulletin board covered in student work, including an assignment in which students were required to write letters from the perspective of recent immigrants.

Originally, the desks in Mr. Levy’s classroom were arranged in a pattern similar to Mr. Richards’ (See Fig. 2). This arrangement had

essentially the same benefits as those I described in Mr. Richards' classroom. Over the course of my observations, Mr. Levy decided to experiment with a new desk formation, to facilitate group work among students (See Fig. 3).



Mr. Levy himself is a white man, rather small in stature, with graying beard and, like Mr. Richards, a friendly countenance. He generally wears khakis and some sort of collared shirt when teaching. When I asked whether he identified with any racial or ethnic groups, he identified himself as Jewish. Like Mr. Richards, Mr. Levy has been married and has children, but is currently divorced. As such I have no reason to believe he is anything other than heterosexual.

Mr. Levy's path to becoming a teacher was somewhat different than Mr. Richards. Mr. Levy practiced law for many years, but left the profession to teach. He became certified through the ARC, or "Alternate Route to Certification" program. This program takes place

over one summer, and as such does not provide a wealth of information about teaching techniques. As a result, Mr. Levy explained that many of the techniques he uses come from his experiences as a lawyer, or other life experiences.

Even long before I practiced law I was very comfortable being in front of people, kind of sharing photojournalistic projects, and other journalistic projects that I had done. So, that helps. I had both my kids go here, I got to watch how other people did it, I got to hear a lot of things from them, and that definitely had an effect. What they said to me is this: if the kids sense that you respect them, they're going to respect you. [...] Everybody has to earn each other's respect, but if it's just sort of how you are as a person, you're already winning. And I knew so much about the kind of kids that came here just by watching my kids come, that I was like, 'Yeah, I can do this.'⁷³

Mr. Levy puts this concept of respect into practice with frequent positive reinforcement. He often makes statements such as "I'm treating you like I would treat an honors class" or "this is exactly the type of work you would be expected to do in law school," and makes a point of telling his classes that he likes them.⁷⁴ Indeed, although Mr. Levy has a similarly playful relationship with his students to that of Mr. Richards, Mr. Levy's approach is generally much gentler. At one point between classes, I saw him joke with students who were competing to jump and touch the ceiling. Rather than attempt the jump, Mr. Levy

⁷³ Levy. Personal Interview. Interview conducted 28 February, 2007. Harrison High School, Elm City.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

stood on a desk, making light of the fact that he is shorter than most of the boys in his classes. Mr. Levy also has nicknames for his students, including “Xerox,” for a student who has a tendency to unwittingly plagiarize his papers. However, his interactions with students are rarely of the raw, in-your-face nature that Mr. Richards describes. Indeed, this difference is further illustrated by Mr. Levy’s statement that the purpose of a high school education is to teach students “intellectual curiosity, confidence, self-respect, respect for others, and empathy,” rather than the hard facts of life.⁷⁵

Mr. Levy seems to enjoy dynamic classroom interaction, stating that he prefers discussions to lectures, and that he is “bored by working straight out of a textbook.”⁷⁶ As for group work, he has “gotten a little more comfortable with it and a little bit less afraid of what appears to be chaos when in fact it’s not.”⁷⁷ He often incorporates his knowledge of anthropology, ethnomusicology, film, and computers into his lessons. He frequently pulls out his Apple laptop to display a slide show of photographs, often taken by his journalism students, or a media montage he himself has put together. During one of the class periods I observed, Mr. Levy showed an excerpt from *In the Heat of the Night* as an example of racism, and also, I suspect, as an example of good cinema. Despite these vibrant methods, Mr. Levy’s interactions with students are often limited by the nature of his classes. He teaches two sections of “sheltered content” students- that is, students who are not native English speakers. During these periods, a Spanish-speaking teacher’s aid is also present in the classroom. Although Mr. Levy does

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

speak some Spanish, the students seem to rely heavily on the aid during group work, and accordingly the relationship between Mr. Levy and these students is not as strong as in his college-level classes. Furthermore, classroom discussion is more limited, making it more difficult to achieve his definition of a good teacher- one whose “students are doing more work than [he is].”⁷⁸

Nonetheless, Mr. Levy maintains that all of his students are capable of critical thought. He states, “The students in this class, even though they’re not honors students, have an intellectual instinct.”⁷⁹ His confidence, even pride, in his students is consistently evident. As I will discuss later, this positivity is reflected in Mr. Levy’s optimism about the benefits of classroom diversity.

VII. The Language of Difference and Diversity

Quantitative Analysis

I have summarized the results of my observations in Figure 4. The table displays the time I spent in each teacher’s classroom, and tally totals broken down by speaker and general subject matter. In this section I will discuss these and other, more specific, results of my observations.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

Figure 4

Summary:	Mr. Richards		Mr. Levy	
Hours (reg period = 1, block =2)	8		13	
Class periods	7		8	
Total tallies	122		63	
Teacher tallies	93		53	
Student tallies	29		10	
# days with no tallies	1		3	
# tallies related to race	103	84.43%	52	82.54%
# tallies related to homosexuality	3	2.46%	0	0.00%
# tallies related to ambiguous “diversity”	16	13.11%	11	17.46%

The table shows that there is a disparity between the amount of time I spent in Mr. Levy’s classroom and the amount I spent in Mr. Richards’ – primarily because my observations with Mr. Levy were scheduled on a block day, when periods are roughly twice as long, and my own class schedule allowed me to stay at Harrison for multiple class periods that day. In terms of class periods, I attended a comparable number of sessions with both teachers (7 as opposed to 8). One could make the argument that block periods allow for different types of lessons than the normal periods – however, based on my observations there was no significant difference between the content of Mr. Levy’s block periods and his regular periods. Perhaps a more valid claim would be that because I spent several more hours in Mr. Levy’s classroom, my observations represent a better sample of Mr. Levy’s classroom practices than Mr. Richards’. This may very well be true, however, since teachers generally choose one major objective to focus

on during each class period (block or regular), it is likely that I got a comparable sense of the subject content of each teacher's classes having observed a comparable number of class periods.

Despite the fact that I spent less time observing in Mr. Richards' classroom, his tally total is significantly higher than Mr. Levy's. Indeed, if we consider the tally totals in comparison with the number of hours over which they were recorded, Mr. Richards' average number of "tallies per hour" is more than three times that of Mr. Levy (See Fig. 5). This trend is fairly consistent over the subject breakdown as well- with Mr. Richards having approximately three times the number of tallies per hour on the subjects of race, homosexuality, and diversity in general than Mr. Levy. When we examine the values for average tallies per class period, the differences are slightly less – roughly a 2 to 1 ratio as opposed to a 3 to 1 ratio – but still, Mr. Richards has consistently more tallies (See Fig. 6). Mr. Richards also conducted fewer class periods with no tallies, meaning no references to race, homosexuality, or abstract diversity, than did Mr. Levy.⁸⁰ These results indicate that race is referenced more frequently in Mr. Richards' classroom than in Mr. Levy's classroom. Nonetheless the proportion of tallies that related to race, compared to homosexuality or some abstract form of diversity, was virtually the same for both teachers. Of the total words referencing race, diversity, or homosexuality, the vast majority in both classrooms (84.43% and 82.54% respectively in Mr. Richards and Mr. Levy's classrooms) were explicitly about race.

⁸⁰ Furthermore, the one period during which Mr. Richards did not explicitly bring up race was taken up almost entirely by a test.

These results support my hypothesis that race would be a far more common topic of discussion than homosexuality. These data also support my hypothesis that non-white speakers would make more references to race than white speakers.

Figure 5

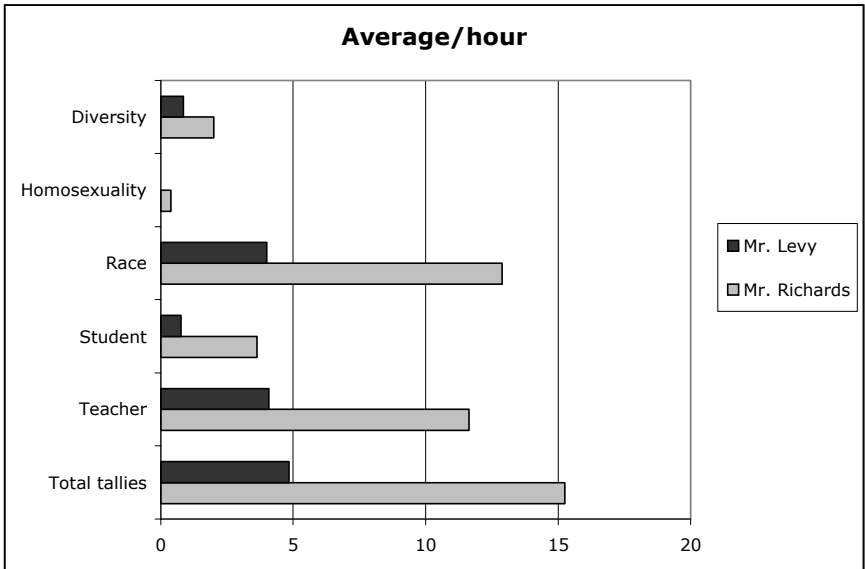
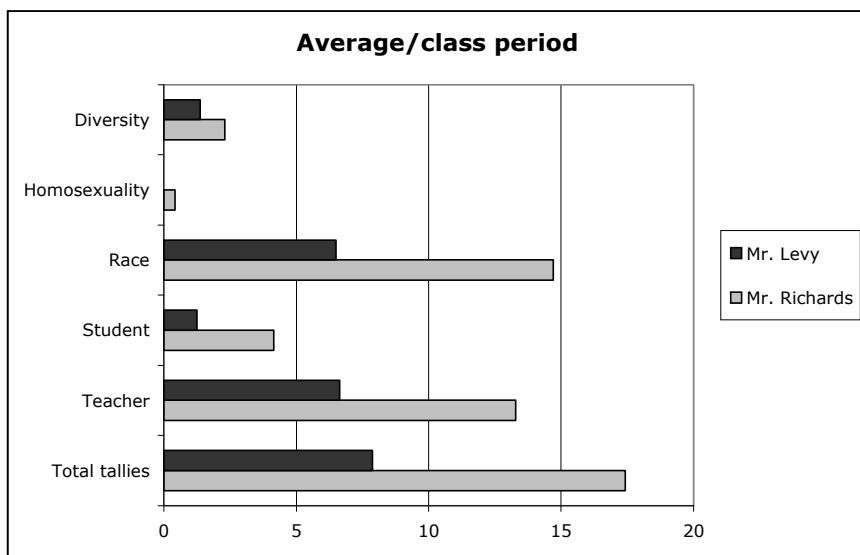


Figure 6



Subject Matter

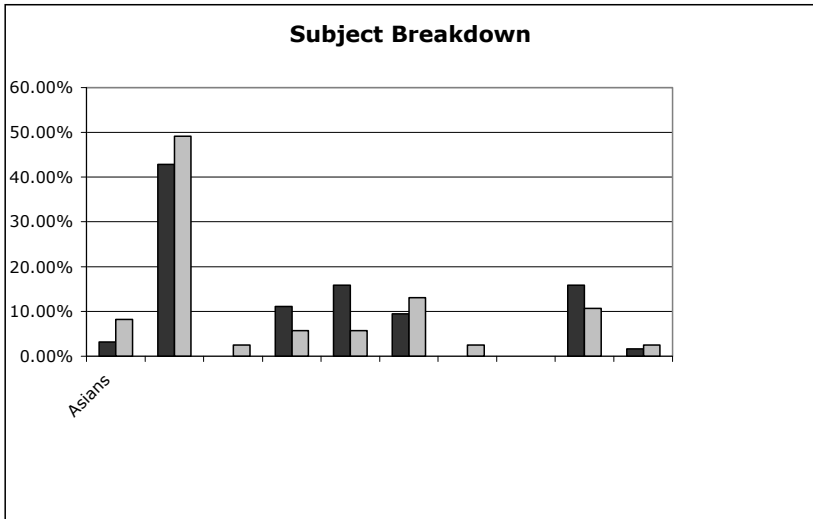
A closer examination of the subject matter addressed by each teacher reveals certain distinct patterns (See Fig. 7). Notably, words that referenced the concept of “black” or “African American” made up the largest tally group for both Mr. Richards and Mr. Levy. This subject occurred more frequently in Mr. Richards’ classroom than in Mr. Levy’s, making up almost half of the total tallies recorded, as opposed to 43% in Mr. Levy’s case. In Mr. Richards’ classroom, the next most frequently referenced subject category was “Latino” or “Hispanic,” with 13.11% of total tallies, followed by words denoting either abstract diversity or immigration (10.66%); whereas in Mr. Levy’s classroom the next most frequently referenced were words

denoting “White” and words denoting diversity/immigration, each with 15.87% of total tallies.

These results partially contradict my prediction that the language used in the classroom would reflect the racial composition of the class. Mr. Levy teaches the “Sheltered Content” class, for students who are behind in their use and comprehension of the English language. The vast majority of students in this class are of Hispanic/Latino origin- nonetheless, my tallies reflect that Mr. Levy made far more references to African Americans than to Latinos.⁸¹ Furthermore, he used words denoting “whiteness” or abstract “race or ethnicity” more often than words denoting Hispanic or Latino identity. I believe that this was the result of structural factors, which I will explore later in this paper. Nonetheless, the result is surprising.

⁸¹ Of course, his college-level class is primarily African-American, so it is difficult to discern the true meaning of this observation.

Figure 7



Mr. Richards' patterns of racial language, on the other hand, are far less surprising based on my predictions. He references the identity category with which he identifies far more often than any other category. Furthermore, the frequency with which he makes references to Asians and Latinos reflects the racial composition of his classrooms. However, Mr. Richards defied my expectations when it came to speaking about homosexuality.

Homosexuality, as predicted, was for the most part conspicuously absent from classroom discussion. Mr. Richards did bring it up in the context of introducing possible paper topics, for a total of three tallies; however, I did not hear a reference to homosexuality at any time during my observation in Mr. Levy's classroom. Based on my interview with Mr. Levy, this may have been

merely the result of a short period of observation. Nonetheless, it is a surprising finding given that I expected non-white teachers and students to reference homosexuality less than their white counterparts, because I hypothesized that race is a greater factor in their own lives than sexuality.

Student Silence

Another noticeable pattern in both classrooms was the degree to which teachers dominated classroom speech with regards to race (and homosexuality, when applicable). Figure 8 and Figure 9 provide the tally counts for Mr. Richards and Mr. Levy, respectively, broken down by subject matter and speaker. In both cases, the vast majority of tallies are attributed to the teacher. At first glance Mr. Richards' students seem to be proportionally more vocal than Mr. Levy's; however, it is important to note that some of the student tallies in Mr. Richards' class occurred when students were asked to read aloud from the text book. Furthermore, the fact that a large proportion of Mr. Levy's students are non-native English speakers may have had a significant impact on the frequency with which they speak.

Figure 8

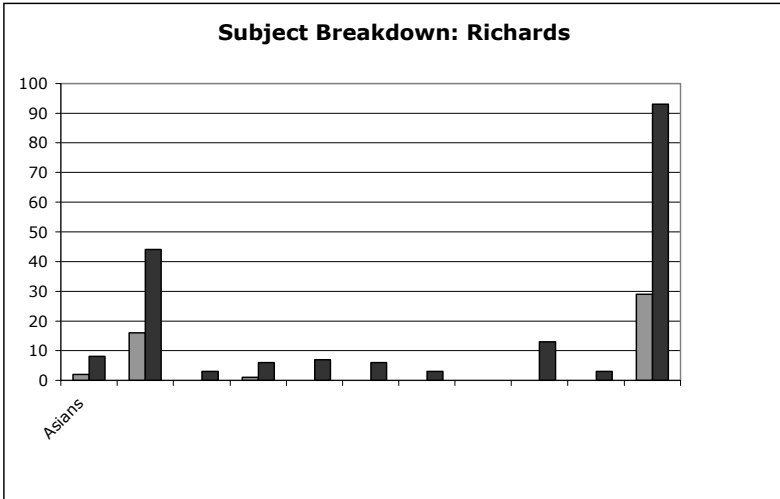
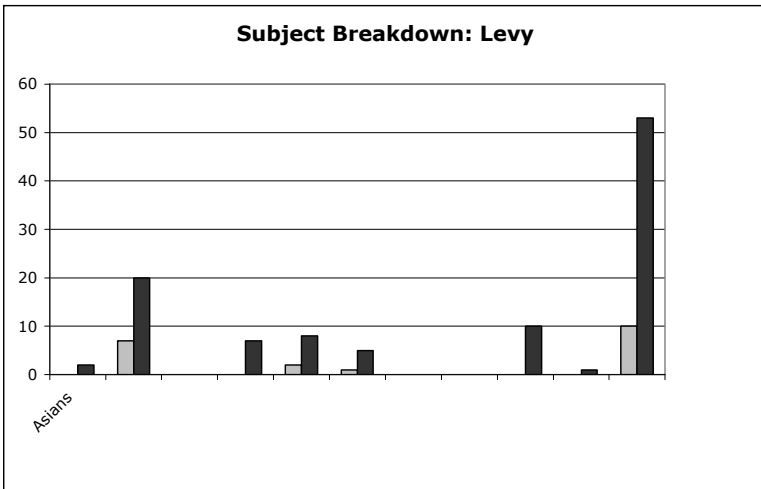


Figure 9



Exactly which students spoke varied widely between Mr. Richards' and Mr. Levy's classrooms (See Figs. 10 and 11). I posit that this was partly a result of the different tracking levels of the classes Mr. Levy and Mr. Richards taught.⁸² Notably, the sheer number of student tallies was much higher in Mr. Richards' classes. This is likely due to the fact that Mr. Richards teaches higher level history courses, including an AP U.S. History course. The level of discussion in Mr. Richards' AP class exceeded that in any other class. Within this class, white students have far more tallies than black students, despite the fact that that class is almost evenly divided, with 4 black students and 5 white students. White student tallies also outnumber black student tallies on the subject of "blacks,"⁸³ a finding that contradicts my hypothesis that students and teachers would speak primarily about the racial group with which they identify.

Figure 10 Richards: Student Speakers

Subject Matter	Male			Female				
	B	H	W	A	B	H	W	A
Blacks	1	0	7	0	1	0	7	0
Latinos	1	0	1	0	1	0	7	0
Asians	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Race/ethnicity	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0

⁸² Different tracking levels are associated with different racial compositions, and as such these factors may be confounded. I have considered this in my analysis.

⁸³ This was true even when discussing civil rights.

Figure 11 **Levy: Student Speakers**

Subject Matter	Male				Female			
	B	H	W	A	B	H	W	A
Blacks	3	0	0	0	4	0	0	0
Whites	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Latinos	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Returning to the concept of power relationships that I suggested fleetingly in the last paragraph, perhaps the dynamics I observed are a result of the fact that white students in an AP class are imbued with several layers of privilege – due to their whiteness; their high-status as top-tier students – that give them the necessary confidence or sense of permission to address racial issues not immediately connected to their own identity. It may be that these white students, and to a lesser extent their black colleagues in AP classes, were able to draw on authority separate from the “subjective authority” I described in my hypotheses. Mr. Richards contributes to and reinforces this authority by structuring his AP class around discussion and by openly encouraging AP students to state bold opinions. This occurs to a lesser extent in Mr. Richards’ honors class, and a lesser extent in his college level class.

Equally relevant to this study is an examination of which students did not speak about the topics I observed. Most notably, I had no tallies from Hispanic students in either classroom. Furthermore, the only tallies from Asian students were addressing the subject category “Asians,” and came in direct response to questions from Mr. Richards

about the experience of Asian immigrants. Applying the post-hoc theory of privilege developed above, perhaps these students are less privileged or authoritative because they are neither white nor black, in addition to their position as students in non-top tier classes. The subject breakdown I presented in the previous section suggests that Asians and Latinos receive less attention in classroom discourse about race- perhaps this reflects a general de-valuing of non-white, non-black “races.” One might argue that in the United States, white-black relations have historically been privileged over other race relations. This could create a dynamic which imbues ‘white’ and ‘black’ students with greater authority to discuss racial issues. Hence, not only are Asians and Hispanics addressed less frequently in the formal curriculum, but, perhaps partly as a result, students of these origins speak less frequently in classroom discussion. At Harrison, the teachers themselves may perpetuate this dynamic, or it may be embedded in curriculum standards and other structural elements, or both. In the next section I explore both institutional factors and biographical factors that may influence the language used in the classroom.

Qualitative Context

Having examined what the patterns of language are in each classroom, the task turns to explaining why such patterns exist. One explanation lies in the structural factors that dictate the content of each teacher’s curriculum; another lies in the intersecting identities of each teacher and his students; still another lies in the personal experiences of each teacher that may or may not be explicitly connected to race or homosexuality. This section considers each of these explanations, and the potential relationships between them.

Institutional Factors

Teachers are constrained by both content standards and time limitations. Appendix C contains the text of the district requirements for eleventh grade social studies classes. These content areas must be covered within a limited amount of time, and teachers are held accountable through the use of routine district-wide assessment tests. Teachers who deviate from the required content risk poor assessment scores, which negatively affect both themselves and their students. Notably, the content standards for “History” do not even reach the present day, instead ending in the 1950s/60s with *Brown v. Board of Education*, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War. Mr. Richards and Mr. Levy explained that the Civil Rights movement is only discussed in the context of a special Black History Month unit in February, and this unit has no extra room to discuss other socio-political changes that occurred at around the same time. Thus phenomena such as the rise of Second Wave feminism, or the development of a gay rights movement following the Stonewall riots of 1969, are not incorporated into curriculum standards.

Because my observations took place between January and March, Black History Month encompassed approximately half of my observation time. No doubt this had a significant impact on my observations, and may at least partly explain why I observed such a clear bias towards discussing African-Americans. Perhaps if I had begun observations just a few weeks earlier and had witnessed part of the immigration unit that I am told preceded my arrival, my observations would have revealed more references to Latino or Asian racial/ethnic groups. On the other hand, the fact that Black History

Month exists, first of all, and second of all warrants discussion of topics outside the normal chronological range of the class, could be taken to indicate that African-American issues do indeed hold a privileged position in discussions of race in this country, and that this privilege is built into the structure of required curriculum content. This might also suggest that teachers have little control over the content of their classes, undermining a key premise of this paper – that the identity of the individual, and the teacher in particular, will affect the content of their language and therefore the content of the spoken curriculum.

Talking about Diversity: The Role of Teacher Subjectivity

An alternative explanation would posit that teachers do have some control over the content of their classes, and that consequently, their intersecting identities and subjective experiences will have some effect on the content of classroom speech. I posit that this is indeed the case, and that the ethnographic information I gained from the interviews is valuable in understanding how each teacher addresses within the framework of structural constraints.

My interviews with Mr. Richards and Mr. Levy revealed many similarities between them. Each of them has a very positive attitude towards the “public school experience,” including the exposure to diversity that public schools provide. Mr. Levy asserts, “I identify myself as a person who has public school values,” and elaborates that being exposed to people of a variety of backgrounds is “what going to a public school is about.”⁸⁴ Mr. Richards expresses similar sentiments. He states, “part of my reason for coming [to Harrison] is that I knew

⁸⁴ Levy 2007.

about the diversity, and I like that. I *like* that in my classes.”⁸⁵ In addition, and probably related to this positive attitude towards diversity, Mr. Richards and Mr. Levy share strong beliefs that race is an appropriate topic of classroom discussion, especially in social studies classes. Their statements on this subject bear a striking resemblance. For example, Mr. Richards declares,

I have *no problem* discussing race. Well, it’s appropriate to the material I teach. Like right now I’m teaching Civics, and all the issues are very appropriate in terms of equality, freedom, and justice- very much appropriate. And I think it’s appropriate in the U.S. History course I teach.⁸⁶

Mr. Levy affirms these statements –

Well, first of all [race] really is part of the curriculum. I mean, the history of slavery, and race relations, and civil rights [...] I mean every school teaches it. I don’t think it’s *controversial* to discuss race. But...if you’re asking me whether it’s ok to discuss the students’ own experiences with *racism*, or maybe their own prejudices, I have no problem with that.⁸⁷

As a result of their own opinions about race and the requirements of the curriculum, both Mr. Richards and Mr. Levy actively incorporate race into their lessons.

⁸⁵ Richards 2007(b).

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Levy 2007.

Similarly, neither Mr. Levy nor Mr. Richards objected to the idea of discussing homosexuality in the classroom, especially in the context of civil rights. Mr. Levy stated,

I think it needs to be discussed in the context of civil rights. And it can be placed in historical context about the Stonewall rebellion, or the Stonewall incident. [...] But unfortunately the U.S. History II curriculum generally doesn't go up that far, and it often, when it does, it's restricted to civil rights and as it relates to black Americans.⁸⁸

Mr. Richards conceives of a similar context for discussing homosexuality –

I have a problem personally as an African-American male, with the fact that 1) how do you connect homosexuality with the slavery experience? [...] I don't see the connection. You know, when you talk about civil rights, you know, I see that piece. [...] In terms of a civics class and civil rights, groups have been denied, you know, based on religion, race, color, and then sexual preference, yeah, you know I've got a problem with that [discrimination].⁸⁹

So, both teachers seem to agree that race is appropriate to discuss both in historical context and in terms of students' and teachers' personal experiences, and homosexuality is appropriate to discuss in the context of civil rights, although the limits of the curriculum may not allow it.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Richards 2007(b).

However, both teachers also seem to agree that certain language that references race and homosexuality is inappropriate in the classroom.

When I asked whether students used informal speech in reference to race or homosexuality, both teachers brought up the common use of the word “nigga” among students. Both teachers consider this to be inappropriate language in the classroom, and said they have built classroom discussions around debating its usage. Both teachers suggested that terms referencing homosexuality are much less common among students. According to Mr. Richards, “kids use flippant remarks like oh you’re so gay, or he’s a homo, but you know, jokingly. [...] Now, the race thing comes out all the time with the N word. And nobody bats an eye.”⁹⁰ Here Mr. Richards draws a comparison between “flippant” remarks like “you’re so gay” and use of the word “nigga” (as opposed to the word “nigger”). However, again both teachers seem to agree that both of these terms are objectionable in the classroom, and both suggest that if they encountered such speech they would intervene, and that they have done so in the past.

Finally, both teachers seem in agreement that homophobia is not a significant problem at Harrison. Mr. Levy states,

I think there’s an atmosphere of...you know, it’s funny. I don’t believe that the kids feel hostile. Like if they saw a student that they thought was gay, that they’d want to attack him. I don’t feel that. I think there’s a certain ignorance. And when the students say “he’s gay” whatever and when they say “that’s gay,” they don’t even mean the same thing. They mean something’s corny, or like, you know, they don’t get it. ... It’s like

⁹⁰ Ibid.

a put-down but it's not necessarily about homophobia.⁹¹

Mr. Richards echoes this sentiment, asserting that he has “never once at this school seen anybody blatantly go after someone because they are, you know, gay.”⁹²

Despite these commonalities, there are important distinctions between the way Mr. Richards frames the topic of diversity and the way Mr. Levy does so. In discussing matters of diversity, Mr. Levy tends to use the idea of exposure as a means of achieving greater harmony and understanding among students of different backgrounds. He says his ultimate goal is for students to recognize the commonalities that unite them. He wants his students to feel “like the kid from Niger, and the kid from India, and the kid from China are part of them.”⁹³ Diversity is a good thing, but “only as far as it serves as a lens through which our common humanity can be seen.”⁹⁴ Therefore, when using speech about race or homosexuality, the key goal is to make the classroom “a safe place for everybody.”⁹⁵ Students “need to feel that they’re not singled out and ostracized and not picked on, whether it be for racial reasons or other reasons I can’t tell.”⁹⁶ For this reason, Mr. Levy suggested that he has brought up homosexuality not only in the context of civil rights, but also in the context of *classroom safety*. He says “it’s very useful that there is a bullying policy in the district because I will report kids for sure if I believe that they are doing that for whatever reason, ostracizing

⁹¹ Levy 2007.

⁹² Richards 2007(b).

⁹³ Levy 2007.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

someone or picking on them because they think they are gay.”⁹⁷ His feelings on this matter have been influenced by the fact that his son, who attended Harrison, is gay. When he does hear negative references to homosexuality, he says,

I have stopped classes entirely and shared by own experiences with my son. Not in the kind of detail that I could, but just enough for them to know that Patrick was made to feel unsafe here. And I said that’s not going to hap...there’s no way that’s going to happen in my class, I’m just not going to let it.⁹⁸

This framework of school safety and universality contrasts with Mr. Richards framing of diversity.

Whereas Mr. Levy’s conception of difference focuses on relationships within the classroom, and generally reflects a sense of optimism that students of different backgrounds can understand each other and coexist harmoniously, Mr. Richards’ conception of difference is directed at the disunity and discord that exist outside the walls of the classroom. This framing is in keeping with Mr. Richards’ general goal of preparing students for the real world:

My mission is just to get these kids exposed to what’s really out there ... a lot of it has to do with, you know, how you’re perceived, your language and then, you know, do you know what’s out there waiting for you and are you prepared for it. [...] Is it because you’re a woman, is it because you’re black, is it because you’re Latino or because you’re gay, your own sexual persuasion. Can you

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

deal with that? Don't let your mouth get your ass in trouble.⁹⁹

In other words, Mr. Richards is particularly concerned with conveying the realities of discrimination to his students. In order to do so, he says, "I convey to them some of my experiences, private and public. I convey to them what some kids have gone through who've actually gone through this particular building, and where they are now."¹⁰⁰ Mr. Richards seems convinced that simply creating a positive attitude towards diversity within Harrison's walls will not change the ignorance and bigotry that exists outside of Harrison, and it is best that students are aware of what awaits them outside of Harrison sooner rather than later. That is not to say that he is pessimistic about race relations within Harrison, indeed, he believes his students are "the most diverse, [with] the most exposure."¹⁰¹ This is, again a point of agreement between Mr. Levy and Mr. Richards. Nonetheless, in general Mr. Richards' comments about diversity reflect a harsher reality outside school walls as opposed to the more optimistic, internal reality stressed by Mr. Levy.

Mr. Richards applies this framework to sexuality as well as race. That is, he conceptualizes of sexuality as a topic of socio-political debate and conflict. As such, it makes sense that homosexuality would be brought up as a potential term paper topic in Mr. Richards' class. The purpose of Mr. Richards' class presentations and term papers is to encourage students to "investigate the pro/con opinion of one current

⁹⁹ Richards 2007(b).

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

social issue/topic.”¹⁰² Other suggested topics include abortion, assisted suicide, divorce, illegal immigration, racial profiling, sex education, and women’s rights.¹⁰³ So, even in classroom discussion, homosexuality is appropriate as an example of a social controversy, or a source of conflict, rather than an axis of difference that students could overcome through experiences of universality as Mr. Levy might conceive.

VIII. Discussion

The difference between Mr. Levy’s framework and Mr. Richards’ framework is likely related to personal experiences. It seems likely that because Mr. Richards is African-American he conceives of relationships between people of different backgrounds as potentially less positive than does Mr. Levy, a white man. Indeed, one way he chooses to convey the realities of discrimination is by sharing his own experiences with racism, in addition to the experiences of other Harrison students. With a sample size of two, this is not a finding I could generalize to a broader population. Based on the fact that in most other respects Mr. Levy and Mr. Richards have very similar philosophies about discussing race in the classroom, however, I think it is fair to attribute this specific ideological difference to the teachers’ differing experiences with race.

Each of the teachers’ approaches to diversity has strengths and weaknesses. Mr. Richards’ approach goes beyond most multicultural curricula by addressing structural discrimination beyond the classroom walls. He incorporates his own experiences and the experiences of his students into discussions of race and racism. Indeed, he specifically

¹⁰² Richards, “Term Paper Guidelines.” Spring 2007(c).

¹⁰³ Richards, “Paper Topics.” Spring 2007(a).

states that he is comfortable doing so. However, subjective experience with homosexuality is a less comfortable topic of discussion. When I asked about discussing homosexuality in the classroom, Mr. Richards brought up a student who had done her class presentation on the topic of gay marriage. She “was really ostracized; [...] people really thought that she, whether she was for it or against it, they just thought ‘how could you possibly?’”¹⁰⁴ In other words, students, and perhaps Mr. Richards as well, were made uncomfortable by the fact that the student presenter might be implying or even openly stating her own non-heterosexuality. This anecdote, first of all, reinforces the idea that there is a strict taboo against mentioning homosexuality in the school setting, especially in formal speech. Second, it demonstrates the context in which Mr. Richards feels it is appropriate or unproblematic to discuss homosexuality in the classroom. Mr. Richards seems at ease conceptualizing and discussing many forms of difference in the context of abstracted socio-political conflict, but when it comes to the experiences of individuals, he seems more apprehensive to talk about homosexuality than about race.

Mr. Levy’s approach has the weakness of being slightly less conducive to discussions of structural discrimination than that of Mr. Richards.¹⁰⁵ However, his attention to interpersonal relationships between students has the benefit of consistently bringing individual subjectivities into classroom discussion. For example, he suggested in his interview that when he discusses homosexuality, he uses his own son as an example of a queer subject. This could supplement Mr.

¹⁰⁴ Richards 2007(b).

¹⁰⁵ Note, this is a common flaw in multicultural education, which critical pedagogical theory seeks to remedy.

Richards' approach of discussing homosexuality abstractly. Still, even in Mr. Levy's classroom discussion of non-heterosexual people only occurs in the context of bullying, constructing the queer subject as a victim. Furthermore, Mr. Levy's use of anecdotes about his son may serve to reference a queer subject while avoiding referencing a subject who is present in the classroom. Indeed, unlike the topic of race, no students referenced homosexuality in reference to themselves. Both teachers' approaches may reflect discomfort with implying or acknowledging non-heterosexual individuals in the classroom itself, and this discomfort may be echoed by queer and non-queer students alike.

These results reflect those of Margaret Smith Crocco, who suggests that when homosexuality is discussed in schools, it is removed from the "homosexual subject," or placed in a negative context. This may have negative consequences for those students who consider themselves non-heterosexual. In Crocco's words, "Gender and sexuality may be abstract concepts, but they are not merely 'issues.' Instead, they are embodied in the daily, often difficult, lives of our nation's young people."¹⁰⁶ However, the structure of discourse surrounding sexuality, and homosexuality in particular, in both of these classrooms may preclude the recognition of ways in which sexuality does impact the daily lives of students and teachers, not to mention the recognition of teachers and students themselves as sexual, and perhaps homosexual, subjects. In the words of Loutzenheiser and MacIntosh, the context and content of such discourses may cause queer subjects to be "erased," and therefore to be less agentive in constructing what it means to be

¹⁰⁶ Crocco 2001.

“queer,” or just not heterosexual, in the classroom and beyond. The Foucauldian theory cited at the beginning of this paper suggests that the context of discourses on a certain subject has implications regarding the power dynamics surrounding that subject. If this is true, the context of references to homosexuality seem to indicate that non-heterosexuals are at a disadvantage in the classroom, as they are discussed abstractly, or as victims, but do not seem to speak for themselves in the same way that students and teachers speak about their experiences with race.

IX. Conclusion

My observations suggest that institutional curriculum requirements and teachers’ subjectivities both have significant effects on the content of classroom discussion. Overall, both teachers whom I observed and interviewed displayed positive attitudes towards the racial diversity at Harrison, and incorporated racial topics into classroom discussion. Whether discussing slavery, Reconstructionist legislation, immigrant experiences, or the process of becoming naturalized as a U.S. citizen, both Mr. Levy and Mr. Richards demonstrated an interest in both the historical and civil implications of race and racial diversity.

I found, in support of my hypothesis, that Mr. Richards, an African-American man, referenced race more frequently than Mr. Levy, a white man. Furthermore, I found that within the broad category of “race,” in both classrooms, the most common subtopic was “African-American,” making up a slightly higher percentage of the total tally marks in Mr. Richards’ class than in Mr. Levy’s. Mr. Richards next most frequently referenced subtopic was “Hispanic/Latino,” whereas Mr. Levy’s were “white” and “diversity/immigration.” This was somewhat counter-intuitive, especially for Mr. Levy, as I had predicted

that the subject matter discussed in a classroom would reflect the racial composition of the student body of that classroom, and Mr. Levy's students are primarily of Hispanic origin. My results for Mr. Richards are more intuitive based on my original predictions- he does indeed reference the racial group with which he identifies the most frequently, and the frequency with which he references other racial groups approximately reflects the racial composition of his classes. However, all of these results may be skewed due to the fact that my observation period overlapped partly with Black History Month. This may have resulted in higher numbers of tallies for words related to African-Americans and fewer in other subject areas. As such it is difficult to draw strong conclusions from the data.

Another finding was more counter-intuitive based on my predictions: the African-American teacher, Mr. Richards, referenced homosexuality more than Mr. Levy, the white teacher, who did not reference it at all during my observations. However, as I discussed, Mr. Richards' references to homosexuality occurred in the context of introducing paper topics for a term paper on socio-political controversies. Furthermore, three tallies versus zero is not a very significant difference, and information from my interviews with each teacher suggest that this may not reflect the long-term attention given to issues of homosexuality by both Mr. Richards and Mr. Levy. My results do reflect my original expectation that non-heterosexuality would be mostly absent from formal curriculum. Again, however, it is difficult to draw strong conclusions.

Nonetheless, as I touched upon in the discussion section, I can speculate about the effects of the patterns I observed directly and those

described to me in interviews. I have suggested that it is problematic that queer subjects are absent from classroom discourse in a way that ‘racial subjects,’ or subjects who have experiences shaped by their “race,” generally are not.

On a more positive note, I found that when discussing diversity, both Mr. Levy and Mr. Richards affirmed the value of numerous and varying student identities. Returning to the idea I introduced at the beginning of this paper regarding the messages students receive in the classroom, and what those messages teach them about their own identities, this observation has very positive implications. Furthermore, each teacher demonstrated interesting strategies for approaching at least the topic of race, and perhaps also the topic of homosexuality, in the classroom. Although I provided criticism of both Mr. Levy’s and Mr. Richards’ approach, in reality the two strategies are complementary. Mr. Richards’ emphasis on difference and discrimination reflects an important, consequential social reality. In addition, by acknowledging that structures of inequality exist in the world, Mr. Richards’ approach has the advantage of providing a clear segue into discussions of how to alter such structures. Of course, Mr. Levy’s emphasis on universality and commonality also has important benefits towards reducing racial (or other) tension and building a sense of community among students of diverse backgrounds. Notably, each teacher makes a point of sharing their own experiences and including their students’ experiences in classroom discussion. This mutual self-revelation seems to be an important step toward both incorporating diversity into curriculum and fostering the sort of close, trusting relationships between teachers and students that might facilitate

incorporating more sensitive topics like homosexuality into educational discourses.

Suggestions for Future Research

This study could be improved in many ways. In the future I would adopt a much longer observation period, over the course of the entire school year if possible, in order to avoid skews in my observations caused by phenomena like Black History Month. Although I think it would be difficult to expand the 'sample size' of teachers, extending the observation period would have the advantage of expanding the sample size of class-periods, giving a more representative set of data. More importantly, I would hope to incorporate student subjectivity into any future research on this topic. I consider the lack of in-depth information about students the greatest weakness of this study, especially since one of my major concerns is the effect of classroom discourse on individual identity formation/construction. Although human subjects committee approval might be difficult to obtain, in the future I would hope to add interview or survey data about student identity, and student thoughts on classroom discourse surrounding race and homosexuality. This information could supplement my conclusions with regard to the effects of discourse on students and the effects of intersecting identities on discourse.

Despite the need for improvement in these areas, I believe this study provides valuable insight to anyone interested in incorporating diversity into classroom discourse. The results reveal not only areas that must be incorporated more actively into spoken curriculum but also potential strategies for doing so. Although my findings are not generalizable, perhaps these strategies could be applied successfully in a

wide variety of classrooms. Furthermore, it is my hope that at the very least, this study serves as a reminder of what and who are so easily silenced or made invisible, even in the most welcoming classrooms. If awareness is the first step towards acknowledgment and change, I hope that this study begins to illuminate the reasons why it *matters* to speak about various forms of diversity in the first place.

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Appendix A: Observation Chart

Date:	STUDENT								TEACHER							
	Male				Female				Male				Female			
	B	H	W	A	B	H	W	A	B	H	W	A	B	H	W	A
RACE/ETHNICITY																
ASIANS: Asian Pacific Americans, Asian, Filipino, Korean, Vietnamese, Chinese, Japanese, jap, chink, flip, yellow, oriental, paki, terrorist, Punjab, towel head, rag head	F															
	I															
BLACK: African American, African, black, colored, negro, nigger, nigga, oreo, slavery	F															
	I															
CULTURE: cultural, multicultural, cultural heritage, cultural context, bicultural	F															
	I															
RACE/ETHNIC: ethnic, racial, multiethnic, ethnic, racism/t, minority, multiracial, biracial, interracial	F															
	I															
WHITE: white, anglo, cracker, honky, WASP, JAP, Jewish, kike/kyke, wigger, gringo, guerro, hick, redneck, hillbilly, pale, trailer trash, white trash	F															
	I															
LATINO: Mexican, Latin American, Central America, Hispanic, Chicanas, Chicanos, Latinos, Latinas, spic, beaner, berry-picker, border-hopper, mestizo, mulatto, nacho, sancho, wetback, Puerto Rican, Spanish	F															
	I															
HOMOSEXUALITY																
GAY: gay, homo, queer, fairy, cocksucker, faggot, fag, pansy, fudgepacker, homosexual/ity	F															
	I															
LESBIAN: lesbian, lez, lezzo, lezzy, dyke, carpet muncher	F															
	I															
AMBIGUOUS																
DIVERSITY/IMMIGRATION: diverse, diversity, melting pot, immigration, immigrant	F															
	I															
MINORITY: minority, minorities	F															
	I															
Notes:																
	B	H	W	A												
F																
M																

Appendix B: Interview Schedule

Introductions:

- Thank you so much for agreeing to be interviewed. I am Elizabeth Humphries, and I'll be asking you some questions about your background and your thoughts on diversity and the classroom.
- If there are any questions you would prefer not to answer, please just say so and we will move on.
- May I have your permission to record this interview?

Intersecting identities:

- With which racial/ethnic groups do you identify? Feel free to state more than one, or elaborate if you feel it's necessary.
- Do you identify strongly with any other social categories? (socio-economic, religious, etc.)

Pedagogical philosophies:

- Could you describe your pedagogical training/ any major pedagogical theories that inform your teaching?
- Are there other experiences that have impacted your teaching philosophy?
- What do you think is the most important thing students should gain from their high school education?
- What methods do you use to achieve this in the classroom? (if administrator: What methods would you choose to achieve this in the classroom?)

Feelings about diversity (in and out of the classroom):

- This school has a very diverse student body. In general would you say that diversity is considered a burden or an asset by teachers at this school? How so? Administrators?
- When I say diversity, I believe it is assumed that I am talking about racial/ethnic diversity. I notice that this school's mission statement refers specifically to cultural, ethnic, and racial diversity. Are there other dimensions of diversity that are recognized at this school that I should be aware of?
- Are these dimensions of diversity viewed positively or negatively?
- Do your opinions about any of these dimensions of diversity differ from the general views you just described? How so?
- Can you describe a specific challenge you've encountered as a result of Cross's diverse student population?
- Do you feel it is appropriate to discuss race in the classroom? Why/why not?
- Is homosexuality ever addressed in the American History curriculum? As part of which unit? What are you required to discuss? What materials coincide with this unit?
- Do you feel it is appropriate to discuss homosexuality in the classroom? Why/why not?
- Do you think other teachers or administrators feel the same way?
- Do you ever notice students using language about race/homosexuality in informal discussions outside of the

official curriculum? (For example, calling each other racialized or sexualized names? Give examples if still unclear.)

- Do you feel this sort of informal discussion is appropriate in the classroom?
- Do you react when students refer to each other using racialized words? How?
- Do you react when students refer to each other using sexualized words? How?
- Do you think there is a distinction between these two scenarios?
- If you could create a “dream diversity unit,” what would you teach about?

Conclusions:

- Do you have any final thoughts or questions?
- Thank you again for your participation. Please feel free to contact me at the email address/phone number on the initial consent form if you have any further questions or concerns about the study.

Appendix C: Eleventh grade Social Studies Content Standards, Elm City Public School District

GRADE 11

SOCIAL STUDIES STANDARDS

The focus of this course is the **historical development of American ideas and institutions from Reconstruction to the present**. Eleventh graders will gain a basic knowledge of American culture through a chronological survey of major issues, movements, people, and events. Content Standards are not taught separately, but integrated naturally through the curriculum.

The following **common performance standards** will be used in conjunction with the **specific content standards** to complete students' study in Grade eleven.

Students will:

- **Gather historical data from multiple sources.**
- **Recognize primary and secondary sources.**
- **Identify the main idea in a source of historical information.**
- **Identify and analyze various causes and consequences of events.**
- **Write short narratives and statements presenting historical ideas.**

- **Demonstrate understanding** through **written, verbal, visual, musical** and/or **technological formats**.
- Use the **writing process** (pre-writing, drafting, revising, editing, publishing) to complete **at least two (2) written pieces** (e.g. **research reports** as recommended.)
- **Watch and analyze the news, documentaries; take a critical stand on current issues.**
- **Formulate questions and hypotheses from multiple perspectives, using multiple sources.**
- **Research an issue** of interest and be able to **take and defend a position** on that **issue**.
- **Read about and discuss current events.**



Content Standard 1.0

Diversity

Grade Eleven

Performance Standard 1.0

Students will:

- **Read, view and listen to multiple sources** that **reflect the diversity of culture**.
- **Assess** the impact of Reconstruction on African-Americans, the rise of **tenant farming, the Buffalo soldiers, and the growth of**

African- American political leadership.

- **Discuss current** relations with **Native Americans**.
- **Examine** the impact of **migration** and **immigration** on the development of the **West**.
- **Explore** the movements for **suffrage** and **women's rights**.
- **Assess** the **expanding role of the United States in world affairs**.
- **Investigate** the effects of **new inventions, new industrial production methods, and new technologies** in transportation, communication and the economy.
- **Investigate** the Spanish-American War, and relations with **Cuba, Puerto Rico and Latin America**.
- **Describe** different aspects of the "**Roaring Twenties**": Prohibition, organized crime, the growth of organized sports and the **Harlem Renaissance**.
- **Assess** the **collapse of communism** and the **end of the Cold War**.
- **Consider** new **challenges to America's leadership** role in the world.
- **Examine** recent **trends in immigration**.
- **Examine** the effects of **segregation and desegregation**.



Content Standard 2.0
Civics/Government

Grade Eleven

Performance Standard 2.0

Students will:

- **Read, view and listen to multiple sources concerning civics and government.**
- **Examine the role of civil rights legislation.**
- **Analyze the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments (Reconstruction).**
- **Analyze the role of the United States government and the Native American of the Great Plains.**
- **Discuss governmental policies affecting trade, monopolies, taxation, and money supply.**
- **Discuss the Progressive and Populist movements.**
- **Discuss the impact of New Deal economic policies.**
- **Assess the impact of the expanded role of government in the economy beginning with the 1930s.**
- **Examine the rise and fall of totalitarian regimes.**
- **Investigate the movements for appeasement and isolationism, and the war debates in Europe and the United States.**
- **Assess the impact of affirmative action.**



Content Standard 3.0

Geography

Grade Eleven

Performance Standard 3.0

Students will:

- **Read, view and listen to multiple sources** concerning **geography**.
- **Explore the impact of geography** on the **Native American's cultures**.
- **Describe** some of the natural obstacles faced in the building of the **Transcontinental Railroad**.
- **Assess, in geographic terms**, the results of **American expansion**.
- **Explain the Great Migration from the South** to the cities.
- **Examine the world oil supplies and the Gulf War**.
- **Assess the importance of ecology** and the **preservation of natural resources**.



Content Standard 4.0

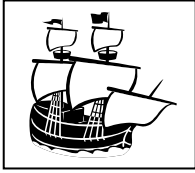
Economics

Grade Eleven

Performance Standard 4.0

Students will:

- **Read, view and listen to multiple sources** concerning economics.
- **Examine** the rise of the **cattle and mining industries**.
- **Describe** incentives for capitalism and free enterprise.
- **Examine the impact of immigration/migration on the labor supply** and the **movement to organize workers**.
- **Investigate** the rise of **big business** and the expansion of **international markets**.
- **Assess** the impact of **industrialization, urbanization, and immigration/migration** on American society.
- **Discuss** the impact of the **Stock Market Crash** and the **Great Depression**.
- **Assess** the impact of **mobilization for war**, at home and abroad.
- **Examine** the strategic and economic factors in **Middle East policy**.
- **Explore** the **economic realities since 1990**.
- **Assess** the effects of the **computer/information revolution**.



Content Standard 5.0

History

Grade Eleven

Performance Standard 5.0

Students will:

- **Read, view and listen to multiple sources concerning history.**
- **Examine the effects of the military occupation of the South.**
- **Discuss the failure of the promise of “forty acres and a mule.”**
- **Explore the events leading up to and surrounding the impeachment of President s.**
- **Assess the effects of homesteading on the western movement.**
- **Explore the contributions made by immigrant groups and individuals.**
- **Examine the causes and aftermath of World War I.**
- **Describe major battles, military turning points, and key strategic decisions of World War II.**
- **Discuss the causes and effects of the Cold War and the Korean Conflict.**
- **Discuss the phases of the Vietnam War.**
- **Evaluate the Brown v. Board of Education decision and its impact on education.**

Intergenerational Mobility by Race: Can the Black Middle Class Reproduce Itself?

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I. INTRODUCTION

Issues of poverty, crime, welfare dependency and segregation tend to dominate research on African-Americans. The large proportion of blacks in the bottom quintile has focused the majority of attention invariably on concentrated poverty and inner-city “ghettos.” These studies, however, are unrepresentative of the larger African-American population. Not all African-Americans are poor, high school dropouts, or live in the ghetto. More prosperous blacks have been eclipsed by the plight of the overwhelming number of those living at or below the poverty line. Research has too often taken race as a whole, without considering important within-race differences such as class. The black middle class, in particular, has passed largely unnoticed.

This paper focuses on the intergenerational mobility of the black middle class. Intergenerational mobility is a key indicator of wellbeing, as the transmission of success to the next generation is essential for a class to perpetuate itself. While a few authors have written about the state of the black middle class in general, there have been very few intergenerational studies since the 1970’s. Times have changed dramatically since then, particularly for African-Americans, and a study on this issue is long overdue.

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Understanding racial differences in class intergenerational mobility is critical. It is only through upward intergenerational mobility and persistence in the middle class that African-Americans can achieve long-term parity with whites. This issue is especially relevant to the black middle class, which does not have the longevity or historical economic stability of the white middle class. The black middle class, as we know it today, arose out of the 1960's Civil Rights Movement. Its very existence is argued to be fragile (Collins 1983, 1999; Patillio-McCoy 1999; Oliver & Shapiro 1995), and it remains to be seen whether the black middle class can sustain itself in the long-run without support – or if, without government intervention, it is doomed to disappear into the underclass.

In this paper, I examine the intergenerational elasticity of the black middle class, relative to the white middle class, to determine whether middle class African-Americans are passing their success on to their children. The paper takes the following format: Section II provides a literature review, focusing on the formation of the black middle class and studies of intergenerational income and occupational mobility. It describes the issues involved in intergenerational mobility and frames the debate over the future of the black middle class. In Section III, the conceptual framework is discussed, and the model used for analysis is described. Alternative approaches and possible criticisms are also examined in Section III. Section IV presents the data and methodology used in the study, including the construction of the matched dataset and a discussion of the data constraints. Section V presents an interpretation of the findings and Section VI concludes.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Brief History of the Formation of the Black Middle Class

The black middle class did not arise naturally over the course of African-American economic development. Rather, it was the direct product of the anti-discrimination legislation of the 1960's. As such, it is a relatively recent phenomenon, and the future of the black middle class is still far from certain. The rise of the black middle class was both dramatic and rapid. Before 1960, the majority of African-Americans lived in deep poverty in the rural South. Racial discrimination, segregation, and lack of access to equal education were critical factors which limited the economic and social mobility of blacks in the United States.

Prior to 1960, few African-Americans could be counted in the middle class. Fewer than ten percent held middle class occupations, and black incomes were considerably lower than whites performing the same role. The opportunity structure was extremely narrow, and there was little to no chance for advancement for blacks. The white middle class, by contrast, has constituted more than twenty percent of the white population since as early as 1910 (Landry 1987). While the white middle class held a wide range of occupations, the black middle class pre-1960 was limited to a small number of professionals – primarily small businessmen, ministers, and teachers – who were largely confined to serving the black population. There were extremely limited white-collar opportunities for blacks in either the public or private sectors (Kusmer 1976). Outside the black community, African-

Americans worked in unskilled industrial or service jobs, and black women worked virtually exclusively as maids (Landry 1987).

The situation of African-Americans improved dramatically in the 1960's. The effects of the anti-discrimination legislation from the Civil Rights movement and the War on Poverty combined to generate opportunity for African-Americans and created an astounding growth in the black middle class. The new civil rights laws desegregated the military, opened a wide new range of occupations to African-Americans, and effectively removed barriers to education. This rapid social change was swept along by a period of unprecedented economic growth and prosperity (Oliver & Shapiro 1995).

Racial discrimination, segregation, and lack of access to education – all of which were critical factors limiting the economic and social mobility of African Americans – were systematically targeted by the new legislation. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 barred discrimination in public accommodations, transportation, education, and employment, while the Voting Rights Act of 1965 made the ballot more accessible to blacks. As result, the number of blacks in colleges and universities almost doubled, and the number of blacks in technical, administrative, and managerial positions increased considerably (Harris 1999). Between 1960 and 1970, the black middle class grew at an astounding rate (Pattilo-McCoy 1999).

After such explosive growth in the 1960's, however, the black middle class was unable to sustain such rapid expansion. It was hit hard by the economic downturn of the 1970's, and saw many of its gains eroded. The rate of growth of the black middle class slowed in the 1970's and 1980's, and studies show that the black/white income gap

showed no signs of narrowing. After reversing more than a century's worth of educational disadvantage and achieving college enrollment rates that were on a par with whites, African-Americans saw college enrollment and completion rates fall in the mid-1970's. These rates continued to decline every year since 1976 (Landry 1987; Oliver & Shapiro 1995).

Throughout the 1980's, African-Americans experienced stagnating or falling earnings and wages relative to whites (Cancio, Evans & Maume 1996). The situation was worsened by the withdrawal of federal supports by the Reagan administration, and the curtailing of affirmative action programs. Young African-Americans were hit particularly hard by the downturn and the loss of federal support (Blau & Beller 1992). The fate of young African-Americans is of particular importance to this study, as it is a key variable in the measure of intergenerational mobility, and its success is crucial if the black middle class is to reproduce itself. Without the necessary education and experience, the young generation will never gain the skill-set necessary to achieve middle class status.

Declining Significance of Race?

The initial rapid success of the black middle class prompted William Julius Wilson to claim that for African-Americans social class is now a more important determinant of economic opportunity than race. Wilson argues that racism and discrimination, while still factors, will have diminishing effects on black socio-economic attainment over time. Instead, he posits that differences in education, skills, and experience

will play an increasingly larger role (Wilson 1978). Opponents of this class argument counter that race has persisted as an explanation of the differences between black and white attainment (Oliver 1980; Willie 1979), and even become more important for certain groups such as the black middle class (Feagin & Sikes 1994; Landry 1987; Collins 1983, 1999; Patillo-McCoy 1999).

Two Middle Classes

Opponents of Wilson's theory argue that there are, in fact, two different middle classes: a superior, white middle class and an inferior, black middle class. The consensus is that "being middle class does not necessarily overcome the particular disadvantages of being black" (Patillo-McCoy 1999). The inequalities between the two middle classes are apparent in almost all arenas. The black middle class lives in poorer neighborhoods, on average, than the white middle class (Massey, Condrant, Denton 1987), with higher crime rates and weaker schools (Gregory 1992).

The typical black middle class family also possesses far less wealth than the average white middle class family. The black/white wealth ratio is only 0.15 – which indicates that middle class blacks own only fifteen cents in wealth for every dollar that middle class whites own. Middle class blacks are also significantly less likely to invest in the stock market, or own high-risk/high-return assets. This means that they will not experience as much return on their investments as whites, and middle class black wealth will follow a lower, slower trajectory than whites (Oliver & Shapiro 1995).

Occupationally, the black middle class is still characterized by inequality. As Collins writes, “the black middle class’s opportunity for income depends more heavily on political tides than economic trends” (Collins 1983). Historically, the black middle class has been over-represented in government positions such as public administration and protective services. Public sector jobs frequently pay less than the corresponding private sector jobs, which places African-Americans on a lower lifetime earnings track. Blacks do not necessarily trade higher income for increased job security, as very often these government jobs are in positions which are the first to be laid off during budget cuts (Collins 1983).

In the private sector, African-Americans are often marginalized into “dead-end jobs” which provide little room for advancement or the acquisition of new skills (Collins 1989, 1997; Toliver 1998):

Too often Black managers are channeled into The Relations as I call them-the community relations, the public relations, the personnel relations. These may be important functions, but they are not the gut functions that make the business grow or bring in revenues. And they are not the jobs that prepare an executive to be a CEO. (Jones 1986:89)

This suggests that the black white-collar workers, even if nominally earning the same wage as whites, are not given access to the same broad array of occupations. While annual earnings may be comparable, lifetime earnings will almost certainly be lower, as black workers are trapped in jobs and denied upward mobility. Furthermore, such practices prevent African-Americans from gaining the same skill-set or

contacts as whites, and are later unable to pass them down to their children in the form of social capital.

Instability of the Black Middle Class

In addition to facing marginalization in the workplace, inferior neighborhoods and schools, and fewer opportunities for advancement, the black middle class must also work harder to stay middle class. Fifty-eight percent of black middle class households required two full-time workers in order to stay middle class, compared to only forty-three percent of white middle class households (Landry 1987). Black families live perilously close to falling out of the middle class.

Oliver and Shapiro (1995) document how the average white middle class family can support its present standard of living for an average of four and one-third months without a regular stream of income. The typical black middle class family, however, cannot support itself for even one month. Not controlling for class, nearly two-thirds of all African-Americans own no financial assets whatsoever. Seventy-two percent of whites, on the other hand, hold financial assets.

The small number of African-Americans who do own assets own distressingly little. An African-American with \$2000 in financial assets would be in the top fifth of the black wealth distribution. The same amount would place them in the fortieth percentile among whites (Oliver & Shapiro 1995). The lack of wealth and inheritable assets among the black middle class poses a serious threat to the transmission of success from one generation to another. With such little wealth to pass on, the next generation must reach middle class status through

earnings alone. The white middle class, by contrast, is able to reproduce itself through dual avenues of earnings and inheritance of wealth.

The overall conclusion from the literature is that, while the growth of the black middle class over the last fifty years has been impressive, African-Americans continue to lag behind whites. The black middle class is not as financially secure as is commonly assumed. There is also evidence of a pendulum effect where blacks gain, only to have those gains partially eroded by both political and economic downturns.

What the literature hardly touches, however, is the intergenerational mobility of the black middle class. It is troubling enough that the newly created black middle class has not achieved parity with the white middle class; it would be far worse if the black middle class is unable to reproduce itself. Inevitably, downward attrition from the black middle class would result in all but a handful of African-Americans living in the underclass.

Intergenerational Mobility

The intergenerational mobility of the black middle class should be seen in the context of intergenerational mobility as a whole. A high intergenerational elasticity (IGE) is indicative of a rigid society, as it signifies that an individual's lifetime income is largely a reflection of that of his or her parents'. A low IGE means that society is relatively mobile, and that an individual's income is independent of that of his or her parents'.

There is some debate over the precise amount of intergenerational mobility in the United States right now, with the estimate of IGE typically falling around 0.4 (Solon 1992), or 0.6 and higher (Mazumder 2005). An IGE of 0.4, for example, implies that forty percent of an earnings gap between groups would remain after one generation. This is akin to saying that it would take approximately three to four generations for all earnings advantages and disadvantages to be erased, and for a household to move to the national average household income. If IGE were 0.6, intergenerational mobility would be substantially lower, and 60% of the earnings gap would remain after one generation. It would then take a family an average of five to six generations to return to the mean income.

IGE is estimated to be significantly higher for families with low net worth, and negligible for the super-rich (Mazumder 2001). This implies that black families will, on average, experience higher IGE/less mobility, as they are overrepresented in the bottom income quintiles. This high estimate of IGE is most likely driven by the large numbers of African-Americans trapped in the underclass, however, who experience little to no mobility over the course of their lives. It remains to be seen how much of the high IGE estimate applies to the black middle class today. (Somewhat counter-intuitively, an IGE of 0.6 for the black middle class would be an excellent finding, as it implies that most blacks in the middle class will experience little social mobility and will remain in the middle class instead of falling to the bottom).

In recent years, there has been a decline in upward mobility across all groups (Duncan et al 1995a; Mazumder 2001, 2005; Duncan, Smeeding, Rogers 1991). Importantly, the younger generation is slower

in attaining middle class status. Duncan et al. report that only forty-two percent of males who turned thirty in 1989 to 1992 earned enough to be considered middle class, compared to sixty percent of the males who turned thirty in the period from 1977 to 1988.

Featherman and Hauser provide one of the first analyses of black intergenerational mobility. Using CPS data from the 1962 and 1973 OCG surveys, they found that young African-Americans did not “inherit” low status, but were able to take advantage of the improved access to education and increased occupational mobility. Cohorts born after the mid-1930’s showed higher intergenerational mobility than the general population, while the mobility of younger cohorts was even higher still. The WWII birth cohorts “with the undertaking of their first jobs, bridged a difference in social status nearly equal to the lifetime social mobility of the pre-Depression black cohorts” (Featherman & Hauser 1978). The intergenerational mobility to first jobs of these cohorts was equal to, or greater than, the mobility of whites. These conclusions led Featherman and Hauser to speculate that a slow convergence towards occupational equality for black and white males (Featherman & Hauser 1978).

Such upward intergenerational mobility is only to be expected, however, in light of the radical transformation of American society during the Civil Rights movement and the strong post-war economy. When the careers of young, relatively advantaged black men are compared to their parents who are less fortunate almost by definition, it would be alarming *not* to see upward mobility. The true question is whether or not African-Americans (and specifically the black middle class) have managed to *maintain* an intergenerational elasticity over

time that is on a par with whites. In studying a period of extraordinary expanding opportunity for African-Americans, Featherman and Hauser may have captured only a period effect, and not a long-run trend.

In 1988, Hout's later study of intergenerational occupational mobility found that overall mobility remained unchanged between 1972 and 1985. Hout decomposes mobility into two components (circulation mobility and structural mobility) for a more in-depth analysis.¹ He finds that, while overall mobility was unchanged, a decline in structural mobility actually counterbalanced the decrease in association between socioeconomic origins and destinations. His findings appear to reject Featherman and Hauser's theory that there is a slow regression towards occupational equality for blacks and whites. According to Hout, the decline in structural mobility exactly offset the increase in circulation mobility arising from the decrease in association between origins and destinations. The net effect on mobility was zero. A detailed reading of his study reveals that for African-Americans this trend is actually an increase in the association between the occupation of the parent and the occupation of the child. It demonstrates occupational persistence, and not upward occupational mobility.

What Hout does show is that a college education or higher eliminates the effect of socioeconomic background. (Origin is still a determining factor in destination status for those with less than a college degree, however). Hout shows that upward mobility exceeded downward mobility in the 1980's, but by a smaller margin than it did in the 1960's and 1970's. Those from the most advantaged backgrounds

¹ Circulation mobility is the amount of mobility accounted for by exchange movements up and down the occupational structure; whereas structural mobility is the amount of mobility due to macro-changes in the occupational structure itself.

exhibited the highest degree of upward mobility, irrespective of race (Hout 1984, 1988). This appears to suggest that class is more important than race when it comes to socioeconomic mobility.

A more recent comparison of black/white intergenerational mobility challenges Hout's view. Using the 1972-1989 Cumulative General Social Survey, Davis demonstrates that black males experienced greater downward occupational mobility than white males during the 1970's and 1980's, and that intergenerational occupational persistence levels were higher for white men than for black. Similarly, Davis finds that white fathers in white collar jobs are better able to protect their sons from downward occupational mobility than black fathers in white collar positions. He concludes that race is still a factor in intergenerational mobility (Davis 1995).

Davis' study has some major flaws, however. Critically, he fails to control for the age of the father in his analysis, which will lead to invalid conclusions. It does not make sense to compare the occupation of the father at 50 with the son at age 24, for example. He also uses occupation as his sole measure of comparison, and sorts individuals across five broad occupational categories. Such an analysis loses much of the detail. Finally, his study is severely limited in that it examines only fathers and sons. It fails to take into account the impact of women during a period when they entered the labor force in droves, as well as the high prevalence of single female-headed households in the African-American community.

III. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The initial question is to determine whether or not the black middle class is reproducing itself. This can occur via two mechanisms: either (1) internal: the children of the black middle class maintain their middle class status as adults, or (2) external: there are new entrants to the middle class over time, as children from upper or lower class black families join the middle class as adults. (Interestingly, if the first scenario is predominant, then this is evidence of a class effect. If the second case prevails, then it suggests that the existence of a black middle class is not perpetuating the black underclass, as some have suggested. Additionally, if the majority of the black middle class is made up of new entrants and reproduction is not occurring internally, then the black middle class appears transitory and limited to a single generation. This raises the issue of the stability of the black middle class).

Mobility is decomposed into “structural mobility” and “circulation mobility” to determine whether the effects of these two components affect blacks and whites differently. Given the dire picture of the black middle class painted by the literature and the general trend of decreased mobility nationwide, I expect to find (relative to whites in the middle class):

- (1) The black middle class is not able to reproduce itself, and is slowly shrinking in size over time.
- (2) Internal class reproduction is not occurring at the same rate as that of the white middle class. That is to say: the

children of middle class blacks are not maintaining their middle class status and are falling out of the middle class at higher rates than the children of middle class whites.

- (3) Internal reproduction is occurring, but only by class and not by income quintile. The black middle class is experiencing a sort of “sedimentary effect” over the years, as blacks fall to the bottom of the middle class and the entire class grows increasingly “bottom-heavy”. Evidence for this would be higher rates of persistence in the fourth income quintile when compared to the second or third.
- (4) External reproduction, or new entrants to the black middle class, is not occurring with the same frequency as it is seen in the white middle class. This means that over time there are few new entrants to the black middle class from other classes, as African-Americans are either trapped in the lower class or part of a “super-elite” upper class. This would be indicated by a high elasticity/low mobility for all African-Americans in the upper and lower classes.
- (5) An overall reduction in the number of middle class blacks over time. If hypotheses one through three are correct, then it would necessarily follow that the black middle class is shrinking over time as African-Americans “fall out” and are not replaced by new entrants.

Definition of Class

It is important to arrive at a standard definition of class before attempting to analyze any class differences. Defining class is inherently difficult. The notion of a middle class is central to American society, and yet strangely there is no official, universal definition. Instead the concept of middle class is amorphous and even changes over time (Parker 1972). The typical consumer goods that are associated with the middle class lifestyle tend to change, making intergenerational comparisons difficult. For example, the one bath-one car home of the 1950's is no longer the norm for today's middle class. Similarly, today it is not considered a symbol of middle class status to have a refrigerator, color television, or indoor plumbing as it once was. Generally speaking, sociologists predominantly use occupation categories to assign class, while economists prefer measures of income.

In this study, I use income as my primary measure for several reasons. The first is that occupation does not take unemployment status into account. Not only do African-Americans tend to have higher rates of unemployment, but they are also more likely to drop out of the labor force due to incarceration or discouragement. Occupation would not capture this activity. Furthermore the status of occupations tends to change across time, which can become problematic in intergenerational studies. For these reasons, and the fact that the PSID provides excellent information on income, I use income quintiles to define class.²

² Table 1 shows the upper limits for each income quintile and the top five percent of households, for all races. The dollar amounts are adjusted to 2003 dollars using the Bureau of Labor Statistics' CPI-U. Source: U. S. Census Bureau, Current Population

Using the U.S. Census Bureau CPS Annual Social and Economic Supplements Table H-1, I define the middle class as households with a pre-tax income between \$25,001 and \$86,851 – a group occupying roughly the middle half of the Census income distribution tables. “Lower Class” is those in the lowest income quintile and in the bottom half of the second quintile (\$0-\$25,000), while “Lower Middle Class” is defined as the top half of the second quintile (\$25,001-\$33,993). The third income quintile (\$33,994-\$54,443) represents the center of the middle class, and the fourth (\$54,444-\$86,851) constitutes “Upper Middle Class”. I define “Upper Class” as all those in the fifth income quintile, or those making \$86,852 per year or more. The middle class (\$25,001-\$86,851) is then the aggregation of “Lower Middle Class”, “Center Middle Class”, and “Upper Middle Class”. Importantly, my quintiles are drawn from the total population, rather than creating separate income quintiles for blacks and whites, as some have done in the past. Creating separate income quintiles by race falsely inflates the number of African-Americans in the middle and

Table 1:

2003 Income Quintiles:

Year	Upper limit of each fifth (2003 dollars)				
	Lowest	Second	Third	Fourth	Lower Limit of Top 5%
2003	\$17,981	\$33,993	\$54,443	\$86,851	\$154,092

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, Annual Social and Economic Supplements, Table H-1. Income Limits for Each Fifth and Top 5 Percent of Households All Races: 1967 to 2005; <http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/income/histinc/h01ar.html>. Adjusted to 2003 dollars from 2005 dollars using the Bureau of Labor Statistics CPI-U.

Survey, Annual Social and Economic Supplements, Table H-1. Income Limits for Each Fifth and Top 5 Percent of Households All Races: 1967 to 2005.

upper classes and does not give an accurate portrayal of the real situation.

Measures of Mobility

After defining class, it is necessary to define measures of mobility. To measure the intergenerational mobility of the black middle class, I compare the parents and children across two measures: income (primary measure) and occupation (secondary).

Income

To estimate the intergenerational mobility of the black middle class, I employ transition matrices to estimate the observed probability of moving from one point in the income distribution to another. I also use a simple Markov Model of transmission of income between two generations as specified in eq(1).

$$(1) \quad Y(t) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Y(t-1) + \varepsilon$$

where Y is log income, t is the “child’s” generation, and $t-1$ represents the “parents” generation. $Y(t)$ can also be thought of as the destination, and $Y(t-1)$ as the origin.

Equation (1) states that the child’s lifetime adult income ($Y(t)$) is a function of the parents’ lifetime adult income ($Y(t-1)$) and a random variable (ε), where $\varepsilon \sim N(0, \sigma^2)$. In this framework, mobility is simply the difference between destination and origin:

$$\text{Mobility} = Y(t) - Y(t-1) = \beta_0 - (1-\beta_1)Y(t-1) + \varepsilon$$

The equation decomposes mobility into two parts. The intercept (β_0) captures the structural mobility – it reflects the amount of growth which has occurred in the economy and is the growth in income across the two generations which is independent of the parents' income. Structural mobility typically results from a change in the distribution of occupations, expanding opportunities in some and decreasing them in others. The coefficient $(1-\beta_1)$ captures the “circulation mobility”, or opportunity, that an individual experiences. It measures the association between the “child” and his or her parent's income. In a society with high circulation mobility, there is a lot of opportunity and income and social status are determined primarily by a person's innate skills and ambitions, not by any inherited advantages or disadvantages.

As I am using log income, β_1 can be read directly as intergenerational elasticity. A high elasticity translates into low intergenerational mobility, and is indicative of a rigid society in which an individual's income is largely determined by the income of his or her parents. A low elasticity, on the other hand, signifies that mobility is high (both upwards and downwards), and that there is a lot of opportunity for a person to change his socioeconomic position. The lower the elasticity, the more opportunity that exists, and the more likely it is that children with equal abilities will have an equal chance to succeed. Note that it is possible for β_0 and β_1 to work in the same direction, or to work against each other.

Occupation

Occupation is my secondary measure of mobility. I use occupational mobility tables to estimate occupational “inflows” and “outflows” to chart the movement of respondents into and out of middle class occupations. Comparisons are drawn between blacks and whites using both occupational categories, and prestige scores.

IV. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

Data

The data for this analysis come from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID), administered by the University of Michigan’s Survey Research Center. The PSID is an annual longitudinal survey which began in 1968 with a national probability sample of 4,800 families. The members of the original sample have been followed as they age, and data have been collected on their offspring throughout childhood and into adulthood. As children mature and form families of their own, these new families are also incorporated into the PSID. As a result, the sample size has grown from the original 4,800 families in 1968 to over 8,000 families by the time of the 2003 survey. The 2003 PSID is nationally representative and contains annual information on over 67,000 individuals. Altogether, the PSID provides rich economic and demographic information spanning as much as thirty-six years of the respondents’ lives.

The PSID has a consistently high response rate of 97% for the core re-interview sample, which provides a thorough collection of data on families over their lives, and ensures that attrition is relatively low. Information is also collected on current co-residents, e.g. spouses, co-habitators, children, and others living with the core members. Due to budget constraints, the PSID switched to biennial data collection in 1997 and reduced the core sample. A “refresher sample” of post-1968 immigrant families and their adult children were added to keep the study representative of the U.S. population.

The PSID contains detailed information on economic and demographic behavior, with a particular eye to income sources and amounts, employment, and family composition. Such data make it possible to relate the income and occupational status of the children as adults to that originally reported by their parents. The annual income data collected represents income from the previous year. The data are available at both the family and individual levels, with the most extensive data available for the family head. Major funding for the PSID comes from the National Science Foundation. For a fuller description of the PSID, see Hill (1992).

The PSID was chosen for this study, not only because it follows children from the original sample into adulthood, but because the dataset contains excellent information on income and the over-sampling of poor households in the late 1960's resulted in a sizeable sub-sample African-Americans. Fortuitously, this over-sampling coincided with the rise of the black middle class, making the PSID one of the few datasets which contains a substantial number of African-Americans for the period in question.

I first measure intergenerational elasticity using income. I examine the income correlation across generations using a life-course approach and match parents and children at age-synchronized points in their life-cycle. This approach has the advantage of observing child/parent head of household pairs at similar stages in their careers. I initially choose to observe heads of households from age thirty-five to age forty-two. These years are chosen as they typically represent the peak earning years and can be taken as a measure of permanent earnings. As earnings generally rise until age forty, an individual's earnings during this eight year period are a good measure of his or her earning capacity (Mincer 1974). Studies have also shown that measures of earnings around age forty may also suffer less attenuation bias than those taken at age thirty, or over age fifty (Gordon 1984; Baker & Solon 1999). As these age requirements result in a rather small sample size for "child" households, they are then extended by five years, in order to increase the size of the sample. The heads of the "child" households are followed from age thirty to age forty-two.

Following Solon (1992), I use more than one year's worth of income data to create measures of permanent income for both the parents and the children. Averaging income over several years reduces the bias from transitory income shocks and measurement error. Using only one year of income can lead to mis-measurement as an individual may have been temporarily laid off, experiencing atypical earnings, or the data may not have been entered correctly. Averaging income over such a large period of time also leads to a more robust estimate of intergenerational elasticity (Mazumder 2005). I average eight years worth of data for the parents over the period when each head is age

thirty-five to forty-two, and thirteen years of data for the children over the period when the head is age thirty to forty-two.

Variables

(i) Total Family Income:

Total family income is calculated as the median total family income for heads of households over the period they are 35 to 42 (30 to 42 for “child” households). It is adjusted to 2003 dollars using the Bureau of Labor Statistics CPI-U, and then logged to correct for skewness. Total family income data is collected each year by the PSID for the preceding year. Total family income is preferred to individual income as it contains the income of all the adults present in the family unit, as well as transfers and assets. Family income is unlikely to be zero (unlike individual income), and is a more robust measure of economic status. This is especially true for females, as the individual labor earnings of women are usually not available. The main difficulty with using total family income is that it does not reflect the number of dependents present in the family unit. To account for this, I use the Ruggles’ Equivalent Income scale to identify equivalent income levels for households of different sizes.³ While there is an extensive literature on the use of equivalence scales, the Ruggles Scale was chosen for its simplicity.

³ Ruggles = (Household size)^{0.5}

(ii) Occupation:

PSID occupation data is based on the U.S. Census Bureau 3-digit 1970 occupational classification code. Occupations from 1968 to 1981 are coded in 1 or 2-digit codes, but retroactive occupation data is available from the PSID website. Codes for 2003 and 2005 are coded in Census 2000 classifications, but a crosswalk from the National Crosswalk Service Center (NCSC) converts the data to 3-digit 1970 occupation classification codes. Each occupation code can be categorized into one of thirteen groups. If the head has more than one occupation over the eight year period, then the modal value is chosen.

(iii) Occupational Prestige:

Each occupational code is mapped to an occupational prestige score based on Socioeconomic Index Scores (SEI). The occupational prestige score facilitates more nuanced comparisons between parents and children with disparate occupations. Occupational prestige is also a more accurate measure for heads whose occupation changed during the period in question. Occupational prestige is their mean prestige score over this time. It reflects all the head's occupations in this time, as well as the number of years in each occupation.

(iv) Race:

Parental race is defined as the race of the head of the household at age 35 to 42. In the rare instances where the race of the head changed during this period, the modal value was chosen. The race of the child is similarly defined as his or her race at age 30 to 42. As the coding of race changed repeatedly throughout the history of the PSID,

race was recoded uniformly as: (1) white (2) black (3) Hispanic (4) other. Because the PSID does not provide good coverage of Asians, this group was combined into the (4) “other” category. Due to the low number of Hispanics and “Others”, these groups were ultimately dropped.

(v) Education:

Education for both the parent and the child is defined as the highest year of schooling completed by the head (parent/child) during the time he or she is aged 35 to 42 (parents) or 30 to 42 (children).

(vi) Sex:

Sex is defined as the gender of the head of the household (parent/child) over the multi-year period. If, in the case of the parent, the gender of the head changes (e.g. the father dies/leaves and the mother becomes head), then the modal value is chosen.

(vii) Total Number in Family:

This variable reflects the number of people living in the family unit. It is used to control for the effect of family size on consumption and total family income.

(viii) Region:

Region is added to control for the variability in income and cost of living across labor markets.

(ix) Relationship to Head & Sequence Number:

These two variables identify individuals who are the (1) head of a household, (2) wife, or (3) “wife” in a given year. Together, they are used to assign income and occupation data to the correct individual within the family unit.

(x) Birth Year:

Since I am specifying an age range rather than a birth cohort, I am studying all parents aged 35 to 42 and all children 30 to 42 across the history of the PSID. Birth year is used to identify the generation to which each parent/child belongs. All children are born between 1934 and 1973, while parents’ birth years range from 1918 to 1959.

(xi) Middle Class:

This is a dummy variable which reflects whether or not the family is in the middle class. Its value is 1 if the family is in income quintiles 2, 3, or 4, and zero otherwise.

Matching

Parents and children are matched through the PSID Family Identification and Mapping System (FIMS). An intergenerational balanced map is created using both biological and adoptive parents. This file provides the link between parents and children and allows the creation of a subset that contains information on both. Of the just over 8,000 families in the PSID (un-weighted), 4,729 independent child-parent family pairs were successfully created. Of these, approximately

63% (n=2,999 family pairs) have heads in the correct age range. Approximately 94% of the parents' and children's family units (n=2,810 pairs) in this age range are successfully matched to their income data, while 91% are matched to occupational data.

V. FINDINGS

Hypothesis (1):

The results from the Intergenerational Mobility table (Table 2) indicate that the hypothesis that the black middle class is unable to reproduce and is shrinking over time is false. The data show that the percentage of African-Americans in the middle class is actually growing as newcomers enter from the lower and lower-middle classes.

Table 2: Intergenerational Mobility Table by Class, by Race

Origin	White	Upper Class	Destination					Total	Marginal Dist.
			Upper Middle Class	Middle Class	Lower Middle Class	Lower Class	Lower Class		
	Upper Class	25	148	113	-	33	319	1.73%	
	Upper Middle Class	294	500	395	257	179	1625	8.79%	
	Middle Class	533	1593	2277	1193	1188	6784	36.71%	
	Lower Middle Class	203	933	1083	945	1141	4305	23.30%	
	Lower Class	53	466	1418	1130	2379	5446	29.47%	
	Total	1108	3640	5286	3525	4920	18479		
	Marginal Dist.	6.00%	19.70%	28.61%	19.08%	26.62%			
	Black	Upper Class	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	Upper Middle Class	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	Middle Class	6	-	145	58	148	357	13.15%	
	Lower Middle Class	-	24	83	98	180	385	14.19%	
	Lower Class	50	33	244	387	1258	1972	72.66%	
	Total	56	57	472	543	1586	2714		
	Marginal Dist.	2.06%	2.10%	17.39%	20.01%	58.44%			
Symmetric Measures				Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.		
White	Ordinal by Ordinal	Gamma	0.373922		0.007249929	49.7258724	0.000		
	N of Valid Cases		18479						
Black	Ordinal by Ordinal	Gamma	0.327182		0.029475513	9.787946175	0.000		
	N of Valid Cases		2714						
a	Not assuming the null hypothesis.								
b	Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.								

Hypothesis (2):

The hypothesis that internal class reproduction among middle class blacks is not occurring at the same rate as that of middle class whites and that black children are falling out of the middle class at higher rates than white children is partially rejected. African-Americans in the middle class actually demonstrate more class persistence than their white counterparts. Table 3 shows that 40% of blacks in the middle class remain there in the next generation, whereas the same is true for only 34% of whites. The hypothesis is partially rejected as black children are falling out of the middle class faster than white children. White children of the middle class experience significantly more upward mobility than middle class black children: 30% of white children leaving the middle class are headed to a higher class while, of the black children leaving the middle class, virtually all of them are downwardly mobile.

Table 3: Intergenerational Mobility: "Outflows" Table

Outflows:

		<u>Destination</u>					Sample Size (%=100)	
		Upper Class	Upper Middle Class	Middle Class	Lower Middle Class	Lower Class		
<u>Origin</u>	White	Upper Class	0.078	0.464	0.354	0.000	0.103	319
		Upper Middle Class	0.181	0.308	0.243	0.158	0.110	1625
		Middle Class	0.079	0.235	0.336	0.176	0.175	6784
		Lower Middle Class	0.047	0.217	0.252	0.220	0.265	4305
		Lower Class	0.010	0.086	0.260	0.207	0.437	5446
		Sample %	0.060	0.197	0.286	0.191	0.266	18479
Black	Upper Class	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	Upper Middle Class	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	Middle Class	0.017	0.000	0.406	0.162	0.415	357	
	Lower Middle Class	0.000	0.062	0.216	0.255	0.468	385	
	Lower Class	0.025	0.017	0.124	0.196	0.638	1972	
	Sample %	0.021	0.021	0.174	0.200	0.584	2714	

Hypothesis (3):

Hypothesis (3) – that, if internal class reproduction were occurring, the black middle class would be growing increasingly “bottom heavy” as black children would barely manage to stay middle class and would sink to the lower- middle class – is also rejected. Table 10 reveals that blacks in the middle class have the highest rate of persistence of all the classes. As Table 2 shows, the over-arching trend is for upward mobility. Every single class above the lower class is growing, while the percentage of blacks in the lower class is shrinking. Although 87% of black children originated in the lower or lower-middle class, only 78% remain there as adults. African-American children are moving to the center of the middle class and beyond. The percentage of

Table 10:

		Decomposition of Intergenerational Mobility				
		Child's Class				
		Upper Class (V)	Upper Middle Class (IV)	Middle Class (III)	Lower Middle Class (II)	Lower Class (I)
White	Structural Mobility (B0)	.899 (.011)***	0.855 (.013)***	.682 (.014)***	.640 (.014)***	.723 (.011)***
	Elasticity (B1)	.304 (.007)***	.322 (.008)***	.435 (.009)***	.420 (.009)***	.222 (.007)***
	Circulation Mobility (1-B1)	.696	.678	.565	.580	.778
	Adjusted R Square	.513	.302	.115	.159	.463
Black	Structural Mobility (B0)	.861 (.009)***	.855 (.011)***	.645 (.012)***	.601 (.011)***	0.711 (.009)***
	Elasticity (B1)	.138 (.007)***	.309 (.008)***	.414 (.009)***	.397 (.009)***	.219 (.007)***
	Circulation Mobility (1-B1)	.862	.691	.586	.603	.781
	Adjusted R Square	.520	.305	.123	.167	.463

OLS Regression estimates of intergenerational elasticities. Dependent variable = Child's Income (log), adjusted for family size using Ruggles Scale, 2003 dollars. Standard errors given in parentheses.

Significance denoted as: *, p<0.05; **, p<0.01; ***, p<0.001.

black children in the middle class or higher is almost 8.5% greater than that of their parents.

Hypothesis (4):

Table 4 indicates that this hypothesis of few new entrants to the black middle class from other classes can also be rejected. The majority of African-Americans in the middle class are in fact new arrivals. As Table 4 shows, over 50% of blacks in the middle class originated in the lower class and an additional 20% came from the

Table 4: Intergenerational Mobility: "Inflows" Table

Origin	White		Destination					Sample %
			Upper Class	Upper Middle Class	Middle Class	Lower Middle Class	Lower Class	
		Upper Class	0.023	0.041	0.021	0.000	0.007	0.017
		Upper Middle Class	0.265	0.137	0.075	0.073	0.036	0.088
		Middle Class	0.481	0.438	0.431	0.338	0.241	0.367
		Lower Middle Class	0.183	0.256	0.205	0.268	0.232	0.233
		Lower Class	0.048	0.128	0.268	0.321	0.484	0.295
		Sample Size (%=100)	1108	3640	5286	3525	4920	18479
	Black		Upper Class	Upper Middle Class	Middle Class	Lower Middle Class	Lower Class	Sample %
		Upper Class	-	-	-	-	-	-
		Upper Middle Class	-	-	-	-	-	-
		Middle Class	0.107	-	0.307	0.107	0.093	0.132
		Lower Middle Class	0.000	0.421	0.176	0.180	0.113	0.142
		Lower Class	0.893	0.579	0.517	0.713	0.793	0.727
		Sample Size (%=100)	56	57	472	543	1586	2714

lower-middle class. Table 10 shows that the reverse of the hypothesis that African-Americans in the upper and lower classes experience high elasticity/low mobility is actually true: blacks in the upper and lower classes actually experience the most mobility and have lower elasticities than those in the middle class.

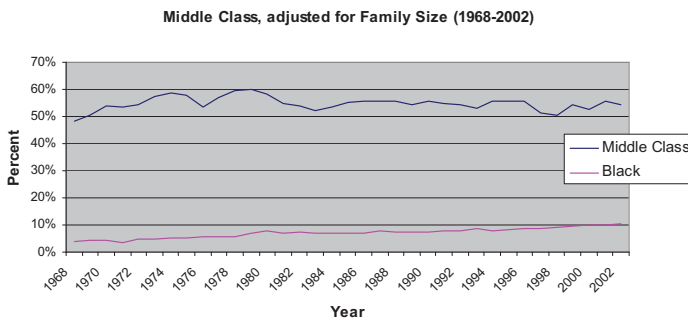
Hypothesis (5):

Hypothesis (5), that the black middle class is shrinking over time as African-Americans “fall out” and are not replaced by new entrants, must also be rejected. Hypothesis (5) follows from hypotheses 1-4, which have all been rejected. The black middle class is not shrinking over time, nor are African-Americans perched on the brink of “falling out.” Black, middle class Americans show more class persistence than middle class whites, and more blacks than whites are joining the middle class.

VI. DISCUSSION

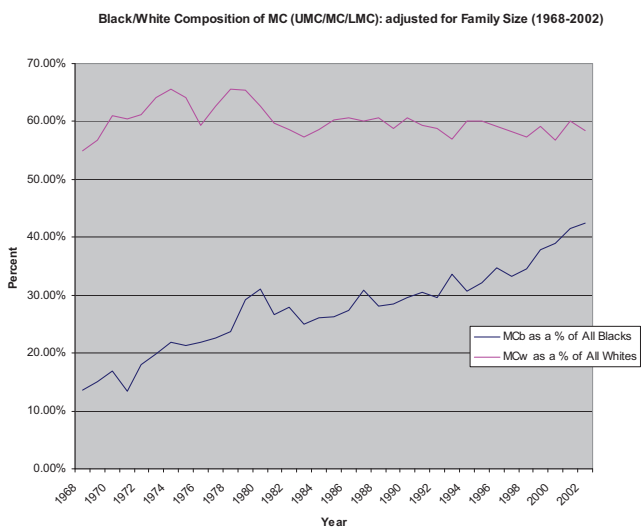
Black family units comprise approximately 12.4% of the total sample, and are found almost proportionately represented in the middle class by 2002. Graph 1 depicts the growth of the black middle class since 1968. Although the size of the middle class has fluctuated

Graph 1:



over time, the percentage of black families in the middle class has increased steadily from 4% in 1968 to 10.5% by 2002. Graph 2 shows the remarkable increase in middle class blacks as a percentage of the total black population. The percentage escalates from just over 13% of all blacks in 1968 to almost 43% in 2002. Although whites appear to be joining the middle class faster than blacks in the late 1960's and 1970's, almost all of this growth of whites in the middle class is lost by 1984. The percentage of whites in the middle class reaches a high of 65% in 1978, only to decline abruptly after this point. Since the mid-1980's, the

Graph 2:



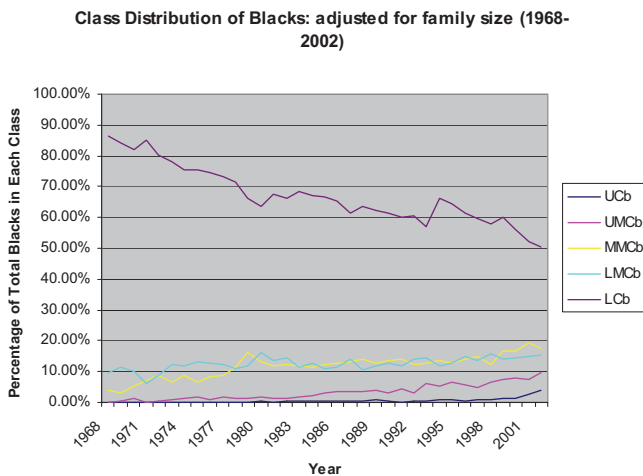
percentage of whites in the middle class has shown little growth, and hovered around 58%.

While whites in the middle class were hit hard in the early 1980's and declined by 8% in four years, blacks in the middle class

proved considerably more robust, showing a smaller drop (5%) in the same period and recovering faster. After strong growth throughout the late 1960's and 1970's, blacks in the middle class weathered the dip of the 1980's and continued to increase their numbers steadily throughout the mid-1990's. Remarkably, the steep rise in the trajectory of the graph after 1995 indicates that the rate of growth in the percentage of blacks in the middle class is growing even faster today than it did during the strong civil rights movements of the late sixties and early seventies.

Graphs 3 and 4 show the class distribution of blacks and whites respectively over time. These graphs break down the middle class into three tiers, so that it is possible to observe exactly where the growth in the middle class is occurring. The most striking line is that of lower class blacks. The percentage of blacks in the lower class has been halved in just thirty-four years. The percentage of blacks in the lower class falls from almost 90% in 1968 to 50% by 2002. This is double the rate of decline seen in lower class whites during the same time period.

Graph 3:



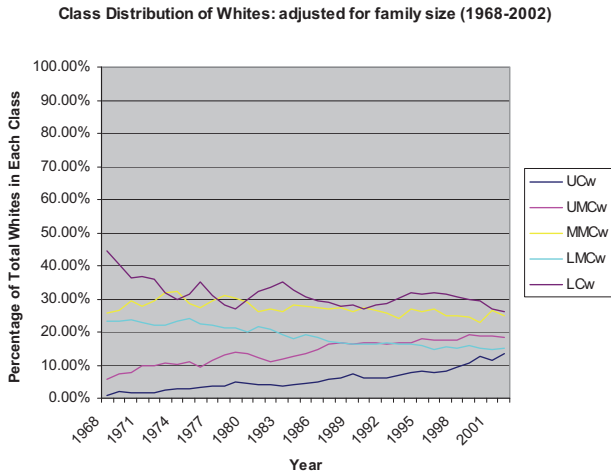
Graph 3 reveals that not only has the percentage of blacks in the lower class fallen dramatically, but that the upward flow is shared among all the other classes – every single other class has experienced growth. In 1968, 97% of blacks are concentrated at the bottom end of the income distribution, with approximately 87% in the lower class and 10% in the lower-middle class. Less than 4% of all African-Americans fall outside the two lowest classes. By 2002 however, almost eight times this number (32%) are middle class or above. The center of the middle class (those making between \$33,994 and \$54,443 after adjusting for family size) shows the most growth, increasing from less than 4% in 1968 to almost 18% in 2002. The lower-middle class shows slower but sustained growth over the entire period, growing from 10% to 15%. While only 0.04% of blacks are in the upper-middle class in 1968, that number swells incredibly to almost 10% by 2002, with most of the growth occurring after the mid-1980's.

The percentage of African-Americans in the upper class is slower to grow, with blacks not appearing in any real numbers until the 1980's, and then witnessing slow growth until the turn of the millennium when the percentage increases rapidly from 0.86% in 1997 to 3.75% in 2002. Unfortunately, it is too soon to tell whether this accelerated rise in the percentage of blacks in the upper class is a sustained trend, although it is clear from the graph that the number of blacks in the upper class is increasing steadily, albeit slowly, over time.

As African-Americans are moving out of the lower class and into higher classes, the distribution of the white population is also changing. Graph 4 shows the class distribution of whites from 1968 to 2002 as percentages of the total white population. The overall trend is

also for upward mobility for whites. The percentages of whites in the lower class, lower-middle class, and middle class are all declining, while the upper-middle class and upper class are growing steadily. Whites are leaving the middle class and joining the ranks of the upper middle class and upper class. The percentage of whites in the upper class increased by approximately 13% between 1968 and 2002. This is approximately four times faster than the growth in the percentage of blacks in the upper class over the same time period.

Graph 4:



These shifts are also evident in comparisons between generations. The overall intergenerational mobility pattern is for only moderate levels of class inheritance, with considerable movement between classes. Blacks show slightly more class mobility than whites. The gamma coefficients (0.374 for whites and 0.327 for African-

Americans)⁴ support this conclusion. Class inheritance between parents and children is greatest in the lower class, particularly for black individuals, while blacks in the middle class also display somewhat higher levels of class inheritance than whites.

Table 2 presents intergenerational mobility by class and race. It shows the movement between the parent's class and the child's class while they are both at similar ages. Comparing the origin and destination distributions, a dramatic change in class structure becomes apparent. Overall, there has been a general upgrading of class structure for both blacks and whites.

The marginal distributions indicate that the white upper class and upper-middle class are increasing in relative size, while the middle class, lower-middle class and lower class have all declined. Only 1.73% of white children came from upper class families, but 6% of them are themselves in the upper class. Similarly, only 8.79% of white children came from the upper-middle class, but more than twice that many (19.7%) are upper-middle class as adults. While the bottom three classes have all declined, the white middle class has shrunk the most: 36.71% of children originated in the middle class but only 28.61% are there as adults.

For African-Americans, the boost impacts all classes, but occurs mainly at the bottom of the income distribution. Although blacks are still disproportionately represented in the lower class, blacks are moving out of the lower class almost five times faster than whites.

⁴ This indicates a 37.4% reduction in guessing errors by using the parent's class to predict the child's class for whites, and a 32.7% reduction in guessing errors in predicting the class of black children.

While 72.66% of black children originated in the lower class, only 58.44% are there as adults.

Table 3 shows a breakdown of the “outflows”, or the percentage of those from each origin class who are found in each destination class. The percentages in the table, computed horizontally, reveal the outflow from class origins to class destinations. The figures in the main diagonal of the table show the degree of class immobility, or percentage of children whose own class is the same as their parents. The majority of blacks leaving the lower class tend to move into the lower-middle class, and at approximately the same rate as whites. Lower class blacks move at a slower rate than whites into the middle and upper-middle class, but proportionally more than two and a half times as many blacks as whites make the jump straight from the lower class into the upper class.

Although lower class blacks traditionally demonstrate greater class immobility than whites (63.79% vs. 43.68% here), this study shows that this is not the only class in which African-Americans show stronger persistence. African-Americans in the middle class also display a higher degree of class inheritance than middle class whites: 40.62% of blacks originating in the middle class remain there as adults, compared to 33.56% of whites. This indicates that blacks in the middle class experience more class stability than whites.

One of the reasons why blacks in the middle class show higher rates of persistence, however, is because middle class whites are more upwardly mobile. While blacks are more likely than whites to stay in the middle class, they are far less likely to advance to a higher class. Just over 31% of whites originating in the middle class move to the upper or

upper-middle class, whereas only 1.68% of middle class blacks move to a higher class. Instead, middle class African-Americans display significantly more downward mobility than middle class whites. Almost 60% of blacks in the middle class fall out by the children's generation, but only 35% of middle class whites do. Whites leaving the middle class are almost equally divided between moving to a higher class and moving to a lower class. Almost all blacks leaving the middle class, however, are headed to a lower class.

Table 4 shows these "inflows", or the composition of each class in terms of the class origin of its members. The black middle class draws primarily from the lower class for its members. Only 30% of African-Americans currently in the middle class originated the middle class, whereas 18% came from the lower-middle class and a full 52% came from the lower class. The white middle class by contrast relies mainly on itself for reproduction. Forty-three percent of present middle class whites originated in the middle class, and no other class contributes more than about a quarter of the total.

Amazingly, many high socio-economic level African-American children appear to be skipping the middle class altogether and moving directly to the upper or upper-middle class. Almost 90% of blacks in the upper class grew up in lower class families, while only the remaining 10% are from the middle class. The upper-middle class shows a similar trend: approximately 40% of its black members came from the lower-middle class and almost 60% came directly from the lower class.

While Table 3 shows the percentage of African-Americans in the middle class experience higher class inheritance than whites, Table

4 shows that the percentage of middle class blacks is also expanding. The percentage of blacks in the middle class as a destination exceeds the percentage as an origin. The majority of blacks in the middle class are newcomers who have moved up from the lower class. The percentage of whites in the middle class, on the other hand, not only displays lower rates of class inheritance but is actually declining slightly in size as middle class whites move out and fewer members of other classes move in.

Table 5: Dissimilarity Indices (%)

2002			
	Black	White	DI
UC	3.75	13.61	4.93
UMC	9.5	18.44	4.47
MC	17.64	22.78	2.57
LMC	15.4	15	0.2
LC	50.35	26.32	12.015
1968			
UC	0	0.8	0.4
UMC	0.04	5.6	2.78
MC	3.93	25.9	10.985
LMC	9.58	23.36	6.89
LC	86.37	44.35	21.01
Children			
UC	1.9	5.7	1.9
UMC	2.2	18.6	8.2
MC	18	29.1	5.55
LMC	20.2	19.5	0.35
LC	57.8	27.2	15.3
Parents			
UC	0	1.8	0.9
UMC	0	9.7	4.85
MC	13.5	36.6	11.55
LMC	14.2	23.1	4.45
LC	72.3	28.9	21.7

With unprecedented numbers of African-Americans moving out of the lower classes and into the middle class at the same time as whites are moving out of the middle class and becoming stratified between the upper and lower classes, what is happening to overall equality? Table 5 shows the dissimilarity indices between blacks and whites in 1968 and 2002, as well as between parents and children. The dissimilarity index is a measure of the evenness with which blacks and whites are distributed across the classes. These dissimilarity indices indicate the percentage of cases that would be required to change class in order to make origin and destination distributions identical. Each index is computed as:

$$\frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^N \left| \frac{b_i}{B} - \frac{w_i}{W} \right|$$

where

b_i = the black population of the i^{th} class

B = the total black population

w_i = the white population of the i^{th} class

W = the total white population

The comparisons between the two fixed points in time (1968 and 2002) and between the parents and children reveal the same thing: the racial distribution in the lower and middle classes is becoming more equal, but the racial disparity at the top is now even greater than it was

in the past. The middle class shows less than half of the dissimilarity between children as it did between parents and, in 2002, only 23% of the dissimilarity seen in 1968. At the upper end of the spectrum, however, dissimilarity has only grown. The upper-middle class is almost twice as dissimilar by race for the children as it is for the parents. The upper class shows the greatest dissimilarity of all: comparisons between parents and children by race yield approximately twice as much dissimilarity among the children as parents, and the disparity is twelve times greater between blacks and whites in 2002 than it was in 1968 – a time when very few people of either race were considered upper class.⁵

One of the biggest differences between parents and children is the number of female-headed households. For both black and white parents alike, the head of the household is almost invariably male – regardless of class. For the children, however, the number of female-headed households has risen dramatically. While the greatest number of female heads of households are in the lower classes, substantial numbers of black and white women appear as heads in the middle and upper classes. A full 44% of middle class black families are headed by women, while almost 25% of middle class white heads are female. The percentages are similar for upper-middle class and upper class families. In terms of race, black children are considerably more likely to be in a female-headed household than whites for all classes, except the upper class. Only 6.6% of black upper class households are headed by women, compared to 22.3% of white.

⁵ The parent/child comparisons by race show less dissimilarity than the comparisons between 1968 and 2002 as they are not fixed points in time, but rather span data from the entire period.

Another major difference between the families of parents and children is the average family size. Family size has fallen across the board for the children. The average parental family size is 5 for whites and 7 for blacks – compare this to the children, where average family size has fallen to 3 for whites and 2 for blacks. The extreme case is upper class black families, which have an average family size of 1. Middle class families have shrunk from an average of 4 for blacks and 5 for whites to 2 and 3, respectively. Black children have smaller families than whites for all classes except the lower class, where the average family size is 3 irrespective of race. Unfortunately, due to data constraints, it is difficult to know how much of the decrease in family size is attributable to families having fewer children versus the increased prevalence of divorce and the rise of professional care for the elderly.

This movement towards a smaller family size helps to camouflage the fact that median real incomes have fallen for all classes. Children are making less than their parents, and African-Americans are still making less than whites. Adjusted to 2003 dollars, the median income of parents unadjusted for family size is considerably higher than that of the children. With little difference by race, the median income of children in the lower class is almost half that of their parents. Whites in the middle class make just 73% of what their parents make, while blacks make only 61%. This discrepancy almost doubles the difference between the median incomes of black and white children in the middle class compared to the difference between their parents.⁶

⁶ The difference in median incomes (unadjusted for family size) between black and white parents is approximately \$8,000. The difference between the median incomes (unadjusted for family size) of black and white children is approximately \$15,500.

Once median incomes are adjusted for family size, however, African-Americans close the gap. Middle class black families actually have higher median incomes, adjusted for family size, than their white counterparts. This does not reflect greater earning potential, however, but smaller family sizes among middle class African-Americans. This suggests that a considerable amount of the upward mobility of blacks in the second generation is due to a reduction in family size, rather than increased earnings.

Table 6 : Descriptives - Children

CHILDREN													
	Lower Class		Lower Middle Class		Middle Class		Upper Middle Class		Upper Class		Total		
	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	
	Column %	Column %	Column %	Column %	Column %	Column %	Column %	Column %	Column %	Column %	Column %	Column %	
Sex	51.6	32.7	65.3	61.2	75.1	75.1	55.9	75.2	70.8	77.7	93.4	67.0	44.6
Female	48.4	67.3	34.7	38.8	24.9	44.1	24.8	29.2	22.3	6.6	33.0	55.4	
Housing													
Owens home (or trailer, fully or jointly)	35.6	19.7	58.0	34.5	70.1	43.5	74.4	52.4	68.9	93.4	59.2	29.0	
Rents (or shares rent)	55.5	68.7	35.7	65.1	27.6	51.2	21.5	47.6	29.1	6.6	35.7	63.2	
Neither (owns nor rents)	8.9	11.6	6.2	.4	2.3	5.3	4.1	-	2.0	-	5.2	7.7	
Region													
Northeast	16.9	21.8	12.5	22.6	18.0	43.9	28.1	-	19.1	6.6	18.5	25.1	
North Central	29.1	15.2	23.9	13.3	22.3	6.2	23.5	6.6	10.8	10.7	24.0	12.9	
South	34.1	50.8	40.6	58.4	41.3	41.2	28.5	49.5	40.4	82.6	36.9	51.2	
West	18.8	12.2	22.4	5.8	17.1	8.7	19.9	43.8	22.4	-	19.4	10.8	
Alaska, Hawaii	.9	-	-	-	.5	-	-	-	.0	-	.4	-	
Foreign Country	.2	-	.6	-	.7	-	-	-	7.3	-	.8	-	
Highest Level of Education													
Completed 9th Grade	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Completed 10th Grade	4.3	5.0	2.4	-	1.6	-	-	-	-	-	2.1	3.3	
Completed 11th Grade	7.3	12.0	-	4.3	1.2	-	-	-	-	-	2.2	8.8	
Completed 12th Grade	58.1	52.8	43.9	56.7	35.2	27.4	18.0	46.5	23.6	-	39.1	50.0	
Completed 1st Yr College	12.7	10.9	12.0	5.1	7.1	-	3.2	17.3	4.8	-	8.7	8.5	
Completed 2nd Yr College	12.6	11.8	11.9	14.9	10.7	43.9	10.7	-	11.8	-	11.5	16.4	
Completed 3rd Yr College	.5	2.9	9.0	4.7	4.7	20.8	5.2	-	8.7	-	4.8	5.6	
Completed 4th Yr College	4.0	4.5	11.7	13.5	22.4	7.9	49.7	-	28.1	-	20.8	6.6	
At least some post-graduate work	.5	-	9.1	.8	17.1	-	13.2	36.2	23.1	100.0	10.8	.9	

Table 7: Descriptives – Parents

PARENTS													
	Lower Class		Lower Middle Class		Middle Class		Upper Middle Class		Upper Class		Total		
	White Column %	Black Column %	White Column %	Black Column %	White Column %	Black Column %	White Column %	Black Column %	White Column %	Black Column %	White Column %	Black Column %	
Sex	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.8	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	
Female	-	-	-	-	.2	-	-	-	-	-	.1	-	
Housing	72.4	44.8	87.8	67.4	89.6	52.2	93.6	-	94.3	-	84.7	49.0	
Owens home (or trailer, fully or jointly)													
Rents (or shares rent)	23.4	46.9	9.2	32.6	9.2	46.4	5.3	-	-	-	12.7	44.8	
Neither (owns nor rents)	4.1	8.3	3.0	.0	1.2	1.4	1.1	-	5.7	-	2.5	6.2	
Region	19.8	21.3	23.0	13.6	24.0	34.5	28.6	-	33.1	-	23.2	22.0	
North Central	35.0	10.5	39.1	21.0	24.8	17.8	16.6	-	18.8	-	30.1	13.0	
South	30.2	56.3	20.1	59.9	32.0	35.7	36.3	-	30.4	-	29.1	54.0	
West	15.1	12.0	17.8	4.1	18.5	12.0	18.5	-	17.7	-	17.3	10.8	
Alaska, Hawaii	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Foreign Country	-	-	-	1.4	.6	-	-	-	-	-	2	.2	
Highest Level of Education	1.8	10.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.5	6.7	
Completed 9th Grade	16.0	17.6	8.4	8.2	2.8	3.8	-	-	-	-	7.0	13.2	
Completed 10th Grade	13.4	13.4	3.0	16.3	3.6	-	-	-	-	-	5.4	11.2	
Completed 11th Grade	46.6	52.2	54.1	59.3	29.0	30.3	11.7	-	14.5	-	37.1	48.9	
Completed 12th Grade	6.5	.4	4.0	7.6	7.7	9.5	11.5	-	7.0	-	6.9	3.5	
Completed 1st Yr College	7.3	-	8.2	8.6	15.6	46.8	19.1	-	6.5	-	12.0	11.0	
Completed 2nd Yr College	1.2	5.1	1.8	-	3.4	-	-	-	-	-	2.4	3.2	
Completed 3rd Yr College	4.8	.6	12.2	-	26.8	9.6	47.4	-	55.5	-	20.7	2.3	
Completed 4th Yr College													
At least some post-graduate work	2.3	-	8.3	-	11.2	-	6.7	-	16.6	-	8.0	-	

Table 8: Descriptives II - Children

	CHILDREN II											
	Lower Class		Lower Middle Class		Middle Class		Upper Middle Class		Upper Class		Total	
	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
Median Family-Size Adjusted Income (2003 \$)	17,966.84	13,868.23	29,223.43	29,424.41	41,394.95	42,628.67	67,324.52	61,502.36	108,239.84	96,300.00	35,823.26	20,400.88
Median Income, unadjusted for family size (2003 \$)	24,352.86	20,149.77	49,739.58	41,358.00	63,425.50	47,808.60	97,370.00	86,977.47	168,484.87	96,300.00	55,305.34	32,643.70
Total Number in Family (Mean)	3	3	3	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	1	3
Average Work Hours (Annual)	1,679.63	1,366.90	2,201.46	1,969.68	2,239.38	2,062.44	2,284.69	1,948.20	2,413.46	2,067.82	2,101.63	1,634.04
Occupational Prestige	3648	3282	4350	3823	4585	3862	4993	4153	5427	4504	4421	3526
Median Housing Value	30,020.99	10,268.79	61,096.47	19,939.24	84,795.67	43,344.13	145,033.28	84,776.04	191,686.72	292,659.97	82,724.23	25,057.43

Table 9: Descriptives II - Parents

	PARENTS II											
	Lower Class		Lower Middle Class		Middle Class		Upper Middle Class		Upper Class		Total	
	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
Median Family-Size Adjusted Income (2003 \$)	19,634.42	12,781.06	29,915.13	30,201.11	41,164.90	41,753.69	61,048.84	-	101,227.26	-	33,068.76	17,403.62
Median Income, unadjusted for family size (2003 \$)	45,282.40	38,577.44	66,130.29	64,490.00	87,294.94	78,919.30	135,093.40	-	217,518.00	-	69,811.74	41,173.26
Total Number in Family (Mean)	6	8	5	5	5	5	4	4	4	4	5	7
Average Work Hours (Annual)	2,227.78	1,913.91	2,280.80	2,087.19	2,442.14	2,256.60	2,613.52	-	2,851.61	-	2,567.59	1,984.89
Occupational Prestige	3765	2706	4264	3100	4913	4378	5045	-	5544	-	4463	3015
Median Housing Value	57,534.50	25,138.61	104,925.47	69,037.09	140,114.63	44,346.85	190,358.35	-	294,707.48	-	116,015.05	33,970.47

VII. CONCLUSION

It appears that, while the black middle class is reproducing itself, it shows little upward mobility into the higher classes. Instead, blacks in the middle class are narrowing the economic gap between themselves and middle class whites. Black children in the middle class show less than half the socio-economic dissimilarity that existed in their parents' generation. African-Americans are staying middle class, and becoming more solidly middle class. Importantly, however, they are not yet advancing to the upper classes at the same rates as whites, and blacks leaving the middle class demonstrate a high degree of downward mobility. Middle class African-Americans still have less wealth than whites, lower home ownership, and typically hold jobs with lower occupational prestige. Although a greater percentage of blacks than whites remain in the middle class, almost all African-Americans leaving the middle class are headed to the lower class. Middle class whites, on the other hand, show much greater upward mobility into the upper classes and are almost as equally likely to move up as they are to move down. Approximately half as many whites as blacks move from the middle class to the lower class.

Added to this, African-Americans are still concentrated at the lower end of the income distribution and are only just beginning to appear in any number in the upper classes. Despite the general upward shift of black advancement out of the lower classes and into higher classes, the socio-economic dissimilarity between upper-class blacks and whites has almost doubled. Of course, it is too soon to provide a definitive conclusion for the state of the black upper class. Almost all

black entrants to the upper classes are new, and it is likely that upper-class blacks are still solidifying their position, and that there will be more entrants over time – the majority coming directly from the lower class, if the current trends continue. The majority of the black child family heads are still young, and their final socio-economic path remains to be seen. What is clear is that the percentage of blacks in the middle class is growing steadily over time, and the upper classes are starting to show small signs of increasing numbers of African-American families. This study should be revisited in the future, as more data become available.

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Recent Faculty Publications 2007

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