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Constructively Challenging Diverse Inner-City Youth's Beliefs About Educational and Career Barriers and Supports

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This study examines school and work barrier beliefs about the limitations of education for future career rewards and perceived supports for attaining the educational and career aspirations of low-income, inner-city, African American, Hispanic/Latino(a), and Caribbean immigrant youth. The authors find that higher levels of school and work barrier beliefs are associated with lower aspirations, particularly for minority youth who are less recent immigrants. The authors described workshops designed to constructively challenge counterproductive school and work barrier beliefs by expanding participants' learning about accessible sources of support for attaining their school, work, and life goals. Results indicate that participants endorse two types of support sources: contextual supports (relational and community resources accessible in their environments) and personal resources (psychological assets within the individual). The authors propose that personal resources be conceptualized from social learning theory as facilitative task approach skills (e.g., productive work habits, learning-oriented performance expectations, helpful cognitive processes, beneficial problem orientations, self-regulated emotional responses, and other personal assets).

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Youth in low-income, culturally diverse, inner-city schools are at risk for low educational attainment, limited future career options, and severely reduced earnings potential (Education Trust, 2000; Turner & Lapan, 2003; U.S. Department of Education, 1996). Particularly at risk may be minority youth who are not recent U.S. immigrants and thus are more vulnerable to believe in the permanence of the effects of continuing systemic racial discrimination in access to educational and vocational opportunities (Ogbu, 1990, 2003). High school students from various ethnic and socioeconomic groups understand that a good education leads to good jobs (Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992). However, faced with limited access to educational attainment and occupational choice, many low-income and African American and Hispanic students develop compensatory beliefs about the value of academic effort and performance; they believe that academic effort and achievement will not pay off for them (Graham, Taylor, & Hudley, 1998; Ogbu, 1989). These beliefs may further constrain (beyond the systemic barriers that do exist) their educational and career achievement (Arbona, 2000; Constantine, Erickson, Banks, & Timberlake, 1998).

One potential career barrier perception for at-risk urban minority youth, one that has seldom been addressed in the current literature, may be their understandable but maladaptive beliefs in the limited value of education for future career rewards. Krumboltz (1996) proposed that the role of career counseling is to help clients expand their learning and clarify beliefs that hinder and facilitate their career development. Jackson and Nutini's (2002) interviews with at-risk diverse urban youth revealed both barriers and resources (supports) for their learning about potential educational and career development opportunities. From the perspective of social learning theory (Krumboltz, 1996), career counselors might constructively challenge urban minority youth's beliefs in the limited value of education (i.e., perceptions of barriers) by expanding their learning about accessible sources of support (i.e., perceptions of support) for their school, work, and life goals.

Kenny, Blustein, Chaves, Grossman, and Gallagher (2003) conducted two studies with a sample of urban minority ninth graders (predominantly African American, Hispanic/Latino(a), and Black/Caribbean). They found that students who perceived lower levels of barriers and higher levels of relational support, from family members and others, also reported higher levels of engagement with school and more positive attitudes about and higher aspira-

tions for their future careers. Kenny et al. (2003) noted implications for career counseling interventions in schools, such as helping urban youth to identify their perceived barriers and develop counteractive strategies to build relational supports (e.g., Kenny, Waldo, Warter, & Barton, 2002; Solberg, Howard, Blustein, & Close, 2002).

From learning experiences, Krumboltz (1991) proposes that individuals develop career beliefs (some helpful and others unhelpful) about themselves and their relation to the environment that facilitate or hinder them from taking constructive action in their career and educational development. In light of Kenny et al.'s (2003) findings, urban minority youth's perceptions of contextual supports may be conceptualized in social learning theory as helpful career beliefs in relation to facilitative environmental conditions (Mitchell & Krumboltz, 1996). In addition to perceived environmental supports, Jackson and Nutini (2002) found that urban minority youth identified psychological resources (e.g., positive motivational beliefs, resilient personality characteristics, personal skills, and constructive problem-solving approaches) as sources of support for their educational and career development. We propose that such personal resources may be a second type of support and may be conceptualized from social learning theory as task approach skills; that is, through "inferences about how they might apply their skills in the real world, [individuals] develop work habits and problem-solving skills for coping with the world" (Krumboltz, 1994, p. 18).

Purpose of the Study and Hypotheses

One purpose of this exploratory study was to investigate the relationships between perceived barriers (beliefs about the limitations of education for future economic rewards) and supports to progress toward achieving the school, work, and life aspirations of low-income, inner-city, African American, Hispanic/Latino(a), and Caribbean immigrant youth. We further sought to empirically examine Ogbu's (1989, 1990, 2003) contention that minority youth who are less recent immigrants are more likely to believe that education will not pay off for them and have lower educational and career aspirations. Based on the literature, we hypothesized the following: (1) Higher levels of beliefs in the limitations of education are associated with lower educational and career aspirations, (2) less recent immigration status is associated with (a) higher beliefs in the limitations of education and (b) lower educational and career aspirations, and (3) higher levels of supports are associated with (a) lower beliefs in the limitations of education and (b) higher educational and career aspirations.

A second purpose of the study was to describe differences in the frequency and types of support sources identified at the start and end of a career learning intervention for urban minority youth. Two workshops were designed to help participants not only expand their knowledge of self and educational and career options but also constructively challenge potentially unhelpful beliefs about the value of education for achieving educational and career aspirations. Grounded in social learning theory (Krumboltz, 1996), one learning objective of the workshops was to expand the number of support sources from pre to post that participants might identify as accessible toward realizing their school, work, and life goals. Finally, we were interested to learn if two types of support sources (contextual supports and personal resources) would be endorsed and, if so, if support types vary from pre to post.

Method

Participants

The participants were low-income, inner-city, African American, Hispanic/Latino(a), and Caribbean immigrant youth involved in a larger, multiple-year, school-university-community partnership project with the U.S. Department of Education, GEAR UP (Gaining Early Awareness and Readiness for Undergraduate Programs). The participants' home community was culturally diverse (in 50% of families, a language other than English was spoken at home) and of low socioeconomic status (greater than 80% of the school district's students in middle school at the start of the project were eligible for free lunch, and 48% of families lived below poverty level).

At the start of the study, 83% of the participants were in ninth grade, and 17% were in eighth grade. Their average grades in academic subjects (math, English, social studies, and science) were Bs ($M = 3.12$, $SD = 0.51$) and ranged from 1.38 to 4.00 (Ds to As). Most participants were 14- or 15-year-olds ($M = 14.21$, $SD = 1.28$), and 71% were female. Participants primarily identified their ethnicity as Black or African American (49%), Hispanic or Latino/Latina (42%), or biracial, multiracial, or multicultural (9%). Many were from families of recent immigrants to the U.S. mainland (64% were first- or second-generation immigrants), and 53% came from Caribbean countries (including 23% from the Dominican Republic).

Procedure

The proposal for this research was approved by the human subjects review board of the researchers' university, the GEAR UP administrators and staff,

and the college sites. Two 2-hr career learning workshops, titled "Learning About Occupations of Interest, How Education Relates, and Sources of Support for Career/Life Goals," were offered to approximately 150 students as part of the weekly GEAR UP Saturday academic enrichment programs held at two local college campuses in 2003 and 2004. The workshop series was promoted as a research study to better inform us regarding how to assist students such as themselves. Informed consent forms and flyers describing the study and workshops were mailed to potential student participants and their parents as well as promoted through a GEAR UP newsletter. A total of 66 GEAR UP students voluntarily participated in the first 2-hr workshop, and (in response to reminder invitations by mail, phone, and e-mail) a subsample of 33 participants returned for the follow-up 2-hr workshop.

Briefly, the content of the career learning workshops included four of the five critical components of effective career choice interventions suggested by the results of meta-analyses (Brown & Ryan Krane, 2000): committing their career goals and plans to writing; individualized interpretations and feedback regarding career self-assessment; up-to-date information on interests, skills, and education required for pursuing different career paths; and identifying sources of support and means to access support for their career development. Consistent with Krumboltz's (1996) theory, the workshops included activities for participants to (a) expand their learning about occupations of interest through career self-assessment tools (e.g., considering occupations at three levels of educational requirements as well as one unfamiliar occupation), (b) explore their career beliefs (about the value of education for future career rewards), and (c) expand their learning about accessible sources of support (environmental and personal resources) for their educational and career goals and aspirations.

The first author (a university faculty member in counseling psychology) trained and supervised research assistants (graduate students in counseling and school psychology) to serve as workshop facilitators with small groups (of one to five participants). A fluent Spanish-speaking facilitator was available at the workshops if needed or preferred by participants. Participants completed questionnaires, career self-assessment surveys, and interactive exercises; they received written material on occupations of interest; and they processed this information in individual and small-group discussions with workshop facilitators. For example, to explore personally relevant supports with participants, facilitators led discussions using a handout outlining "Possible Sources of Help for Doing Well in School, Work, and Life" that was developed from the sources of support identified by GEAR UP students in previous interviews (Jackson & Nutini, 2002). At the end of the follow-up workshop, participants

anonymously completed evaluations of the workshops. A detailed outline of the content and procedures of the workshops is available from the first author on request.

Measures

School and work beliefs. At the first workshop, participants completed the 15-item Economic Value of Education Questionnaire (Murdock, 1999; Murdock, Anderman, & Hodge, 2000), which is designed to assess adolescents' perceptions of the relevance of education to their future economic success in work and life. One subscale, Limitations of Education, has 10 items to assess views of the limitations of education in attaining financial rewards (e.g., "I can make good money someday without an education"). The other subscale, Benefits of Education, has five items to assess beliefs that education will result in economic rewards (e.g., "I will make more money someday if I do well in school"). Respondents rate the degree to which they agree or disagree with each statement on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from *disagree* (1) to *agree* (5), with higher scores reflecting stronger endorsement of the school and work beliefs on each subscale.

Scores on the measure have been found to predict school engagement and discipline problems among low-income, African American, middle school students (Murdock, 1999) and to predict student motivation and behavior from middle to high school (Murdock et al., 2000). Internal consistency estimates reported were .70 for the Limitations of Education and .65 for the Benefits of Education subscales (Murdock et al., 2000). Cronbach's alphas for the current sample were .77 for Limitations of Education and .50 for Benefits of Education, suggesting adequate reliability for the former but not the latter subscale. Therefore, we used only Limitations of Education (and not Benefits of Education) subscale scores in our analysis.

Sources of support. At the beginning of the first workshop (pre) and at the end of the follow-up workshop (post), participants wrote responses to the following open-ended item: "*List as many ways as you can think of* for getting help and support in the process of working toward your future work and life goals." After all data were collected, graduate student research assistants coded the frequency of support sources listed by participants at pre and post, and they discussed and revised coding discrepancies to reach 100% agreement. Then, the first and fourth authors independently coded each support source as either a contextual support (1) or personal resource (2) (see the appendix for coding protocol). The intraclass correlation coefficient

(interrater reliability) for support sources identified at pre was .85 (n = 117) and at post was .68 (n = 268). A third independent coder (professional colleague) subsequently met with the first author to review all coding discrepancies and to reach 100% agreement.

Educational and career aspirations. In the second workshop, after reviewing information on six occupations of interest requiring a range of education levels that participants had identified during the first workshop, they were instructed to indicate their top occupation of interest and the level of education required. Workshop facilitators had the participants use occupational information printouts to check the accuracy of their responses regarding education level required and consistency with individual participants' educational aspirations. After data collection, participants' responses were coded (by a graduate student research assistant and checked by the first author) with one of the five education levels for each first choice occupation as listed in Holland's (1996) *The Occupations Finder*: 2 = *elementary school or no special training*; 3 = *high school*; 4 = *some college, technical, or business training*; 5 = *college*; and 6 = *advanced degree*.

Results

Preliminary analyses revealed no significant differences between the sample and subsample on the variables of gender, average grades, school and work beliefs, and frequency of supports identified at the first workshop. Following are descriptive statistics for the sample (n = 66) and subsample (n = 33). The mean score on beliefs in the limitations of education was 2.29 (SD = 0.75) for the sample and 2.19 (SD = 0.70) for the subsample, suggesting that overall participants somewhat disagreed that school effort would not pay off in future economic rewards. Mean frequency of supports at the first workshop was 3.27 (SD = 1.74) for the sample and 3.55 (SD = 2.00) for the subsample. At the end of the second workshop, the mean number of supports listed by subsample participants was 8.12 (SD = 3.12), showing an increase from pre to post. At the second workshop, the education levels of subsample participants' first choice occupations (45.5% college and 45.5% advanced degree) indicated high educational and career aspirations.

Table 1 presents Pearson intercorrelations between beliefs in limitations of education, supports (pre), and generation since immigration. Consistent with Hypothesis 2a, higher beliefs in the limitations of education were significantly and positively associated with a higher number of generations since U.S. immigration (r = .35, p < .01, n = 61). In other words, minority youth from less

Table 1
Intercorrelations Between Beliefs in Limitations of Education, Supports Pre and Post, Educational and Career Aspirations, and Generation Since Immigration for Urban Minority Youth

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Beliefs in limitations of education					
Pearson correlation		–0.11[a]	0.35[a]**		
Spearman correlation	1.00	1.43[b]	0.13[b]	–0.38[b]*	0.48[b]**
2. Supports, pre					
Pearson correlation	–0.11[a]		–0.09[a]		
Spearman correlation	1.43[b]	1.00	0.01[b]	0.02[b]	–0.19[b]
3. Supports, post					
Spearman correlation	0.13[b]	0.01[b]	1.00	–0.05[b]	–0.09[b]
4. Educational and career aspirations					
Spearman correlations	–0.38[b]*	0.02[b]	–0.05[b]	1.00	–0.35[b]*
5. Generation since immigration					
Pearson correlation	0.35[a]**	–0.09[a]			
Spearman correlation	0.48[b]**	–0.19[b]	–0.09[b]	–0.35[b]*	1.00

Note: Pearson correlations are used for samples, and Spearman correlations are used for subsamples.
a. Sample (n = 66; except for beliefs in limitations of education, n = 61).
b. Subsample (n = 33; except for beliefs in limitations of education, n = 32).
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

recent immigrant groups (fourth and fifth generation) more strongly doubted the value of education for attaining career and life goals. However, supports frequency did not significantly correlate with school and work barrier beliefs; contrary to Hypothesis 3a, higher supports were not associated with lower beliefs in the limitations of education for attaining future economic goals.

Also presented in Table 1 are Spearman's rho intercorrelations between beliefs in limitations of education, supports pre and post, educational and career aspirations, and generation since immigration of the subsample (participants who completed both workshops). Transformations were applied to the data for the positively skewed variable of supports, post (log 10), and negatively skewed variables of educational and career aspirations (inverse) to approximate normal distributions. As hypothesized (Hypothesis 1), higher beliefs in the limitations of education were significantly associated with lower educational and career aspirations ($r = –.38$, $p < .05$, $n = 32$). Again, consistent with Hypothesis 2a, minority youth from less recent immigrant groups (fourth and fifth generation) had higher beliefs in the limitations of education for

attaining future economic rewards ($r = .48$, $p < .01$, $n = 32$). Minority youth from fourth- and fifth-generation immigrant groups also had significantly lower educational and career aspirations ($r = –.35$, $p < .05$, $n = 33$), suggesting support for Hypothesis 2b. Again, contrary to Hypothesis 3a, no significant correlations were found between levels of support, pre or post, and school and work barrier beliefs. Also contrary to Hypothesis 3b, no significant correlations were found between levels of support, pre or post, and educational and career aspirations.

Finally, we investigated whether two types of support sources—contextual supports and personal resources—would be endorsed by participants and, if so, if support types vary from pre to post. A total of 117 supports were endorsed by subsample participants at the first workshop; 26.5% were coded as contextual supports and 73.5% as personal resources. A greater number of supports (268) were endorsed by these participants at the end of the second workshop; 66% were coded as contextual supports and 34% as personal resources. In other words, there were more personal resources listed by participants at pre and more contextual supports at post.

Many examples of contextual supports endorsed were similar from pre to post (e.g., relational sources). However at post, participants endorsed more specifically named individual social and kin supports (e.g., listing the GEAR UP coordinators, specific teachers, and particular friends and family members by name or relation). At post compared to pre, participants listed additional sources of contextual or social support, such as pastor, church, school guidance counselor, and after-school and community programs (all sources of support reviewed during the second workshop). Also at post, consistent with learning objectives of the workshops, participants listed more contextual supports for seeking information (e.g., Internet) and contact with role models relevant to their occupations of interest.

Regarding personal resources at both pre and post, participants endorsed facilitative task approach skills regarding work habits (e.g., maintaining motivation to do one's best). More often at pre than at post, however, participants listed educational and career subgoals (more short-range goals toward future work and life goals), such as getting good grades and finishing high school. Although at post participants listed proportionately more contextual supports, the personal resources they endorsed at post slightly outnumbered those listed at pre (90 compared to 86). The personal resource supports that participants listed at post included additional examples of facilitative task approach skills (e.g., "determination," "self-discipline," "expressing yourself creatively," "living a healthy balanced life"). Participants also listed personal assets, abilities, or characteristics (e.g., "myself," creativity, bicultural, religious faith).

Workshop evaluations were completed by 31 of 33 participants at post. On a 5-point Likert-type scale, participants rated to what extent they agree (5) or disagree (1) with 16 statements of the learning objectives of the workshops. Participants' mean workshops evaluation rating on the four items on learning about sources of support was 4.68 ($SD = 0.47$), suggesting that they somewhat agreed or agreed that they learned about school and work supports relevant to their life and career goals.

Discussion

Congruent with our first hypothesis, we found that a higher level of beliefs in the limitations of education (school and work barrier beliefs) was significantly associated with lower educational and career aspirations in our sample of low-income, inner-city, African American, Hispanic/Latino(a), and Caribbean immigrant youth. This result was consistent with Kenny et al.'s (2003) finding that urban minority youth who perceived higher levels of barriers reported lower aspirations for their future careers. This result also supports Constantine et al.'s (1998) assertion that educational and career barriers encountered by urban minority youth may become internalized into their belief systems, thereby limiting their educational and career aspirations. On one hand, Steinberg et al. (1992) found that low-income minority youth understand that higher educational achievement generally leads to higher future economic rewards in career attainment. On the other hand, as our finding suggests, in the face of racism, cultural discrimination, economic deprivation, and inadequate schooling, many low-income minority youth believe that high educational and career aspirations are not attainable for them (Arbona, 2000; Graham et al., 1998; Murdock, 1999; Ogbu, 1989). Although such beliefs may be understandable responses to these barriers, these beliefs may reduce their aspirations, undermine their effort and persistence in educational and career development, and further constrain their future achievement.

Our results supported the second hypothesis. Low-income urban minority youth who were less recent immigrants had higher beliefs in the limitations of education for attaining future economic rewards and lower educational and career aspirations. These results support Ogbu's (1989, 1990, 2003) contention that compared to recent immigrants who still believe in the U.S. ideal of equal opportunity, minority youth who are not recent immigrants and have a history of experience contrary to this ideal may be particularly at risk for doubting the future economic value of education for them.

Contrary to our third hypothesis, we did not find that a higher level of perceived supports was associated with lower beliefs in the limitations of educa-

tion or higher educational and career aspirations. In contrast, Kenny et al. (2003) found that urban minority youth who perceived higher levels of support from family and others within their environments endorsed more positive attitudes about the value of education and their future careers. Although our finding of no association may suggest that these influences function independently, an alternative explanation may be in the limitations of the measures of supports and aspirations used in this study. Problems with our measure of educational and career aspirations included a restricted range and the negatively skewed distribution of the data (for which we applied an inverse transformation to approximate normality). Future studies may help address this limitation by obtaining larger sample sizes and including urban minority youth with a broader range of educational and career aspirations. Also, our method of assessing the simple frequency of supports listed by participants has not been established as a robust measure. Future research is needed to develop sound methods for assessing the frequency and types of supports most relevant to facilitating the educational and career development of low-income urban minority youth.

The social learning theory of career development (Krumboltz, 1996) informed our design to pilot two workshops that might constructively challenge low-income urban minority youth's counterproductive school and work barrier beliefs by expanding their learning about accessible sources of support for attaining their career goals. One objective of the workshops was to help participants expand the number and types of support sources they might identify as accessible to them toward realizing their goals. We found that the mean number of support sources identified by participants did increase from pre to post. However, because we had no control or comparison group in this study, we cannot determine if the increase was a significant effect of the workshops. Yet participants reported high ratings on their evaluation of the workshops regarding the extent to which they learned about sources of support for their school, work, and life goals.

We found that participants who completed both career learning workshops did endorse two types of support sources: contextual supports (accessible in their environments) and personal resources (psychological assets within the individual). Contextual supports, particularly relational support from family and others (Blustein, 2001), have been shown to be critical factors in promoting academic success (Dryfoos, 1995; Paavola et al., 1995; Schorr, 1997) and, among minority youth in particular, higher levels of school engagement (Murdock, 1999) and career aspirations (Kenny et al., 2003). At both pre and post, participants in our study endorsed many of the same examples of relational and community contextual supports (e.g., parents, family, friends,

coaches, and GEAR UP). At post, consistent with one purpose of the career learning workshops, participants listed more contextual supports for seeking information and contact with role models relevant to their occupations of interest. From the perspective of low-income urban minority youth, these findings affirmed the importance they attributed in the process of working toward their future educational and career goals to contextual support and helpful information from their family and other people, services, and institutions in their community.

Constantine et al. (1998) noted the need for empirical research to assess how both personal and external factors influence the career development of urban racial and ethnic minority youth. Jackson and Nutini's (2002) interviews with at-risk diverse urban youth revealed both internal (psychological) and external (contextual) supports for their educational and career development. We proposed that personal resources within the individual is a type of support that may be conceptualized from social learning theory (Krumboltz, 1994) as facilitative task approach skills (e.g., positive work habits and effective problem-solving skills). Our results affirmed this proposition. At both workshops, participants endorsed facilitative task approach skills regarding work habits (e.g., working hard and maintaining motivation to do one's best). More frequently at pre than at post, the personal resources listed by participants were academic achievement subgoals toward attaining future career and life goals (e.g., getting good grades, finishing high school). One explanation may be that participants were influenced by GEAR UP, which promoted these cognitive processes of educational and career planning and promoted forming short-range goals toward long-range goals. At post, consistent with the learning objectives of the workshops, participants identified as personal resources additional examples of facilitative task approach skills, such as productive work habits (self-discipline), learning-oriented performance expectations (e.g., "willingness to learn," seeking opportunities to develop skills and knowledge in a career-related academic subject or athletic or artistic pursuit), helpful cognitive processes (e.g., "talking about my goals with others"), beneficial problem orientations (e.g., "listening skills," "constructive ways for dealing with problems"), self-regulated emotional responses (e.g., patience, sense of humor), and other personal assets (e.g., strong cultural identity, bilingual, skills in math, science, music). Many of the examples of personal resources endorsed by our participants are similar to protective factors or internal assets that have been shown to promote resilience in the face of adversity (e.g., positive identity, social competencies, and commitment to learning [Benson, Galbraith, & Espeland, 1998] and the ability to self-regulate emotion, attention, and behavior [Masten & Coatsworth, 1998]). Our results sug-

gest that personal resources as well as contextual supports may be helpful targets in promoting educational and career development among low-income, urban minority youth who are at risk of low educational and career achievement.

Limitations and Future Research

Future studies might address generalizability questions raised concerning the small sample size in our study, large proportion of female to male participants, and predominance of Dominican Republican immigrants (perhaps culturally specific factors might offer alternative explanations for our results). Furthermore, our sample is not representative of the most disenfranchised among low-income urban minority youth, as our participants had the benefits of involvement with GEAR UP and the level of motivation to voluntarily attend on Saturdays the educational and career enrichment programs through which this study was conducted. Further research is needed to develop and examine the utility of the preliminary conceptualization of and coding scheme for personal resources proposed in this study. Furthermore, we used descriptive and correlational analyses, so causality cannot be assumed. Future studies using quasi-experimental designs are needed to examine the effectiveness of educational and career development interventions to constructively challenge unhelpful barrier beliefs and promote relevant supports with low-income, inner-city, culturally diverse youth.

Appendix
Coding Protocol for Sources of Support and Examples

1 = contextual supports

- Accessible in the participant's environment
- Helpful people, places, or services to facilitate one's educational and vocational development
  - Family
  - Friends
  - Teachers
  - Coaches
  - Internet
  - Library
  - Community people, places, services, programs
  - GEAR UP cohort coordinators
  - School guidance counselors
  - College office at school
  - *Occupational Outlook Handbook*

2 = personal resources

- Accessible within oneself to develop toward one's educational, vocational, and life goals
- Positive, constructive, or adaptive "task approach skills"—skills that individuals bring to a task—such as
  - Work habits
    - Studying
    - Practicing self-discipline
    - Working hard
  - Performance expectations
    - Good grades
    - Learning goals
    - Seeking opportunities to develop skills and knowledge in a career-related academic subject or athletic or artistic pursuit
  - Cognitive processes
    - Planning ahead
    - Recognizing transferable skills
    - Positive beliefs about the value of education
    - Forming subgoals toward more long-range goals
    - Maintaining motivation to do one's best
  - Problem orientations
    - Striving to learn from errors
    - Persisting in the face of obstacles
    - Using listening and empathy skills to understand multiple perspectives
    - Flexibility in considering and trying out options
  - Emotional responses
    - Effectively dealing with stress, conflict, or discrimination through positive emotional regulation
  - Personal assets, abilities, or characteristics to develop or apply
    - Religious faith
    - Relationship skills
    - Sense of humor
    - Service to one's community
    - Bicultural or multicultural experience and competence
    - Strong racial, ethnic, or cultural identity
    - Belief in oneself and one's abilities to learn and grow
    - Second language communication ability

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