GIVING VOICE AND CHOICE TO CHILDREN:

Q METHODOLOGY AS A CAPABILITY MEASURE

by

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ABSTRACT

Giving Voice and Choice to Children:

Q Methodology as a Capability Measure

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This dissertation is a theoretical and empirical examination of how to measure the

way children view their capabilities, that is, their choices of valued opportunities. The

study used Sen's (1999) capability approach as a theoretical framework to gain an

understanding of children's well-being. Using this framework is novel in several ways:

First, it applied the capability approach to a consideration of children in which children

are treated as independent agents; second, it applied this child-centered capability

approach to a consideration of education in the U.S.A; and third, this was the first study

in the U.S. that used the capability approach for the evaluation of middle-school children.

Since current measurements of education do not tell us much about what choices in

opportunities are important to children or if education creates valued opportunities, this

study lays the groundwork for establishing a participatory measure to understand how

American school children perceive their capabilities and to provide a tool for future

evaluations in educational contexts. Children ages 9 to 14 were directly involved in the

research process in two ways. First, children participated in the construction of the

measure used to assess capabilities to ensure that the measure was in their voice. Second,

children in the same age range participated directly as respondents. The study was also

novel in its use of a particular mixed-methods technique, Q methodology, as a measure of capabilities. The methodology aligned well with the capability approach, because it offered a measure that fostered agency and participation, it allowed for individual viewpoints to be heard and expressed, and it also created group viewpoints. Results showed distinct views on capabilities and well-being: for some participants, sociality and security were most important, some sought equality and freedom of choice, while others were concerned with learning and basic living. Used in an educational setting, this new capability measure can effectively uncover what choices in opportunities are valued by children (as well as by adults, presumably), what capabilities need to be fostered, and what capabilities need to be made available in order to nurture the well-being of children.

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This dissertation is dedicated to the friendship and memory of Nancy Anne Brown. She was a doctoral candidate at Penn State University who encouraged me throughout this shared journey. Nancy's courage, strength, and superb intellectual mind were a continued inspiration and kept me going through the finish line.

This one is for you, Nancy!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

PAGE

CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

"In assessing our lives, we have reason to be interested not only in the kind of lives we manage to lead, but also in the freedom that we actually have to choose between different styles and ways of living that we have reason to treasure." (Amartya Sen, 2009, p. 227)

Introduction

This dissertation research began on the day a high-school student ("J.") from an impoverished school district described to me in a casual conversation an incident at his former middle school. One of his teachers told him that he and his peers would amount to nothing, they would never "make it". At the time of our conversation, J. had left this school and had transferred to a charter school, a place which he felt gave him a chance to "make it".

For J., to "make it" may have meant to have a chance to live a long life or to get into college or to move to another neighborhood; at the time, I did not get to ask him what this phrase meant to him. However, that open question laid the groundwork for this dissertation research. Considering J.'s situation, in which an educator might have played a role in discouraging students from even exploring different valuable opportunities, I began to think about how important choices between opportunities are for children and how education might or might not play a role in the well-being of children during their school years and thereafter. I had already noticed during my experience in standardized testing, that there was a drop in student performances during the middle school years, a drop from which many students seemed not to recover in high school. Listening to J.'s middle school experience encouraged me to think past psychological concepts of adolescence (see for example, Harris, 1995, on group socialization theory or Burnett, Sebastian, Kardosh & Blakemore, 2011, and Blakemore, 2010, on brain development and

its impact on sociality and learning) and to explore instead different theoretical frameworks that offered ideas about evaluating young students and their views on opportunities. I encountered three frameworks particularly often, those of human capital, human rights, and human capabilities. From these, I chose the most encompassing framework, the capability approach (Sen, 1999), as a theoretical basis for this dissertation study, because it inquires how educational resources do or do not support development of valued opportunities, it investigates conditions in schools in which students have or do not have the ability to elicit change or to fight inequalities, and it measures the value of education by understanding children's well-being through their choices in valued opportunities (that is, their "capabilities").

This dissertation is a theoretical and empirical examination of how to measure the way children view their opportunities, because opportunities are central to the capability approach and the capability approach offers an important new way of understanding children and also of understanding the nature of education as an opportunity for children. The organization of the dissertation is as follows: This introductory chapter describes the special status of the concept of "opportunity" in the context of America and its approach to education, and it describes in more detail the three approaches to education mentioned above. The second chapter reviews the sometimes confusing mixture of ideas about the capability approach and clarifies the essential features of the approach as it applies to children and to the education of children. With this conceptual foundation established, the third chapter concentrates on how to measure capabilities, particularly in children, develops the rationale for using Q methodology to do so, and describes the methods that were used in the research reported here. The fourth chapter describes the results of using

Q methodology to obtain measures of capabilities in 9 to 14 year old children; because this chapter explains the process of extracting prototypical viewpoints from a Q sort task, it is the most technical chapter of the dissertation. The fifth and final chapter considers various implications of the results of using Q methodology to evaluate opportunities among children and discusses both some of the limitation of the methodology for this purpose and some of the future directions in which research along this path might proceed.

It is somewhat surprising that the capability approach has not been applied more extensively in an American context, because the importance of opportunities is such an essential part of the American Dream. Because my long-term goal is to use a capability approach with Q methodology to provide a more useful picture of children's well-being as it relates to American education, it seems appropriate to start by considering opportunity and the American Dream.

The American Dream

In 1931, James Truslow Adams coined the term American Dream as he wrote in his exploration of American history:

> "But there has been also the *American Dream*, that dream of a land in which life should be better and richer and fuller for every man, with opportunity for each according to his ability or achievement. It is a difficult dream for the European upper classes to interpret adequately, and too many of us ourselves have grown weary and mistrustful of it. It is not a dream of motor cars and high wages merely, but a dream of a social order in which each man and each woman shall be able to attain to the fullest stature of which they are innately capable, and be

recognized by other for what they are, regardless of the fortuitous circumstances of birth or positions" (Adams, 1931, p. 404).

It is this American Dream that parents hope for their children to live. Johnson called this hope the "American Dream of Meritocracy" because one's social standing is based on one's own achievement regardless of outside circumstances or social forces (Johnson, 2006, p. 20). Johnson interviewed parents on their ideas about what the American Dream meant to them. One example of a parental assessment of the American Dream was: "For me, the American Dream is to have success if you work for it. To be free the way you want to." (Johnson, 2006, p. 29). Parents also used the American Dream to describe the opportunities they hoped their children would enjoy in the future (Johnson, 2006).

One way to attain a bright future full of choices between opportunities might be attending school and getting an education, thus making education itself one of the paramount opportunities that have been made available to American school children. But, in the words of Duncan and Murnane (2014), "Stagnant educational attainments and growing inequality in education outcomes call into questions America's vision of itself as a land of growth and opportunity" (p. 3). For example, in the case of J., it seemed as if education or an educator had the potential to stifle or change a students' outlook on the opportunities he might have. Gallacher, Crossan, Field and Merrit (2002) reported that adult students who had negative educational experiences during their youth, displayed negative perceptions of themselves as successful learners. Therefore, discouraging students, such as J., can be an action that is detrimental far into the future of a learner. But even for students who live in upper-middle-class neighborhoods and attend excellent

schools, the American Dream can have its negative repercussions. Cookson (2013) evaluated his observations of an American upper-middle-class school in the following way, "The American Dream, however, is not a religion without ambivalence and alienation; it tends to stifle dissident thinking and individuality. Student's life projects require consensus thinking, conformity and allegiance to a collective class identity based on ownership and material display" (p. 67). Thus, while the American dream might be based on individual merit, in reality other factors, such as social class, can affect the conversion of the dream into reality.

Social Class and Social Capital

While this research is not an in-depth investigation of social class, I would be remiss to not address the impact of class on education. As pointed out above, income inequality matters for educational success in a variety of ways. For example, Lucas (1999) reported findings from studies on school tracking that showed that resources were allocated differently in wealthy, private schools versus public schools. Lucas cited studies by Gamoran (1993) and Finley (1984), which revealed that private schools tended to assign teachers with high expectations for their students to all levels of classes whereas in public schools, teachers preferred to teach high level classes with the outcome that teachers' skills and motivation lowered over time in low level classes, thereby benefitting neither the students nor the teachers.

Cookson (2013) studied the effects of social class and its resulting inequality in high schools and determined that "the social design in American high schools reproduces classes through the formation of collective class memory" which adds to unequal access to opportunities (p. 108). I would argue that this not just applicable to high-schools but

also to lower levels schools. As in J.'s experience, his middle-school teacher, aware of

the low SES backgrounds of his students, reaffirmed a belief that J. and his classmates

would reproduce their position in society based on their upbringing, daily experiences

with some of their parents, and their neighborhood environment (in J.s case, an

environment infused with poverty, violence, and crime). It also reaffirmed a belief that

the American Dream may not be available for everyone and that, contrary to the promise

of the American Dream, upward mobility is nearly impossible for students from low SES

neighborhoods. For example, the relationship between socio-economic status and student

outcomes has been confirmed by many studies, (see, e.g., the discussion by Johnson and

Johnson (2006) of studies investigating SES and test performance). FairTest reported

that "on the 2004 SAT test, the average score for students whose family income was

between $10,000 and $20,000 was 887, and the average score for test takers whose

family income was more than 100,000 per year was 1,115" (FairTest, 2004 in Johnson &

Johnson, 2006, p. 198).

  As Bordieu & Passeron (1990) have argued, one should not ignore the social

conditions of production, whereby, for example, working class children with a high

academic aptitude might stay within the social tradition and chose a working class career

versus an academic career. As Cookson (2013) observed, social reproduction is

encouraged by schools though mechanisms of creating a common public voice, having

similar views on opportunities, and living by expected common norms of the students'

social class. Moreover, educators and school administrators rarely interfere but instead

support the social reproduction of their students. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992)

explained that "social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to

an individual or a group by virtue of possessing *a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships* of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (p. 119). However, if social reproduction is encouraged and choices of opportunities are not revealed or given, social capital will continue to be lower for some. The question arises as to whether an educational environment rich in social capital may be less likely to treat learners in a top-down fashion, with a focus solely on knowledge-acquisition. Instead, it may develop interpersonal trust and self-confidence and encourage informed decision-making (Falk, 2000).

Standardized Testing

My conversation with J. also led me to the question of whether U.S. students are being well-served by their education in being able to understand their opportunities and in seeing themselves as owning the freedom to choose between varieties of opportunities. American schools do not measure student's well-being and progress in terms of their freedom of choice between opportunities but in terms of the success of the school system and its students in performance on standardized tests, either state-wide or across states. School accountability programs such as No Child Left Behind, signed into law in 2002, release ratings every year on how students perform. This is a public process in which parents and students can compare their school to others in terms of academic performance on their particular standardized test. Rouse and Barrow (2006) have pointed to some of the negative outcomes of such accountability measures. Some teachers cheat on these tests, for example, the 2011 cheating incident which involved 178 educators, who falsified test data (Martel, 2011), some administrators classify low-achieving students as learning disabled in order to exclude them from the average scores, and

suspensions happen during test taking in order to alter the student composition and, ergo, the results.

I have worked in the standardized testing industry for 20 years, developed tests for all grade levels, and scored open-ended test items in a variety of subjects. These standardized measures arguably give school districts an impression of what their students know and what they do not know as compared to students from other districts or even across states, given that the Common Core Standards for English language arts and mathematics have been adopted by almost all states in the U.S.A. (Rothman, 2012). In fact, testing has become an integral part of American students' lives, a point illustrated by Hanson (1993) quoting a student applying to graduate school who said: "I'm an American. I was born to be tested." (p. 1). However, Ravitch (2011), a former Assistant Secretary of Education and former ardent supporter of No Child Left Behind, acknowledged that this program, based on punishment and rewards for the schools depending on performance, was a program that did not work. Results of standardized tests showed that the goal of proficiency in mathematics and language arts for all schoolchildren by 2014 was unachievable and perhaps detrimental for public schools.

Another problem with these standardized tests is that they do not reveal if educational transmitters, such as school administrators, teachers, and home-schooling parents are creating opportunities and if students know of these opportunities. This is not to say that standardized tests do not have predictive power regarding certain outcomes for young people. Zwick and Sklar (2005), for example, used high school grades and SAT scores as a predictor of college success, as expressed in college grades and degree completion. One of their findings was that GPA was a significant predictor of college

success for white, English-speaking American students, whereas SAT scores were a significant predictor for college success for English-speaking white and Hispanic Americans.

Standardized tests also do not evaluate the reasons for their results. For example, studies have demonstrated that the middle-school years are important years, in which intrinsic motivation to learn seems to be dropping for students (e.g., Anderman, Maehr, and Midgley, 1999). One of the reasons for this drop might be that curriculum choices can have tremendous impact on the educational paths of students (Anderman and Maehr, 1994). As Rathunde and Csikszentmihalyi (2005) found in their study comparing middle school students of a traditional public school to middle school students from a Montessori School, motivation to engage in academic work differed between the schools. While the public school students perceived education as more important to their future than did their Montesorri counterparts, they showed, on the other hand, less intrinsic motivation and lower affect than the Montessori students. Rathunde and Csikszentmihalyi argued that students at the Montesorri School experienced, for example, more freedom and choices, they did not receive test grades, and they were able to choose with whom they wanted to collaborate based on their interests (Rathunde & Csikszentmihalyi, 2005, p. 364).

Interestingly, Johnson (2006) reported that parents defined "good" or "bad" schools not based on standardized test scores, available resources, or quality of teachers, but based on neighborhood. Location, and therefore race and class, mattered in parents' assessment of the quality of a school (Johnson, 2006, p. 41). However, none of the children in this dissertation study who went to either a public or a private school thought

that their school was "bad." All were satisfied with the status quo which may be because they had no other experiences since most of them had lived in their neighborhoods for as long as they could remember. J., on the other hand had learned through switching schools, that not every school experience is the same.

Goal(s) of Education

Much has been written about the goals of education. Some argue that education should foster intellectual and moral autonomy, in order to contribute to children's social, moral, and political development while others view education in a heteronomous way, in which children are subject to punishment and they learn to conform (Kamii, 1984). Wolk (2007) feared the latter "prepares drones to keep the U.S. economy going" with the effect that citizenship, one of the proclaimed teaching goals of many schools, is not being instilled (p. 648). As Wolk (2007) pointed out, many young people do not vote and do not follow public affairs. To fulfill the goal of teaching children participatory citizenship, Wolk has argued that education should be inquiry based across the curriculum and across all ages to foster thoughtful and just citizens and schools should acknowledge children's uniqueness because not everyone learns in the fashion (Wolk, 2007, p. 652). Cohen (2006) was also critical of the current state of education. Similar to what Kamii (1984) described twenty-two years before him, Cohen assessed American education as prioritizing academic learning, but not creating critical thinkers.

Instead of creating rote-learners (see, for example, Meece and Jones, 1996), a better goal for education could be to raise well-informed, engaged, and democratic citizens, a goal that has been proclaimed by many Americans to be the most important purpose of public schooling (see, e.g., Rose & Gallup, 2000, in Cohen, 2006). Others,

however, have viewed individual autonomy as a goal of public education that is detrimental to the concept of family, as this liberal stance takes away parental authority and puts it in the hands of a public institution. Pike (2004) argued, for example, that Christians should have the right to educate their children according to their goals, which includes educating their students in Christian doctrine and moral values.

Gatto (2003), who claimed the American public school system produces "servants" to corporate America (see also Freire, 2012 on the oppressive powers of education), summed up the goals of American education into three points: "1.) To make good people, 2.) To make good citizens and 3.) to make each person his or her personal best" (Gatto, 2003, n. p.). Accordingly, parents expect that school will prepare their children for life (Kuhn, 2008), a view which has a long history in the U.S. Indeed, it is interesting to note that 80 years ago educational theorist John Dewey (1997) called on education to give children experiences that will prepare them for their adult experiences.

Roles of Education

As noted above, education has several, mostly long-term goals and as such, education can play a variety of different roles (Sen, 1999). Robeyns (2006) has described some of these roles in the following way: Education can be *intrinsically important* (when one wants to learn for personal enrichment), or education can have instrumental roles, such as an economic *instrumental* role, whereby education provides economic opportunities for an individual or a collective, or a *non-economic instrumental* role, "whereby education increases awareness and critical thinking and collective empathy" (Robeyns, 2006, pp. 70-71). In the following discussion, I will draw on Robeyns' (2006) analysis to explore three normative approaches by which educational policies can be

motivated, namely, the human capital approach, the human rights approach, and the capability approach, with the latter being the one most important for this dissertation research.

Human Capital Approach

In the human capital approach, education is viewed as a means to an end for economic wealth; thus, its role is that it is an investment by individuals to create marketable skills for the job market (Walker, 2012). This approach seems to be the leading normative model for education policy. Economists can estimate what kind of economic returns education provide (Robeyns, 2006) and use that to justify the importance of education. For example, Chevalier, Harmon, Walker and Zhu (2004) reported that economic returns to education increase with each year of additional schooling by 10%.

Understanding economic returns from an investment such as education can be an important guideline for policies that are geared to enhance life circumstances for people. Based on the human capital model one could argue that school children in an impoverished district need an adequate education because that can enable them to obtain jobs and to give them a chance at upward mobility. However, what the human capital approach does not account for are unequal opportunities. For example, in some circumstances, a boy's education may be considerably more valuable than a girl's education because a higher rate of return is expected from the boy's education (Manion and Menashy, 2013). Although Manion and Menashy (2013) reported on World Bank education projects in impoverished sectors around the globe, it is not difficult to envision a human capital perspective on education and gender in the U.S., where women in the

workforce still get paid less than men [78.3% / 100%] and where women still may be viewed as less desirable employees. The Institute for Women's Policy Research has described the "Motherhood Penalty" in which women are seen as less desirable employees because of their children (Institute for Women's Policy Research, 2015, p. 97). For example, the school days are starting and ending at different times than jobs might start. Furthermore, women might suffer economically because they often do not get paid before and after giving birth, and day care center costs can be very high. Such external restrictions and discriminatory practices can potentially limit girls because they are not viewed as a good economic investment.

Robeyns (2006) emphasized two additional problems with using the human capital model in education. First, this model does not acknowledge anything other than economic issues in terms of benefits from education. Issues that deal with culture, gender, emotions, and so on, are not accounted for in this model. Instead, humans are only viewed as economic actors without consideration for other behaviors, for example, to study a subject just for personal reasons without expectations of an economic return. Another problem with this model is that it is completely instrumental, valuing education only for its economic outcomes without considering any other possible values, such as learning and understanding history or poetry. Consequently, "understanding education exclusively as human capital is severely limiting and damaging, as it does not recognize the intrinsic importance of education, not the personal and collective instrumental social roles of education" (Robeyns, 2006, p. 74). For example, considering school as a social experience, it might play a role in students' maintenance of their psychological well-being (see Kawachi & Berkman, 2001).

Human Rights Approach

The human rights approach to education is cogently stated in Article 28 in the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child: "States Parties recognize the right of the child to education, and with a view to achieving this right progressively and on the basis of equal opportunity, they shall, in particular: (a) Make primary education compulsory and available free to all…" (ohchr.org, 2015). Thus, a human rights approach gives education an intrinsic importance instead of just viewing it through the instrumental view of the human capital approach. The role of education in the rights-based model is to provide a basic right because it assumes that everyone is entitled to an adequate education, and this has become a justification for making resources available to afford this right to children (Robeyns, 2006). For example, Horsford (2011) has discussed U.S. education as a civil right, as advocated by the National Alliance of Black School Educators (NABSE), that should promote improved academic achievement for African American students. Indeed, Horsford quoted then U.S. Secretary of Education Arne Duncan in his assurance that he will "work with schools and enforce laws to ensure that all children, no matter what their race, gender, disability or native origin, have a fair chance at a good future" (Horsford, 2011, p. 59).

Treating education as a civil right places discussions of education into the context of efforts to reduce through legal means the prevalence of discriminatory practices that disadvantage one group or another for access to social resources. Although treating education as a right raises issues that overlap to some extent with those raised by viewing

education as a matter of human capital, it tends to focus on the availability of the resource, not on its desirability.

Manion and Menashy (2013) identified three aspects within the right to education. The first aspect is the right to have access to education, the second is to have the right to receive an education of decent quality, and the third aspect is to respect the child's identity while ensuring her right to participation. Consequently, education for children who might not be viewed as producers of higher economic returns, such as children with disabilities, are still entitled to an education in the human rights approach as opposed to the human capital approach. This example illustrates how the rights approach to education can offer a more inclusive formulation of who should receive an education.

Nonetheless, Robeyns (2006) has noted several limitations within the human rights approach to education. One limitation was that countries may have granted children the right to education but may not have translated that right into a reality. Additionally, as McCowan (2011) has also noted, the guarantee of a right to an education does not always get fully realized. Not surprisingly, much depends on how the phrase "an education of decent quality" is interpreted. In many cases, the right to an education seems to be limited to the lowest level of education, and no consideration is given to higher level learning or life-long learning, nor is any acknowledgement given to informal or non-formal ways of learning. Furthermore, Robeyns (2006) is in agreement with Sen (1999) that the rights-based approach should entail not only legal but also moral rights, as the latter might have power to create obligations past governmental responsibilities, in which those in positions to support education find it a moral obligation to do so.

Another limitation Robeyns (2006) has pointed to is that even when a government makes education mandatory, as has happened in the U.S., and implements successful curricula, provided by well-trained teachers, etc., there is still the problem that there is no guarantee that all children attend school. In fact, governments might argue they have fulfilled their legal obligation to provide education and therefore factors constraining children from attending school would not be evaluated. Finally, the rights discourse on education falls completely into the hands of governments, making them legally responsible to provide education to the children of their nation, but leaves individuals or communities with a moral obligation to provide access to education. Therefore, Sen (1999) argued that human rights should not be viewed as legislated legal rights but as ethical rights, as perhaps some rights can or should not be legally enforced but should be morally enforced.

Capability Approach

Sen (1999, 2009) introduced the idea of understanding people and their life circumstances in terms of their functionings and capabilities, as an alternative way to measure the impact of development policies on people's lives and welfare. Sen's revolutionary proposal continues to be refined and applied to a variety of topics, because it can be used as an interdisciplinary framework for evaluating many different aspects of human activity, such as quality of life measurement and individual well-being (e.g. Nussbaum, 1999, 2011). The role of education in the capability approach is multi-dimensional and encompasses intrinsic, economic instrumental, and non-economic instrumental roles. It offers itself as a "broad normative framework for the evaluation

and assessment of individual well-being and social arrangements, the design of policies, and proposals about social change in society" (Robeyns, 2006, p. 78). Quality of life, for example, can be measured in terms of "functionings," which are *beings* and *doings* such as *being sheltered*, *being healthy* and *working in the labor force*, and can be assessed with normative evaluations such as income levels. However, Sen argued that it is also important to evaluate people's *potential functionings*, that is, their "capabilities" or opportunity choices, as a measure of their "freedom to achieve actual livings that one can have a reason to value" (Sen, 1999, p. 73).

Education holds an important place in the capability approach in two ways: participation in education is a capability and education can expand capabilities (Vaughn, 2010). Having access to education and obtain valuable knowledge can support children's flourishing in order to lead a "good life" and it can support the development of further capabilities (Walker, 2012, Amersdorffer, 2011, Robeyns, 2006). Walker (2012) described the good life as one in which the individual has the ability to choose between economic opportunities, to have agency, to be able to participate in social and political life, and to be treated as an equal. Furthermore, the capability approach is comprehensive and interdisciplinary and therefore not as restrictive as either of the other two approaches already described. Robeyns (2006) noted, "The scope of the capability approach, by contrast [to other normative theories, such as the human capital approach] is as wide as human life and societal arrangements stretch in reality" (p. 79).

While the human capital approach is only concerned with the economic outcomes of education, and the human rights approach considers only the intrinsic value of education, the capability approach considers all roles of education. Therefore, this well-

rounded consideration of educational practices will help to ensure the expansion of people's capabilities and their well-being.

Using the Capability Approach to Examine Opportunities in Education

The main contribution of the capability approach is this: the information about existing inequalities in opportunities can deeply influence the assessment of social institutions, including educational institutions. Thus it can draw attention to decisions that would have to be made and it can inform policy analysis. For example, Maguire, Donovan, Mishook, deGaillande, & Garcia (2012) studied students in four urban high schools to understand how having the opportunity to receive a particular arts curriculum could possibly foster a range of other opportunities. Maguire et al. reported that opportunities and functionings were increased in the school which used the arts curriculum the most, and all schools with this particular art curriculum had significantly higher graduation rates as compared to district schools.

This dissertation study uses the capability approach in two novel ways. First, it applies the capability approach to a consideration of children in which children are treated as independent agents and, second, it applies this child-centered capability approach to a consideration of education in the U.S.A. As it relates to children, the capability framework has, in prior work, mostly been applied to adult or family contexts or contexts in which children are part of education discussions (e.g. Unterhalter, Vaughan & Walker, 2007, Otto and Ziegler, 2006, Nussbaum, 2006). The lack of a child-centered perspective is readily seen in the fact that most capability surveys evaluating individual well-being and social arrangements are targeted toward adults (e.g. Anand, Hunter,

Carter, Dowding, Guala, and Van Hees, 2009). Studies in which children and education are the main subjects of a standardized capability measure are less common (but see Amersdorffer, 2011, Kellokk & Lawthorn, 2011 for recent examples that move in the direction of the present work).

As it applies to education, the capability approach has not been extensively used to assess educational interventions even though education is one of the important topics in both Sen's and Nussbaum's works (Unterhalter, et al., 2007). In fact, Unterhalter (2003) argued that education or some forms of formal education might be more capability-depriving than capability-fostering. If Unterhalter is correct in her assessment, education does not always foster freedom. For example, minority children often learn their place of unfreedom when they arrive in the school systems (Kozol, 1992).

In the American educational context, the capability approach has rarely been used (but see Maguire, et al. 2012). Therefore, measuring students' views on their set of opportunities seems to be an appropriate first step to understand which educational programs work to increase students' well-being. However, current measurements of education, such as literacy measures, do not tell us much about capabilities, and, as Unterhalter (2003) has stated they "cannot tell us if certain groups put their literacy to work to enhance their participation in society" (p.12). For that reason, this study will lay the groundwork for establishing a participatory measure to understand how American school children perceive their capabilities and to provide a tool for future evaluations in educational contexts.

A New Capability Measure

In order to reach the goal to create a child-led evaluation of capabilities, this dissertation research will introduce a new measure of capabilities that involved children directly in the research process in two ways. First, children from the ages of 9 to 14 participated in the construction of the measure used to assess capabilities. Second, children in the same age range participated directly as respondents in the research. This measure investigated children's views of their capabilities, that is, their perceived choices of opportunities. As Robeyns (2006) suggested, "it is important to evaluate a social arrangement or policy on *all* affected capabilities, that is, to consider all changes in the opportunity set or the well-being of people" (p. 79).

The technique used in the research was Q methodology, which is a mixed method approach used to investigate peoples' subjective viewpoints (Brown, 1993). Q methodology lent itself well to study children's views of their capabilities. The capability approach, as opposed to other normative frameworks, is interested in the well-being of individuals, that is in "particular students, from particular backgrounds, living particular lives and holding particular focus, making it far less supportable to excuse any student's disengagement and /or failure" (Wood & Deprez, 2012, p. 476). However, it needs to be clarified that while the approach focuses on individuals, it does not imply "a western liberal approach that presumes persons act alone rather as members of groups" (Alkire & Deneulin, 2009, p. 35). Instead, Robeyns (2005) argued that the capability approach "embraces ethical individualism" in which individuals are what is of concern while not ignoring the effects of social structures and institutions on individuals (Robeyns, 2005, p. 108). It is important in this approach to focus on the individual

because it is the individual's plight can be easily overlooked when studying groups and such does not discover inequalities within a group. Since Q methodology affords a means for the researcher to study individual viewpoints as well as characterizing perspectives shared by groups of individuals both the theoretical and the practical approach are well-aligned.

Moreover, children were involved from the beginning of the research process, first with constructing the statements of the measure, followed by ranking these statements, and then discussing their thoughts on these statements. Very few capability measures to evaluate children's well-being have been developed to date (Ballet, Biggeri & Comim, 2011). Biggeri et al. (2006) promoted a questionnaire that let children conceptualize their capabilities by asking what are the most important opportunities to a child, then asking what are the actual achieved opportunities, and then asking what would be important opportunities to other children (in order to gain measure for a whole group instead of a measure for an individual). Others used surveys in conjunction with participatory tools, such as drawings, and mobility maps, to investigate children's capabilities (Anich, Biggeri, Libanora, & Mariani, 2011). Kellock and Lawthom (2011) used photo-voice (in which photos elicit discussions) to investigate how children view their opportunities in relationship to their participation and willingness to learn at school. Furthermore, studies utilizing observation, interviews, and focus groups were employed to understand impoverished children's opportunities (Padrón & Ballet, 2011). All these techniques include participation to some extent with the adult researcher more or less present and influential.

Added to this new measure were indicators of the public school's performances in terms of the quality of education children receive which were taken from a variety of standardized test scores from the 2013/14 NJ School Performance Report. In this study, participants came from a variety of school districts within two counties of Southern New Jersey. The 2013/14 NJ School Performance scores, 2010 U.S. Census and 2013 American Household Survey data also gave information on the socio-economic status of students. The participants varied in relation to whether they attended low-performing public schools, high-performing public schools, private schools, or were home schooled.

Having such a child-centered, subjective measure will provide an important new way to assess the impact of educational settings for children. Using the capability approach in educational settings is important because mainstream education evaluations "lack consensus over what should be measured, and how educational equality should be defined" (Unterhalter, et al., 2007, p. 2.). Furthermore, a capability measure for children will suggest ways to improve children's own view of their capabilities, both in terms of their future educational choices and in terms of other life choices. The consideration of the well-being of children, some of whom might go through capability-depriving moments in their education just as J. did, is at the center of this exploration.

CHAPTER TWO - BACKGROUND

Freedom is "the real opportunity that we have to accomplish what we value"

(Amartya Sen, 1992, p. 31).

Introduction

This dissertation research will lay the groundwork for an innovative way to assess

children's education that seeks to combine in a meaningful way the capability approach

of Amartya Sen (e.g., 1993, 1999), the agentic view of children expressed in childhood

studies (e.g., James & James, 2004, Mayall, 2002, Theis, 2010) and the subjective

evaluation of attitudes and beliefs represented in Q methodology (Stephenson, 1953;

Brown, 1993). The goal of this chapter is to describe the capability approach as

introduced by Amartya Sen (e.g. 1993, 1999) and further developed by Martha

Nussbaum (e.g. 2011), discuss prior attempts to apply this approach to education, and

discuss issues that arise in the measurement of capabilities. Finally, this chapter will

highlight how a capability approach can be a valuable theoretical framework in assessing

children's views of their opportunities, "showing the cogency of a particular space for the

evaluation of individual opportunities and success" (Sen, 1993, p. 50) and thereby

allowing it to be used to evaluate success of educational programs.

As was noted in Chapter One, the capability approach looks at how humans

actually function within both their present capabilities and their potential capabilities, and

it emphasizes the idea of people having the freedom to make choices, as, for example, in

their education. In this approach, a lack of capabilities may also imply a lack in

substantive freedoms, such as a lack of financial resources or a lack of political freedom,

as well as a loss of freedom of choice. The capability approach includes three ideas as

possible main objects for evaluation and assessment, which are capabilities, functionings,

and agency.   These will be described in the following sections.

<div align="center">**The Capability Approach of Amartya Sen**</div>

Capabilities

Sen led the way to establishing a theoretical framework to assess a person's well-

being through the individual's actual ability to achieve what he or she wants to do or be

in life. That is, Sen (e.g. 2009) brought out the importance of the quality of life for

people as contrasted with traditional economic measures such as income. This actual

ability to achieve what one wants to do or to be is what Sen considers *opportunities* or, in

his words, *capabilities*. To be clear, capabilities are not simply opportunities that

someone is realizing, such as being educated, but are the choices one has which "reflect

in different degrees a person's *freedom* to live in a way they would value" (Comin, 2010,

p. 163). Thus, being able to choose different opportunities that are valued by the

individual is at the heart of the approach.

Sen also coined the term "basic capabilities" to refer to a subset of all capabilities.

Basic capabilities include the freedom to do what is necessary for survival and to avoid

poverty. According to Robeyns (2005), these basic capabilities are the ones to be used for

poverty analysis and to investigate people's well-being in developing countries.   Thus,

Sen (e.g. 2009) argued that in order to measure well-being and quality of life, one should

not look exclusively at wealth or income but at the freedom a person has to lead the life

he or she values. This is "significant in itself for the person's overall freedom and

important in fostering the person's opportunity to have valuable outcomes" (Sen, 1999, p. 180). Freedoms of individuals are the fundamental building blocks needed to analyze the well-being of people in, for example, developing countries.

In *Development as Freedom*, Sen (1999) noted that development can be viewed in terms of increasing real freedoms people enjoy, which opens up the narrow focus of other development approaches that might emphasize GDP, for example, to a wider consideration of looking at people's opportunities. From this thought Sen deduced that in order to develop a country, one needs to remove poor educational opportunities and poverty, which he considered *unfreedoms*. Therefore, freedom as a factor of development analysis is not only a determinant for failure or success of development but also a determinant of individual initiative and social effectiveness (Sen, 1999). In Sen's words, "Greater freedom enhances the ability of people to help themselves and also to influence the world, and these matters are central to the process of development" (Sen, 1999, p. 18).

As stated above, conventional economic approaches evaluating the well-being of people look at measures such as income and wealth. For example, Sen (2009) compared inner-city African Americans who are born into an affluent country to people born in poorer countries such as Jamaica or India. While GDP is much higher in the U.S. as compared to these poorer countries, the life-expectancy of urban African Americans is equal if not lower to people born in poorer regions (Sen, 2009, p. 226). Up until recently, measures evaluating poverty and inequality have been uni-dimensional and money-metric which finds expression, for example, in "poverty lines" (Alkire & Santos, 2009). Utilizing the capability approach becomes a more helpful tool for economic policy

assessment and a contribution to a better understanding of people's circumstances. Sen (2009) explained, "Freedom from premature mortality is, of course, by and large helped by having a larger income…, but it also depends on other features, particularly of social organization, such as healthcare, including public healthcare, the assurance of medical care, the nature of schooling and education, the extent of social cohesion, and harmony, and so on" (p. 226-227). Thus, Foster (2010) concluded that the capability approach "does not reduce well-being into a single dimension (such as income or utility) but instead is inherently multidimensional" (p. 3).

While Sen's interest as an economist lies predominantly in international development and has its main focus on poverty, with the recognition that poverty is more than low income but a deprivation of basic capabilities, as shown above, he pointed to applications in wealthy societies as well. For example, high unemployment in European countries, while often not necessarily an income loss because of unemployment benefits, has wider reaching and debilitating consequences, such as social exclusion of some groups, loss of self-reliance, and physical and psychological health issues (Sen, 1999). Thus, the capability approach can also be used to investigate inequality in more affluent communities. In the context of wealthier countries, such as the U.S., the approach would focus its analysis of well-being more on issues outside of physical survival.

Sen encouraged using his framework in a variety of contexts by considering individual freedom as a quintessential social product, claiming there is "a two-way relation between (1) social arrangements to expand individual freedoms and (2) the use of individual freedoms not only to improve the respective lives but also to make the social arrangements more appropriate and effective" (Sen, 1999, p. 31). However, he noted

that the capability approach does not offer any particular formula for policy decisions. For example, Sen (1999) stated that while the capability approach can be used to assess social inequalities, it does not mean that policies which equalize capabilities must be put in place without evaluating the consequences first.

Functionings

While the general consideration of capabilities is at the heart of Sen's framework, one way to assess a person's specific capabilities is to look at his or her "functionings", which are a combination of doings and beings. Nussbaum and Sen (1993, p. 3) gave the following examples of functionings: being well-nourished, being disease-free (these are simple functionings), having self-respect, preserving human dignity, and taking part in the life of the community (these are more complex functionings). Two people with the same set of capabilities are likely to end up with different functionings because they might choose different directions in their life path and have different opinions about their optimal state of well-being. Thus, Robeyns (2005) argued that the capability approach respects people's individual choices and ideas of the good life. However, she conceded that ideas of what constitutes a good life are influenced by family, community, religion, and other factors. Consequently, the question of what choices one makes might be constrained by external influences. Thus, an important question is "to what extent people have genuine access to all capabilities in their capability set, and whether or not they are punished by members of their family or community for making certain choices of the kind of life they value" (Robeyns, 2005, p. 102). (Ideas of the good life and possible origins of these ideas were discussed in several interviews with the children who participated in this dissertation research and will presented in the following chapters.)

Agency

Agency and capabilities are inherently intertwined. Agency, in the capability approach, can be defined as "a person's ability to pursue and realize goals she values and has reason to value" (Alkire & Deneulin, 2009a, p. 22). Thus, a person needs to have agency in order to be able to make use of the capabilities available to them (Grundmann & Dravenau, 2010). Sen (1999) argued that agency should be a very important goal of any human development whereby people should be able to actively participate in determining their life's course, thus having the freedom and the power to decide what trajectory is important to them. Grundmann and Dravenau (2010) reported on findings in their 2006 longitudinal study on individual development and social structure that agency is influenced by social structure. For example, children with lower SES have fewer capabilities available to them than children with higher SES and they use different agentic processes and strategies than children with higher SES (Grundmann & Dravenau, 2010, pp. 95-96). Therefore, agency in the capability approach is bi-directional. As Alkire & Deneulin pointed out, "In order to be agents of their own lives, people need the freedom to be educated, to speak in public without fear, to have freedom of expression and association, etc. But it is also by being agents that people can build the environment in which they can be educated and speak freely, etc." (Alkire & Deneulin, 2009a, p. 28).

Ballet, Biggeri and Comin (2011) described children as agentic once they are viewed as subjects of capabilities. While recognizing children as social actors, Ballet et al. also acknowledged that in the capability approach children often are viewed as having "minimal autonomy, a minimal capacity of self-determination" and as such agency is a developing and evolving concept for children in particular (Ballet et al., 2011, p. 23).

The following chapters will include a description and discussion of children's views of their own agency as they were revealed through interviews.

The Capabilities Approach of Martha Nussbaum

In contrast to Sen, who has been primarily interested in economic development and political philosophy, Nussbaum's development of a capabilities approach has been in the context of her aim to establish social justice theory. She has proposed a well-defined, universal list of capabilities which she argued should be incorporated in all constitutions and used to comparatively assess quality of life and to theorize about social justice. (Nussbaum, 2011). [Nussbaum prefers to use the plural "capabilities" in order to call attention to "the most important elements of people's quality of life… [such as] health, bodily integrity, education and other aspects of individual lives [which] cannot be reduced to a single metric without distortion" (Nussbaum, 2011, p. 18).]

Like Sen, Nussbaum argued that the key question of the capabilities approach is to take each person as an end and ask what are the opportunities available to that person, thereby focusing on choice or freedom. However, while Sen is primarily interested in issues of development and quality-of-life assessment, Nussbaum (e.g. 1999, 2011) added other components to the approach. Notions such as human dignity and political liberalism are used by Nussbaum (2011) to develop a theory of basic social justice in which these notions function as fundamental political entitlements. These entitlements are stipulated in Nussbaum's (1999/2011) specific list of capabilities, which is made up of ten categories:

Nussbaum's List of capabilities (Abbreviated) (1999, p. 235)

1) *Life.* Being able to live to the end of a normal life;

2) *Bodily health.* Being able to have good health;

3) *Bodily integrity.* Being able to move freely and secure from violent assault;

4) *Senses, imagination and thought.* Being able to use the senses, to imagine, think and reason – and to do these things in a truly human way.

5) *Emotions.* Being able to have attachments to things and people outside ourselves;

6) *Practical reason.* Being able to from a conception of the good and engage in critical reflection about the planning of one's life;

7) *Affiliation.* Being able to recognize and show concern for others and to be treated with dignity by others;

8) *Other species.* Being able to live with concern for and in relation to the world of nature;

9) *Play.* Being able to laugh, play, and to enjoy recreational activities;

10) *Control over one's environment.* (Political) Being able to participate effectively in political choices and (Material) being able to hold property and have equal rights in employment.

Nussbaum (2011) concurred with Sen in that what is needed to assess quality of life is an approach such as the capability approach that asks "what are people (and what is each person) actually able to do and to be?' Asking this question takes into consideration real people (not just income numbers) and looks at achievement through the opportunities available to each person. However, a common criticism of the capabilities approach is

that it focuses too much on the individual and thus is not considering the well-being of groups (Sen, 2009). Alkire and Deneulin (2009b) explained that research needs to probe into the individual situations of people within groups in order to not overlook issues that otherwise could be overlooked when investigating a larger group issue. One strength of the capabilities approach is to consider the full human diversity between people as opposed to normative approaches which might not acknowledge, for example, marginalized people within a larger group. The methodology used in this dissertation – Q methodology – achieves the ability to recognize the individual situations of people while at the same time finding groups of individuals who share common situations.

Another difference in their approach lies in what Sen called substantial freedoms, which is a set of opportunities a person can choose from and act upon. Nussbaum chose to call them combined capabilities, because they stem from a combination of internal abilities and external enabling factors. Nussbaum (2011) has made this distinction from Sen because she argued that internal capabilities, such as intellectual and emotional capacities, are trained and developed through interaction with the environment a person lives in. Education, for example, is an important resource to develop internal capabilities – but also must be followed by opportunities to function in accordance with those capabilities. Nussbaum (2011) has pointed out that a society might do well in creating opportunities but it might "not educate its citizens or nourish the development of their powers of mind" (p. 22). Nussbaum was in agreement with Sen that not only impoverished countries should be considered for a capabilities approach. She argued that all nations are in involved in one way or another in struggles for equality and justice. For example, she pointed to inner-city schools in the U.S. that often fail to provide functional

literacy to their students. Thus, Nussbaum believed all countries to be developing

countries because every country has room for improving quality of life of its citizens.

Nussbaum's social justice approach with its list of capabilities is important to this

dissertation research because it builds a bridge to a more empirical approach to

capabilities, which will be illustrated in the next sections.

Capability Approach and Its View on Education

The capability approach is primarily not interested in increasing abilities, such as

skills and knowledge to become a productive adult member of a society (thus increasing

human capital) but instead it is interested in increasing choices between opportunities that

are valued to the individual.

According to Nussbaum (2011), education lies at the core of the capabilities

approach because it is education that develops many internal capabilities and even a

minimal education enhances life chances and options. She echoed the Brown v. Board of

Education of Topeka in 1954 statement that "In these days, it is doubtful that any child

may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an

education" (Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka 347 U.S. 483, 1954).

Yet minimal education or a focus on only a narrow set of marketable skills (as

Nussbaum asserts happens in most modern nations to guarantee national profit) is not

enough to enhance and open up opportunities to children (or perhaps better said, to the

future adult). Nussbaum (2011) called on users of the capability approach to investigate

both pedagogy and content to fulfill the aims of the approach. For example, the

development of critical thinking skills – particularly in terms of active, participatory

citizenship, is of particular importance to Nussbaum (e.g., 2006, 2011).   Nussbaum (2006) argued that through education "young citizens form, at a crucial age, habits of mind that will be with them all through their lives" (p. 397). Education seems to transform children into empathic and critical citizens, who "… think of themselves as members of a homogenous group or as members of a nation, and a world, made up of many people and groups, all of whom deserve respect and understanding" (Nussbaum, 2006, p. 387). While this goal seems set high, I agree with Nussbaum that an education geared to foster capabilities (and citizenship) needs to cultivate logical and critical thinking skills and the "capacity for critical examination of oneself and one's traditions" (Nussbaum, 2006). It is important to note here again that agency is a substantial feature of the capability approach as it gives a person the ability to realize their goals and to consider the well-being of others as well as their own.

Sen (1999) also considered agency to be central to the capability approach because educational opportunities reach beyond just personal lives in that education can also promote effective participation in politics and the economy. For example, being literate opens up new sources of information, and consequently one can be better informed about political developments. Additionally, the approach can be used to point to social injustice and inequality, particularly in places where discrimination and marginalization take away opportunities from people. Ironically, one example of discrimination can be found in schools. For instance, schools are not always a place of enhancing freedoms and creating opportunities. Unterhalter (2003) has given the example of schools in a multi-language society which only instruct students in one language, thus disadvantaging students who are native speakers in another language.

As stated above, the capability approach often identifies educational opportunity as one of the key capabilities (e.g., Nussbaum, 1999). Ideally, education should promote the capabilities and functionings of all individuals. Education is typically viewed as increasing both what a person can do and what a person has the opportunity to do. Children's capabilities as well as their positive and negative experiences in the educational realm are viewed as important precursors to the capabilities they will have once they are adults (Sen, 1999, Biggeri, 2007, Walker and Unterhalter, 2010).

However, as Unterhalter et al. (2007) have noted, bad educational practices can impair an individual in multiple ways. For example, high performing college students have reported being advised by high school guidance counselors that they should not consider seeking a college degree. Robeyns (2006) has also credited education with several roles, from the economic roles of finding a job and enhancing the collective economic growth to non-economic roles, such as having access to information and learning to be tolerant toward differing ideas within a collective. Emphasizing this view puts education in the role of a positive social institution which would seem to necessarily enhance capabilities. It is therefore helpful to be reminded by Unterhalter (2003) that education or some forms of formal education might be more capability depriving than capability fostering. Thus, what seems to be left out of the capability framework are questions of the quality of education and how deficits in education can have an influence on capabilities.

Therefore, a capability approach, with its emphasis on allowing individuals the freedom to reach the full flourishing of their potentials (Burchardt, 2011), should they so choose, would seem to have a natural affinity with education. However, it is quickly apparent from the literature on capabilities that the relation of capabilities to education

(e.g., Robeyns, 2003, Walker, 2012) and to children (e.g., Saito, 2003, Brighouse & Unterhalter, 2010) is complicated.

Unterhalter (2003) recognized that Sen undertheorizes education. Sen (e.g. 1999) clearly demonstrated an advantage of a capability approach over the human capital model, because that model has a narrow focus on education, viewing education in terms of income possibilities and economic growth but neglecting to promote well-being and the ability to choose a good life. Unterhalter (2003) has pointed to the problem in Sen's framework, that linking education with schooling might lead to assessments that are solely based on outcomes of schooling, such as levels of literacy. She has been particularly critical of Sen's failure to be concerned about unequal social relations within schools. Unterhalter has argued that education or some forms of formal education might be more capability depriving than capability fostering. According to her analysis, what seems to be left out of the capability framework are questions of the quality of education and how deficits in education can have an influence on capabilities (Unterhalter, 2003). Unterhalter's emphasis on the idea that education does not always foster freedom is illustrated when, for example, minority children 'learn their place' of unfreedom when they enter schools. Therefore, measurements of education, such as literacy measures, do not tell us much about capabilities and "cannot tell us if certain groups put their literacy to work to enhance their participation in society (Unterhalter, 2003, p.12). Furthermore, Walker and Unterhalter (2010) indicated that differences between learners can potentially develop into inequalities, "For example, a learner might value the capability for voice, but finds herself silenced in a classroom through particular social arrangements of power and privilege" (p. 10).

Robeyns (2006) agreed with Unterhalter that children's education needs to be of high quality and needs to have as its goal "the development of the full human being".

She suggested embracing the wide scope and interdisciplinary character of the capability approach to evaluate a social arrangement on all affected capabilities. For example, while one capability might have opened up, it does not necessarily mean that additional capabilities which are needed are also available. A school child in a low SES school district might have the opportunity to attend a university but because her family needs her income to survive, she is unable to utilize that opportunity.

However, Terzi (2007) described two functions that education (as a capability) holds. First, not receiving an education potentially disadvantages an individual. Young people who are able to finish high school earn higher wages than their peers who do not finish. Concurrently, people who receive a master's degree earn higher wages than people with a bachelor's degree. Second, Terzi stated that education could be considered as a foundation on which other capabilities are built upon (Terzi, 2007, p. 30).

Indeed, as the Current Population Survey from the U.S. Department of Labor (2015) demonstrated, median weekly earnings rise steadily with the level of education attained while the unemployment rate decreases with higher educational attainment (see Table 1).

Table 1, Current Population Survey (2015)

Earnings and unemployment rates by educational attainment		
Education attained	Unemployment rate in 2013 (Percent)	Median weekly earnings
Doctoral degree	2.2	$1,623
Professional degree	2.3	1,714
Master's degree	3.4	1,329
Bachelor's degree	4.0	1,108
Associate's degree	5.4	777
Some college, no degree	7.0	727
High school diploma	7.5	651
Less than a high school diploma	11.0	472
Note: Data are for persons age 25 and over. Earnings are for full-time wage and salary workers. Source: Current Population Survey, U.S. Department of Labor, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics		

Capability Approach and Educational Assessment

The capability approach can be a helpful tool for educational assessment as it can inform about existing inequalities in opportunities. Therefore, this framework can support and inform policy analysis and it can draw attention to decisions that would have to be made in order to elicit positive change. Nonetheless, an important consideration for using the capability framework to assess education is the lack of specific direction Sen provided for empirical investigation. It needs to be noted that this normative framework is "not a theory that can explain poverty, inequality or well-being; instead, it rather provides a tool and a framework within which to *conceptualize* and *evaluate* these criteria" (Robeyns, 2005, p. 94).

According to Sen (1999), education leads to freedom of participation. However, Sen did not indicate how one might measure "freedom of participation." Typical approaches to educational assessments look at objective outcome variables, such as language and math proficiency or high school graduation rates, but as Unterhalter and Brighouse (2003; see also Comin, 2008) have argued, "Thus 'education' becomes a narrow set of performative measures" which does not tell us if measurements such as language proficiency actually heighten participation (Unterhalter & Brighouse, 2003, p. 495). A person's actual achievement, such as getting an education, can be measured in numbers (i.e. report cards). However, while standardized tests in schools return individual results, for the majority of students these results have little meaning. The overall test results can affect larger issues, such as school funding, or on a more individualized basis can affect children in the low or high performing groups in terms of the support they might receive from the school. However, children who fall into the proficient ranges of these tests might not be heard in terms of whether education does or does not fail them.

Wild (2010) supported the capability approach as an appropriate way to evaluate education because it does not work with predefined standardized measures to evaluate student success. Wild has argued that "rather, the CA [capability approach] suggests that the quality of educational systems, institutions, or educators should not *merely* be assessed in terms of achievement (e.g. grades, repetition rates, the proportion of freshmen) because these variables represent (more or less important) means or achieved functionings and do not provide the informational base needed to evaluate agency or well-being freedom" (Wild, 2010, p. 177).

As stated above, education is currently evaluated in terms of inputs, such as, school budgets, and outputs, such as student achievement measures. Unterhalter (2009) described another way of evaluating education in which one considers people's preferences. However, as she explained, this can be problematic because these preferences may be very adaptive and as such do not necessarily denote freedom of choice. For example, children in lower income neighborhoods which have a 60% high school drop-out rate may be satisfied with simply finishing high school but do not expect to continue education after that, whereas children from a school district with a 2% drop-out rate may also be satisfied with finishing high school but continue on to college.

Biggeri (2007) acknowledged that children's outlook on their capabilities as well as their actual realization of these capabilities is dependent on several factors. Some of these factors include parental influence in terms of social capital, decision-making and support by guardians and teachers (which may differ between the parents and tutors), education itself is a capability which may influence current and future capabilities, and children being viewed as "vehicles of change" (Biggeri, 2007, p. 199).

Otto and Ziegler (2006) expanded on this further by looking at the assessment of education not only from the functioning side (that is the intrinsic value of being educated or being literate) but also from its capability side, asking what effect education has on things people value and have reason to value. As such, Otto and Ziegler (2006) argued, education should ideally enable people to nurture their ability to make choices that matter to them. The capability approach then should also be used to investigate under what influences (personal and societal) these choices are constructed and achieved.

Education should not only expand opportunities but should also empower people to make and see choices outside their comfort zone or their adapted circumstance (Otto and Ziegler, 2006). For example, a school child whose parents never went to college because they had to work and who are still in financial need, might have adapted to his or her environment and might see only opportunities that seem reasonable to the child (such as getting a job right after high school to support themselves). While this choice is value-free, the question to be asked is whether this school child was not only aware that she had other choices but also whether she was empowered to take them.

Different Approaches to the Measurement of Capabilities

Comin (2008) advocated for measurement of capabilities as "necessary for the full fruition of the CA [capability approach] as a framework for practical ethics, potentially applicable to human development and well-being analysis" (p. 159). He further noted that the capability approach was not empirical in its beginning and never gave specific guidance on how to measure capabilities. Instead, part of its strength is to encourage active participation of those parties interested in development change. However, discussions of the capabilities approach give rise to different perspectives on the appropriate way to measure capabilities, in general and for the specific purpose of relating capabilities and education.

In particular, these discussions tend to emphasize one of two forms, an objective form and subjective form, and two modes, a person-centered mode and a universalist-centered mode. The objective, person-centered form is most clearly articulated by Sen (e.g., 2009), who proposed a flexible concept of capabilities that depends on cultural context and individual interests. Nussbaum, in comparison, has also articulated an objective form, but has adopted a more universalist-centered mode, with less emphasis on

the importance of cultural or individual differences in favor of greater emphasis on capabilities that are general.   Despite these variations, both approaches assume that an observer can identify activities that enhance capabilities.

In contrast, Anand (e.g., Anand & van Hees, 2006; Anand, et al., 2009) and Robeyns (2003, 2006) have presented views of capabilities that are both person-centered and subjective, with a primary focus on identifying what individuals believe their capabilities to be. A key difference between the objectivist and subjectivist approaches has been the goals of a capabilities analysis. Sen and Nussbaum have been concerned with developing a theoretical conceptualization of capabilities. Anand and Robeyns, on the other hand, have been more concerned with the pragmatic goal of developing empirical measures of capabilities.

As will be apparent in my own use of capabilities in education, it is important to keep both approaches in mind (e.g., Robeyns, 2006). One effect of educational interventions is to make people, including children, aware of the capabilities they presently have. For example, many children in urban schools are economically disadvantaged, a circumstance that could limit their opportunities for post-secondary education. However, various programs are in place that allow impoverished students to attend colleges or trade schools. For these students, educational interventions would not necessarily increase their capabilities, in terms of *opportunities* for education, because these opportunities already exist. Hence, an objectivist view of capabilities might consider the intervention to be ineffective. On the other hand, interventions for these students could increase their awareness of capabilities they already have. For example, students learning through an educational intervention of ways to fund a college education and who then pursued a college degree would realize the capabilities already present. A subjectivist view of capabilities could find the intervention very successful.

The capability approach has not been widely used to assess educational interventions even though attainment of education is one of the main foci in both Sen's and Nussbaum's works (Unterhalter, Vaughn, & Walker, 2007). For example, two capabilities on Nussbaum's (2011) list are particularly relevant to education, namely, those of *being able to use the senses, imagination, thought* and *practical reason (being able to engage in critical reflection).* Nussbaum (1999) viewed the capability for *practical reason* as especially important because it organizes the other capabilities while "being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one's life…" (p. 235). Later, in her discussion of the relation of capabilities to quality education, Nussbaum (2006) also emphasized the importance of the capability of being able to use the senses, imagination and thought for developing democratic citizenship.

Robeyns' (2005) has pointed out that while Sen's approach is more geared toward economic reasoning (and as such may be more attractive to economists), Nussbaum's approach may be more conducive for measurement and evaluation. Des Gasper and Van Staveren (as qtd. in Robeyns, 2005, p. 104) stated that "Nussbaum's approach has more potential to understand actions, meanings and motivations". Nussbaum's (1999) list of capabilities is a list in which each capability is of central importance, is of distinct quality, and grew out of many years of cross-cultural discussions.

Robeyns (2003) has argued that any list of capabilities should not make universalistic claims, which is the case for Nussbaum's list, but instead needs to fulfill five criteria:

1. the list needs to be discussed and defended;

2. the method that generated the list needs to be scrutinized;

3. the list needs to speak the language of the debate (i.e. levels of abstraction will vary);

4. lists can have different levels of generality (i.e. ideal list vs. pragmatic list);

5. and the listed capabilities should include all elements.

Accepting this approach, of course, means different lists can be made depending on context and circumstance. As will become apparent in Chapter 3, such flexibility in selecting alternatives is an essential feature of the Q-Sort method used in this research.

Utilizing Robeyn's criteria, Biggeri, Libanora, Mariani and Menchini (2006) used a survey, focus groups, and interviews, to investigate what children viewed as their capabilities. By involving a particular group in describing their capabilities, Biggeri et al. addressed some of the concerns of critics of the use of lists, like Robeyns. Robeyns (2005) did not deny the value of a list but suggested using Nussbaum's capabilities list as a possible starting point. Sen, on the other hand, did not endorse a list at all because he viewed capabilities as context dependent, varying, for example, with location and environment. Keeping both Robeyns and Sen in mind, this dissertation research used the modified version of Nussbaum's list that was created by Biggeri (2006) as a starting point to investigate children's views. To address Sen's concerns, the measure that was developed with the initial help of the capabilities list, was nonetheless flexible and adjustable to context and environment.

Children and Capabilities

Perhaps one of the greatest obstacles using a capability approach to education as it relates to children has been the resistance of most capability theorists to the idea that

children are capable of identifying their own capabilities. Saito (2003) questioned how the capability approach can be applied to children since she does not deem them to be mature enough to make decisions. She reported on a conversation with Sen in which Sen offers two ways to apply capabilities to children, one focused on future gains (similar to Nussbaum, 2011) and one focused on freedom of choice (during childhood having freedom to make some decisions) mainly focused on future freedom of decision-making. Thus, compulsory education for Sen [and Nussbaum] is justified by an argument for the future of children, because it is supposed to enable them to more freedom (qtd. by Saito 2003, personal interview with Sen). Unterhalter et al. (2007) saw this tension between an individual's freedom and well-being as a problematic aspect of the capability approach. Since children might not be able to forfeit choices in favor of a more favorable future outcome, children's freedom is likely to be limited by what adult's see as reasonable options for a child.

In terms of educational interventions, this agency might be affected by discriminatory practices. For example, Grundmann and Dravenau (2010) explained that if children from a lower social class background are discriminated against, their agency as well as their appraisal of their capabilities will be affected. Capabilities are similar to resources, for example, personal knowledge and competencies as well as social power and entitlements (Grundmann and Dravenau, 2010, p. 2). Thus, Grundmann and Dravenau argued that agency is the ability to use these resources and therefore both capabilities and agency are needed to lead a good life.

Therefore, attention should be given to the fact that it not sufficient to supply children with resources, such as supplying children with formal education, but also look

how children think about their surrounding world and how they are able to utilize their resources. This will enable us to "enter people's lifeworlds and gain insight into the ways they are living their lives" (Grundmann and Dravenau, 2010, p. 94).

CHAPTER THREE – METHODS

Introduction

This chapter first explains the rationale for the methodology used in this dissertation research, which includes a discussion of the role of children in research and a brief review of the importance of a capability measure. Then, the chapter describes Q methodology and explains why it promises to be a successful measure of capabilities and a valuable tool in research with children. The chapter concludes by describing the application of Q methodology used in this research.

Current Capability Measures for Children

Current measures that utilize the capability approach have focused most often on functionings, that is, on outcomes. Alkire and Deneulin (2009) described functionings as "valuable activities and states that make up people's well-being – such as being healthy and well-nourished, being safe, being educated, having a good job, being able to visit loved ones" (p. 31). Phipps (2002) measured descriptively and comparatively functionings, such as "lying", "anxiety", and "low birth weight" in order to understand children's well-being. DiTommaso (2007), who was interested in children's well-being in developing countries, primarily used macro data from 3000 children, ages 6-12 to build an aggregate measure of well-being based on the list of capabilities established by Nussbaum (1999). For example, to attain an aggregate measure for the functioning of "being healthy", DiTommaso used indicators such as "height for age" and "weight for age" (DiTommaso, 2007, p. 445). These macro data, while revealing socio-economic differences between participants, do not address one of the main concerns of the

capability approach, which is the well-being and freedom of the individual. This dissertation study also used macro data, such as the 2010 US Census and the NJ School Performance Report for 2013/14, but only to describe participants' environments.

To understand the well-being of individual children, an approach is needed that gives children voice without risking "glossing over the diversity of children's own lives and experiences" and that treats children as individuals and not just as part of a (minority) group (James, 2007, p. 262). While secondary data sets, such as student's standardized test data, is publicly available, data on students' individual viewpoints need to be investigated through primary data collection and analysis. Such primary analysis can be conducted in a variety of ways, such as by means of surveys, focus groups, interviews, and field observations, which can be supplemented by to more in-depth investigation of a particular topic. Since children's capabilities have not been studied extensively, particularly not with American school children in mind, a study method for this dissertation needed to include primary sources.

The only study in the U.S. that has to date applied the capability framework to investigate American education was done by Maguire, et al. (2012) (already described in Chapter Two, p. 18). They used a pre-post design with focus groups and a survey to examine what opportunities were available to high-school students who participated in an arts-career program in high school. While the study by Maguire et al. followed a reasonable research protocol for adults, their study did not capture the voices of younger children. I wanted to ensure that children were actively involved in the research method and were able to directly express their thoughts without an adult intermediary. Neither of these characteristics was easily implemented in the kind of protocol used by Maguire et

al. Furthermore, I was interested in using mixed method approaches that could provide both quantitative results and the in-depth qualitative results that would express an authentic voice with as little of the adult researcher impact as possible. In the following sections, I will discuss the use of surveys and interviews as a possible mixed-methods approach and how the consideration of children in research led to the usage of Q methodology in this study.

Surveys

Biggeri et al. (2006) used a survey and focus groups to ask what capabilities are important to children. The survey questions in this case, as most often as the case, were written by the researcher(s). In fact, Biggeri et al. drew on previous capability lists written by Nussbaum (2003) and Robeyns (2003) as well as on the UNCRC to establish a list of capabilities for children. In their survey, Biggeri et al. asked children ages 11-17 to identify how important each opportunity was for them and which opportunities were the three most important ones a child should have during his or her life.

Surveys have several advantages over other research methods. Perhaps the most attractive feature of a survey is that it can be carried out with many more participants than, for example, an interview. As a result, survey data has the potential to be highly representative of the population from which the surveyed participants were sampled. Due to the possibility of large sample sizes, results are more likely to reach statistical significance as well. Furthermore, surveys are usually less time consuming than other research methods, and they are usually relatively inexpensive. Another advantage of surveys is that items are standardized, hence every participant responds to the same probe.

As opposed to an interview, which relies on personal interaction between the researcher and the participant, a survey is usually taken by the participants alone and thus minimizes the direct influence of the researcher. However, with children, as with any other group, the researcher has to ensure that the participants understand the language of the survey questions. What can happen in particular in research with children is that the adult researcher has certain perceptions of children's language and language ability that may not match what is true of a particular child, and these perceptions should be an important consideration for the researcher (Punch, 2002). Therefore, it was imperative for me to find a method that included children into the research process from the beginning, as I did not presume that I at all times knew the language in which the children were immersed.

Furthermore, as will be highlighted in Chapter Five, data in surveys does not necessarily give a very explicit and defined picture. For example, Biggeri et al. (2006) reported that children viewed education as the most important opportunity in their lives but it was unclear what this ranking meant in relationship to other opportunities. Another problem with surveys from the perspective of having a measure for the capability approach was that individual, subjective viewpoints are not uncovered. Thus, views of children who did not perceive education as their most important opportunity would not be uncovered. To reveal more in-depth reasoning, interviews provide a method for giving voice to participants.

Interviews

Interviews can be very effective in eliciting the reasoning behind the responses from participants, including children. Interviews allow the researcher to follow up on

answers or elaborations that might be confusing or contradictory, and therefore are a more flexible and adaptable method of inquiry. Furthermore, individual interviews can allow children to share more intimate details of their lives, if they are comfortable with the interviewer and the interviewer-interviewee relationship is based on trust (Greene & Hill, 2005). Interviews as an add-on to quantitative data can help interpret and explain results. For example, in topical interviewing researchers choose the initial topic but the interview can illuminate and highlight the topic in addition to the data gained from a survey. Rubin and Rubin (2005) suggested using an interview model which they labeled "responsive interviewing" which allows an interviewer to integrate a variety of interviewing techniques (p. 15). According to Rubin and Rubin (2005), "Using this model, responsive interviewers begin a project with a topic in mind but recognize that they will modify their questions to match the knowledge and interests of the interviewees (p. 15). Thus, this method allows for listening to what is important to the participants as well as investigating the research topic. However, as Rogers, Casey, Ekert and Holland (2006) have explained, the analysis of data, while rich and illuminating, can be challenging because each interviewer has a different technique and each interview is unique.

A subtle problem with interviews is that children's comments are authentic if they are directly quoted in the research; however, James (2007) warned that this authenticity is only partially intact, since the adult researcher decides which quotes will be reported and which will be discarded. Furthermore, in large studies, interviews are usually just feasible (for time and money reasons) with a few selected individuals, thus not every participant is heard. Thus, finding a method in which quantitative and qualitative data

align well and support each other is desirable, especially if a researcher wants to stay as true as possible in reporting the viewpoints of the participants. One of the attractions of Q methodology is that it is such a method. As Stephenson (1953) has described it: "in Q they [the tests] would be used to experiment on certain attitudes of mind of *any person* we cared to make the subject of inquiry" (p. 16). Therefore, a Q sort can be valid research tool used for one participant or for a group of participants.

Children as Researchers and Participants

Adult social scientists should think reflexively about their work and ask, as Tisdall (2010) suggested, "hard questions about our [researchers'] own positioning, the position of children and young people's participation, and of children and young people themselves" (p. 420). In order to advance theorizing about as well as practicing of participation rights, it is perhaps time to be more engaged with children in conversations in which children are heard and on equal footing with their adult citizen counterparts. Alderson (2008) suggested that involving children in research more directly – by acknowledging children as subjects who can speak on their own and have valid opinions and thoughts – "can rescue them from silence and exclusion" (p. 278). For example, Cockburn (2005) found in his interviews with children that they do not feel as they are being listened to nor that their opinions count.

Scott (2008), in discussing children as respondents in quantitative studies, pointed to the fact that children can enrich our knowledge in terms of social and economic issues. However, often children are excluded from surveys, they are "invisible" and research relies on adult's reports on children's issues (p. 88). Methodologically, Scott found interviews to be problematic because of possible discrepancies between adult researcher

and child participant in regard to language usage and different stages of development. Similarly, language can also be a problem in a survey, for example, if the respondent does not understand the meaning of a questions or if the survey language is too technical. One reason I selected the Q methodology as the research method for this study was in order to address Scott's (2008) and others' concerns about language. As will be described later, Q methodology encouraged me to begin by involving children directly in establishing the concourse; that is, using children's statements verbatim in creating the Q sort.

Furthermore, I concur with James et al. (1998) that it is the adult's view that influences the selection of the research method and it is the adult who conceptualizes children in different ways, such as the innocent child or the ignorant child (Freeman & Mathison, 2009). James et al. (1998) also described different types of children, such as the developing child (see Piaget, 1968) and the social child, the latter which does not see a child as inferior to adults but as being different. Keeping in mind that I might hold certain concepts of what constitutes a child was a reminder during the process to avoid such categorizations.

However, children participating in this study were treated as agents and active social actors in that they helped to construct the study and participated in it. Viewing children this way acknowledges not only Scott's (2008) and others' criticism of children's invisibility, it also acknowledges one of the main aspects of the capabilities approach in which the agency of an individual is part of a person's overall capability (Sen, 1999).

Capability Measure

Previous attempts to apply a capabilities approach to education have been limited by their failures to provide a metric for assessing capabilities or assessing education or to provide a clear separation between notions of capabilities and notions of education. For example, Saito (2003) stated that education enables children to create a capability set by creating opportunities and making children aware of opportunities. However, she argued, compulsory education does not enhance capabilities if the educational approach is top-down and only stresses competitiveness; only education that enables children to become autonomous persons in order to be able to make choices in life enhances their capabilities. Saito did not indicate, however, how one might evaluate whether education is "top-down" or "enabling the creation of autonomous persons".

Unterhalter et al. (2007) suggested that the capability approach offers a normative framework to reveal inequalities between resources available to children and children's capabilities. Most standardized measurements in education are either through exams (to determine children's knowledge levels) or calculating the value of resources, such as spending per child. As Unterhalter et al. (2007) argued, people might be happy with the results because of what they have come to expect. However, a capability approach would not just measure outcome satisfaction but would also question the real educational choice available. Therefore, one would need to ask "whether people's educational aspirations had become adapted to their circumstances" and whether people chose their levels of education (e.g., primary versus secondary education). Unterhalter et al. also pointed out that the capability approach emphasizes the importance of assessing more than just resources and inputs, such as years of schooling. It encourages the researcher to uncover whether children are able to convert their resources into capabilities and later into

functionings. Furthermore, it takes into consideration the variability of children in terms of their different educational needs.

All of these discussions point to the importance of both having a measure of capabilities for children and having a measure that truly assess these capabilities in relation to education. They also point to the lack of methods that allow flexible assessment of capabilities in different groups. This research will lay the groundwork for using Q methodology as a new and culturally more flexible measure of children's capabilities and an as innovative way to assess educational programs.

Q Methodology

Stephenson (1953) proposed to throw away psychological measurements that had been used up to the time of his writing, because "the use of large number of cases has become dogma in psychology today, an exaggerated regard for *measurement* is no less a plague" (p. 5). In their place, he proposed Q methodology to "study man's attitudes, his thinking behavior, his personality, his social interaction, his *self*, his psychoanalytic mechanisms, and all else objective to others or subjective to himself…" (Stephenson, 1953, p. 5). Q methodology has qualitative features, such as focus on subjectivity and interpretation but also has quantitative features, such as using statistical analyses (Newman & Ramlo, 2010). Q sorts are analyzed by means of factor analysis, which groups participants with similar views together (into factors), but also with the help of interviews. Contrary to other quantitative techniques, in Q methodology it is not the number of participants that matters, but the number of statements needed in order to establish differences between the participants (Stephenson, 1953).

Q methodology provides a solution to some of the problems already described that can arise in constructing and executing a research study with children. Brown (2005), who is the leading contemporary expositor of Q methodology, has argued that, for example, opportunities which are given to impoverished people are external and thereby are potentially reality changing; however, opportunities also need to become part of the person's actual reality in order to become empowering. According to Brown (2005), "it is also necessary that they [objective opportunities] become a functional part of the person's perspective" (p. 197). Brown (2005) advocated utilizing Q methodology as "the basis for a scientific approach to subjectivity that enables poor people or any other group to express themselves with minimal involvement from outsiders and minimal bias from externally imposed or ostensibly derived meanings" (p. 198).

According to Brown (1993), Q methodology is the systematic study of subjectivity to investigate people's beliefs and attitudes. Q methodology has "the aim… not to obtain the truth but to collect and explore the variety of accounts people construct" (Kitzinger, 1987 in Cross, 2005, p. 209). Thus, this methodology is intended to capture the essential feature of capabilities, as described by Sen (1999), who repeatedly emphasized that capabilities depend on what an individual believes his or her opportunities to be.

A critical part of Q methodology is the completion of a Q sort task by individual participants. In a Q sort task, participants receive cards with a set of statements about some topic or issue and are asked to rank-order the cards along a continuum, usually with responses ranging from agree to disagree (e.g., Brown, 1993), in a forced normal distribution. Participants can rank statements any way they want, thus allowing them to

determine the importance of each statement from their own perspective without the researcher giving meaning up front (Ward, 2009). Newman and Ramlo (2010) called this sorting procedure "inherently subjective because participants judge each Q sample item relative to the others while placing them into a distribution based on a condition of instruction…" (p. 509) (see Appendix A). Furthermore, through the ranking method, participants are forced to consider their answer more carefully than, for example, in a questionnaire, while having the freedom throughout the sorting to move statements. Thus, according to Watts and Stenner, a Q sort encourages participants' "desire to structure and ascribe meaning to all impinging stimuli and events" (Watts & Stenner, 2012, p. 76) and it "can bring out true feelings…" (Cross, 2005, p. 211).

Q methodology has been used with children as participants in only a few recent studies (see for example, Ellingsen, 2011; Storksen, Thorsen, Overland, & Brown, 2012) and is therefore both an innovative method in the realm of research with and for children, that is "more interesting and fun (for the children and the researcher)" (Punch, 2002, p. 337). However, I agree with Punch that one should not call this method "child-friendly" as that would be inherently patronizing (Punch, 2005, p. 337). Rather, Q methodology is "person-friendly". It is a method that uses a combination of data generating techniques (ranking statements and conversational interviews) as well as participant involvement in the generating of the concourse (statements to be ranked). [The concourse was generated with the help of Biggeri's (2006) list of capabilities which is based on Nussbaum's original list.]

Application of Q Methodology

Revising the Capability List

Using Nussbaum's list can be limiting and is constructed with adults and adults-in-the-making in mind, but it is a starting point to evaluate education or educational interventions from a capabilities perspective. For example, Robeyns (2003) found Nussbaum's list too constricting and in stark conflict with Sen's idea of a context dependent list (if any). However, Anand et al. (2009) have developed capability indicators which are closely related to Nussbaum's list. Anand et al. (2009) argued that reviews of several other capabilities lists (such as Alkire, 2002 and Qizilbash, 2004) demonstrate that there is a large degree of similarity between Nussbaum's and the reviewed lists.

Biggeri, Libanora, Mariani and Menchini (2006) let children, through a survey, focus groups, and interviews, conceptualize their capabilities. Biggeri et al. used Nussbaum's list as a foundation and added other items (as reported on a survey), such as *Mobility*, to the list. One of the main outcomes of Biggeri et al.'s (2006) assessment was the finding that children are able to conceptualize capabilities and that agency and autonomy vary according to different ages, as does the relevance of a capability. For example, the level of relevance of opportunities such as Mobility and Time Autonomy increased with higher ages of the participating children. By including children in the process of deciding what capabilities are important to them, Biggeri et al. (2006) have shown how one might address criticisms of Nussbaum's list of capabilities. For example, critics of Nussbaum view her list as making strong universalistic claims as "a list of normative things to do" (Robeyns, 2005). Nussbaum (2011, p. 15), in defense of her list,

quoted Plato's paradox of inquiry: if you don't have any idea what you are looking for,

you won't ever find it. Thus, a list can be used as a starting point for investigation.

However, this list needs to be open to discussion and revision by the group or people to

be assessed, keeping in mind differences between groups (or individuals) and, as Sen

(1999) suggests, needs to emphasize public discussion and decision-making processes for

choosing and prioritizing capabilities.

Biggeri et al.'s (2006, pp. 65-66) list included the following capabilities:

1. Life and physical health – being able to be physically healthy and enjoy a life
   of normal length.

2. Love and care – being able to love and be loved by those who care for us and
   being able to be protected.

3. Mental well-being – being able to be mentally healthy.

4. Bodily integrity and safety – being able to be protected from violence of any
   sort.

5. Social relations – being able to enjoy social networks and to give and receive
   social support.

6. Participation – being able to participate in public and in social life and to have
   a fair share of influence and being able to receive objective information.

7. Education – being able to be educated.

8. Freedom from economic and non-economic exploitation – being able to be
   protected from economic and non-economic exploitation.

9. Shelter and environment – being able to be sheltered and to live in a safe and
   pleasant environment.

10. Leisure activities – being able to engage in leisure activities.

11. Respect – being able to be respected and treated with dignity.

12. Religion and identity – being able to choose to live, or not to live, according to religion and identity.

13. Time-autonomy – being able to exercise autonomy in allocating one's time and undertake projects.

14. Mobility – being able to be mobile.

Establishing the Concourse

In Q methodology, statements for the Q sort are derived from a so-called concourse, a collection of all possible statements that can be made in regard to the question at hand (Stephenson, 1978). As McKeown and Thomas (2013) pointed out, "Ideally, Q samples are composed of statements that are 'natural' in the language of the parties to the concourse and 'comprehensive' in their representation of the subjective phenomena and viewpoints possibly implicated" (p. 18). In order to establish a concourse that is natural and comprehensive, McKeown and Thomas suggested in-person interviews that provide not only the language of the participants but also their viewpoints. Furthermore, interviews allow exploratory conversations that can enrich the concourse further.

As this study has at its aim to focus not only on children but also to involve children as much as possible in the research process, I utilized individual interviews as the method to create its concourse. Initially, I had considered focus groups instead of individual interviews because it might have been more engaging to be in a group and less

intimidating to be one on one with an adult. However, I agree with Greene and Hill (2005) that children might be hesitant to share their opinions in a group unless group members share similar experiences. As Freeman and Matheson (2009) reported, being one-on-one with a participant enables the researcher to "respond sensitively and appropriately to a variety of behaviors" (p. 92). Furthermore, it is impossible to guarantee anonymity to each child participant once the children are within a group because it is outside of the researchers' control what participants divulge to others after they are finished with the study.

Participants for Interviews

Six children ages 9 to 13 were solicited for interviews through a snowball sampling technique. Two of the children were female and four children were male. Four of the children went to public schools and two had just started home schooling after some time of public schooling. All the children were interviewed separately. I met three children in library meeting rooms and the other three children at their homes. The interviews took between one and two hours, and children were given the choice between a gift card and money as a compensation for their participation.

Before each interview, parents and child participants were informed about the study and each was given a consent and assent form, respectively. Parents and children were verbally assured of the confidentiality of the responses and anonymity as well. I discussed those items in particular with child participants to ensure their understanding of these terms. Furthermore, participants were assured they could stop the study at any time without risking loss of payment or any repercussions from the researcher or the

parent (the latter because the parent would not be informed about what was happening between the researcher and the child participant).

Interview Process

Each interview started with the request to each child to explain what "opportunity" means and to give an example of an opportunity. Opportunity was explained by the participants as "a chance to do something," "I can do what others can't do," and "something I want to do and then I can do it." Examples included "going to college" and "travelling." Then the participants were asked to come up with opportunities they had or they had thought they should have. All the opportunities they identified were written on a poster-size paper or white board to be visible at all times and to be used as points of reference. For example, if the opportunity "to travel to another country" was written down, it was used later as a reference when discussing "Mobility" from Biggeri's (2006) list. Once the participants had exhausted all their ideas for opportunities, they were presented with Biggeri et al.'s (2006) list of opportunities and asked to come up with examples for each capability category. For example, one statement that was given for the category "Mobility" was "being able to drive my bike to my friend's house."

At the end of each interview, all answers were recorded by taking pictures of the board or the paper on which the participant's answers had been written. The total number of statements collected was 144. Children were thanked for their participation and were given the choice between a gift card and money as a token of appreciation.

Selecting Statements

As McKeown and Thomas (2013) pointed out, a Q researcher should stay truthful to the original statements and edit them in a judicious way in order to keep the original sentiment. In the case of this study not much editing was needed, because the language was supposed to reflect the participant group. Only word order was changed if necessary. However, choices needed to be made in terms of which statements were representative of each opportunity.

Through the process of brainstorming and additional probing by presenting each of Biggeri et al.'s capabilities, an additional capability was revealed by the interviews. The topic of "Equality" came up in several conversations; for example, some children viewed it as important that siblings had equal say within the family. Since equality was an emphasized topic, it was added in this study as a capability to the list taken from Biggeri et al. (2006). Having established this additional capability (Equality), I decided to use three opportunity statements for each capability, which would make a concourse of 45 statements. Brown (1980) suggested for a sample size between 40 and 50 items to use a range of +5 to -5. Brown (1993) furthermore suggested that ideally the concourse is reflecting the larger set of statements. Therefore, for each opportunity, I first picked statements that were made by more than one participant. For example, "being able to play an instrument" or "being able to travel" were mentioned by several participants. For opportunities, such as Religion and Identity, for which I had less extensive feedback, I selected statements that seemed to be closest to the description by Biggeri et al. (2006).

Each of the 45 statements was typewritten on a card (3.5 × 2 inches) and given a number that was very small in type font, lighter color and located in the middle on the

bottom of the card in order to be unobtrusive. In fact, most participants did not notice the number until I asked them to read them to me to record the sort.   In addition, I printed 45 cards with one ranking number on each to be used as matrix for the sort (see Appendix B for an example).

Q Sort Preparation

In order to prepare for the first Q sort and the subsequent interview, my undergraduate research assistant and I each took the Q sort and asked follow-up questions to each other to gain an understanding of what a participant experiences throughout the session. Then the Q sort was piloted with one child participant. I took note of the follow-up questions and prepared a post Q sort questionnaire (Appendix C) with possible questions to ask, leaving additional space to record comments, questions and concerns during the Q sort.

Q Sort

Participant Recruitment

Leonard (2008) described the negotiations that have to take place before the adult researcher can establish a partnership with children to do research. In order to gain access to child participants, the researcher first has to meet with gatekeepers, such as parents and teacher, to discuss the study. At this point, children are not involved in the decision-making process.

One example of such gatekeeping, was seen in the cases of two principals I spoke to prior to beginning the study. I had met with two school principals to investigate whether they (and their Board of Education) would allow me to recruit students from

their school. In both cases, principals were not in favor of a study at their school unless I

could have guaranteed that all students who wanted to participate would have the chance.

Since these schools have more than 500 students, it was impossible for me to guarantee

this requirement. This predicament led me to reconsider my initial plan to recruit

participants from a school. Instead, I opened the search for participants to two counties

in New Jersey and included public, private and home-schooled children.

Of course, parents who agreed to their children's research participation also acted

as gatekeepers. In particular, it was the parents in all cases who decided where the study

would take place, either at their home (in most cases parents also decided the location

within their home; for example, basement or dining room), my home, or at a public

library.

Cockburn (2005) noted that while families have become more democratic, parents

and children are not engaged in horizontal ways of communication.   The relationship of

parents and children is still one of in which parents are in power and in which children

are dependents of their parents.

Recruitment of participants took place through a snowball sampling technique,

facilitated by adults and children alike, a neighborhood website, and flyers, the latter

being not a successful tool. The sample for this study was a sample of convenience,

within the parameter of age (9 years old to 14 years old) and level of schooling (starting

5th – exiting 8th grade).

Assent and Consent

Before the Q sort, parents were given the consent form (Appendix D). The study

was explained to both parents and children and terms such as "anonymity" and

"confidentiality" were discussed and explained. All participating children were asked to

explain what these terms meant to ensure their understanding. Then parents were asked to

read the consent form and sign it upon approval. After parents signed the form, they

were informed that their children will receive an assent form (Appendix E) which is

similar to the adult consent form and that they would be asked to read and sign it as well.

Then the parents were asked to leave the room and children were given the assent form to

read and sign.   Punch (2002) argued that children might want to speak freely but are not

used to being able to do this in an adult-dominated world. Excluding parents from the

process of reading and signing the assent form was used as a signal to encourage

children's willingness to communicate their thoughts and feelings.

After the signing of the assent form, any outstanding concerns or questions were

addressed, particularly ensuring that children understood that they could stop the study at

any time without any penalty, that there was no right or wrong answer, and that their

answers would be treated as confidential.   The emphasis on these points was important

because in some interviews after the Q-sorts, children often seemed more comfortable

and willing to share information after being reminded that their answers would not be

divulged to their parents or anyone they knew, and that even in the written-up study

results their answers would not connect to them in any way.

Demographic Information

All demographic information was obtained solely from the participant and noted on a demographic information form (see Appendix F for form). Each participant received an identifying number.   Gender and race were noted. Participants were asked the following demographic questions:

How old are you?

Where do you live?

What school do you go to? Where is the school located?

What are your grades – Math, English, Science, Social Studies, other?

Do you live with both parents or one parent?

Do your parents work – if so, what job?

What is your parents' education level?

Do you have siblings? If so, provide information about them (age, gender)?

In order to add to the description of the participant's economic and educational environments, further demographic information was taken from the NJ School Performance Report (State of New Jersey, Department of Education, 2015), U.S. Census (US Census Bureau, 2010), and the American Housing Survey (US Census Bureau, 2013) to establish indicators on school performance and poverty. Data from the 2013-14 NJ School Performance Report for 7 public schools included racial/ethnic composition, the percentage of economically disadvantaged children, as well as student's proficiency levels in Language Arts and Math. Data from 2010 U.S. Census and the 2013 American

Housing Survey was used for 11 cities in which the participants resided in and included racial/ethnic composition, population size, median age and income, different household combinations (both parents and single parents) and people living below poverty. (See Appendix G for participant demographics).

The Sort

First, the number cards were laid out in front of the participant (see Appendix A). Signs were laid out above the number cards indicating the ranking scale (+5 very important to -5 not important at all). The participant was asked what the word "opportunity" means and the answers were recorded. In cases in which the participants were not sure about the meaning, opportunity was explained as "a chance to do something," which was the predominant explanation given by the concourse interviewees. In all cases, participants were asked to give an example to ensure understanding of "opportunity."

Participants then were given 45 statement cards (shuffled anew for each participant) and were told that each of the cards represented an opportunity (see Appendix B). Participants were instructed to read each card, either aloud or to themselves, and to think about whether the opportunity on the card was important to them or not. Following Watts and Stenner (2012), it was emphasized to the participants that their choice of the importance of an opportunity is just about their point of view and not someone else's. Actively ranking the statements was to be done from a subjective perspective. This process instead also meant to discourage participants from answering in a socially acceptable way, but only to think about what was important to them, no matter if they felt someone would disapprove or disagree. Participants also were

encouraged to ask at any time if they did not understand the meaning of a card and to

voice any questions or concerns at any time (see Appendix H for Q-Sort instructions).

Participants were then asked to pre-sort the statements and put them into three

piles: "very important opportunity," "not all important opportunity" and "somewhat

important opportunity." However, participants did not have to follow the pre-sort if they

chose not to. After the pre-sort, the shape of the laid out number cards was discussed as

well as the meaning of the numbers. Figure 1 is an illustration showing the physical set-

up for the Q sort (sorting grid). The participant's task was to place a statement card on

each numbered card.

Figure 1, Sorting Grid
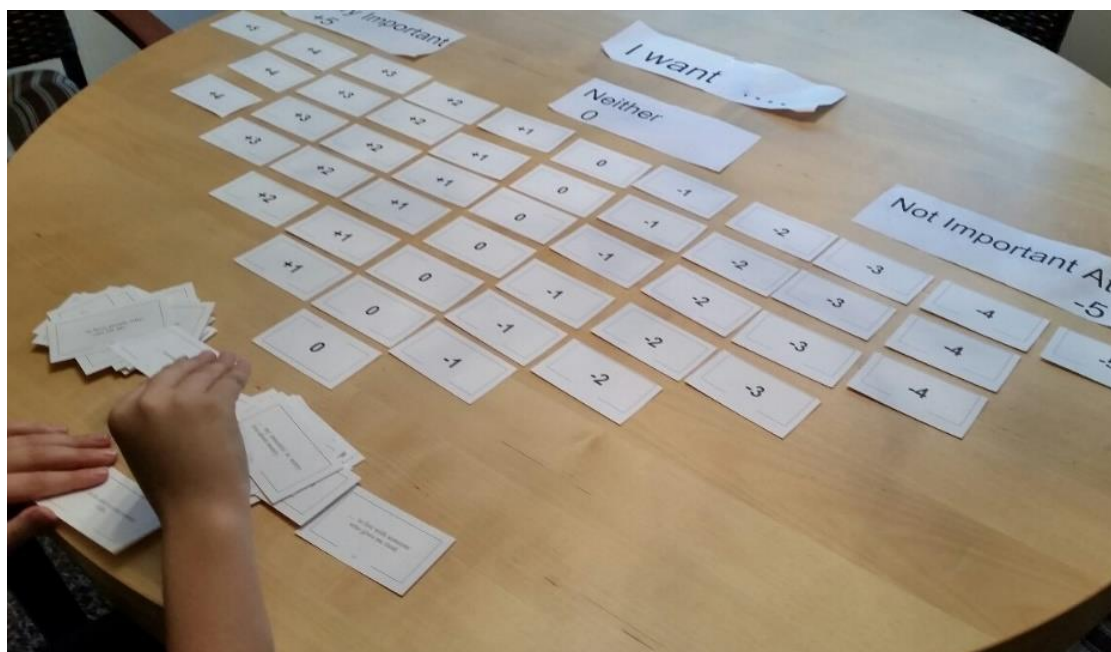
Then participants were asked to rank order the statements. Following Watts and

Stenner's (2012) recommendations, participants were instructed that they could change

the ranking of a card at any time. Once all statement cards were laid upon the number

cards, the results were recorded on a data form. Each statement card was numbered (see Appendix I for data entry form).

Interviews

Grover (2004), in discussing children's rights to be heard in research, stated that "allowing children to be active participants in the research process enhances their status as individuals with inherent rights to participation in society more generally and the right to be heard in their authentic voice" (p. 90). Thus, she argued, it is important to give children the freedom to communicate in their own style.

In order to accomplish this goal, O'Kane (2008) recommended that researchers need to create an atmosphere of "respect, openness and a genuine intent to listen" in order to create an equal power relationship between the adult researcher and the child participant (p. 143). Her suggestions for strategies to obtain a balance in adult/child research were taken into consideration and employed during the meeting with each child participant: choice of participation, choice of location, maintaining confidentiality, seeking children's views on how to improve, giving children control over the instrument, humor, valuing children's time, by thanking and paying them for their valuable time (O'Kane, 2008, p. 143). As Freeman and Mathison (2009) stated, often children are put into situations in which they comply with adult commands. Therefore, the assent form was discussed in private with each participant. The children were ensured that they could stop even before starting the study or anytime thereafter and that this action would not be relayed to the parent nor would it cost them their thank you payment.

Once the sort was finished, children were thanked and asked if they would be available to take a look at their Q sort and to discuss it. Rubin and Rubin (2005) recommended to have main questions available to use as a scaffolding tool. Main questions have as their goal the fostering of an environment in which the participant opens up about his or her views and experiences. Rubin and Rubin (2005) also recommended no more than 12 questions of which only three to four will actually be asked (see Appendix C). Utilizing the finished Q-sort, both researcher and participant looked at the distribution of the cards and discussed items on either end of the sort (+5, +4, -5, -4) as well as items that the participant wanted to talk about. Rubin and Rubin's (2005) advice was taken that "the researcher *listens hard to what the conversational partner has said* and then asks additional questions to explore the particular themes, concepts, and ideas introduced by the conversational partner" (p. 136). Similarly, probes were employed in cases where conversations seemed stuck and where participants did not go into details. For example, participants were encouraged to give examples or to clarify what they had stated.

Furthermore, participants were also asked about additional opportunities that they felt were amiss in the sort, opportunities they felt were important to all children, and about their future aspirations (see Webler, Danielson, & Tuler, 2009). The answers were noted on an answer sheet (Appendix C – post Q Sort questionnaire) and typed after the interview with additional comments. Since the answers were not tape-recorded, I often wrote down the answers in first person point of view to stay as true as possible to the language of the respondent.

Initially, I had considered tape-recording the interviews. However, when asked about tape-recorder usage during an interview, the initial group of participants who established the concourse had mixed feelings on that issue. Some showed hesitation because they were worried that their words could be replayed to someone they would not approve of. They understood that their voice is an identifier. Also, it heightened concerns that they might "say something wrong." Furthermore, I consider a tape recorder as visual barrier between the participant and the researcher, situated between them, which enhances the defined roles of researcher and participant, giving visual evidence of the power of the researcher. Ultimately, since some children seemed uncomfortable with the usage of a recorder, I decided to not tape the conversations in order to achieve a more uniform method.

Subjectivity Statement

One reason I have chosen Q method was because it allowed me to include children in the design of the study. All statements were made by children exclusively. However, the statements used for this particular Q sort were selected by me, the adult researcher, to be the best representatives for each capability.

Furthermore, I was always viewed as an adult when conducting the Q sort and the interviews. In some instances I used the fact that I am a mother of a 12 year old to create a comfortable and more trusting environment. For example, I would acknowledge a comment by signaling my understanding because I live with one of their age peers. Another method to create familiarity was by acknowledging (where appropriate) that I had made similar experiences.

Ethical Considerations

This study received IRB approval on 01/20/2014. Parents of the participating children were asked to read and sign the consent form and then received a copy. Participating children received an assent form which they were asked to read and sign. They also received a copy. Time was also allotted before the signatures to answer any questions or concerns either parents or children might have. Parents and participants were assured of confidentiality and anonymity of the data. Each participant received a number and no names were recorded. Furthermore, participants and their parents/caregivers were assured that participation would be voluntary and that the participants could stop the study at any time without any repercussions.

CHAPTER FOUR - RESULTS

"To be able to live a long life, I guess, is the most important opportunity."
(11-year old participant)

Introduction

This chapter, divided into four parts, discusses the results of this study as they

relate to shared viewpoints of young people ages 9 to 14 concerning their thoughts on

what value certain opportunities have for them. Part One describes the process of

constructing a concourse for the statements used in the Q sort. Part Two describes the

demographic characteristics of the participants who completed the Q sort; Part Three

presents the statistical analysis of the Q sorts and the results thereof. Part Four shares the

results of the post Q sort interviews in terms of participants' thoughts on the method, and

their thoughts on opportunities, functionings, agency, and education.

Part One

Statements

Following the recommended procedure for constructing a Q sort (Brown, 1993,

McKeown & Thomas, 2013) as described in Chapter Three, the first step was to construct

a concourse. This involved collecting data from individual interviews with children. I

will briefly describe some of the responses given during that initial round of interviews.

Six children were individually interviewed. The children ranged in age from 9 to

13; four children were male and two were female. All children were white. Half of the

children came from high SES and the other half from medium SES; four children

attended public school and two were home schooled. At the beginning of the interview

session the participants were asked to describe what the word "opportunity" meant in

order to ensure their understanding. Examples of the answers included the following:

- A chance to do something

- To do what you want to do one day

- To have choices

- If an opportunity comes to you, you have a choice

- Opportunities depend on where you are, where you live, what culture

- Opportunities can be luck

- Depends on your background (if you are poor, or if you are an average student)

- Depends on who you are. If people like you, you get more opportunities

- People who give opportunities are politicians, law makers, educators

- Education gives you opportunities, you can go to college, and you can get a job.

This initial open-ended inquiry was followed by a request for the children to brainstorm examples of opportunities. In order to elicit opportunities in addition to the ones already given, Biggeri et al.'s (2006) capabilities list was used as a trigger. As described in Chapter 3, these initial interviews emphasized "equality" as a topic in addition to the capabilities listed by Biggeri et al. Consequently, Equality was added as a capability. Having established this additional capability, I selected three statements for each of the 15 capabilities to make a concourse of 45 statements. Altogether, 144 statements were collected out of which these 45 statements were chosen for the final Q sort (see Table 2). For each opportunity, statements that were made by more than one participant were first chosen to be part of the final Q sort. For capabilities, such as Mobility, which received less extensive feedback, statements that seemed to be closest to the description by Biggeri et al. (2006) were selected.

Table 2, Final 45 Q Sort Statements

Card #	Capability	Statement [I WANT…]
1	Religion and Identity	to believe in whatever religion I choose
2		to be able to take ideas from different religions
3		to learn about religions
4	Life and Physical Health	to be able to eat good food
5		to have enough food to eat
6		to be able to go to a doctor
7	Education	to learn languages
8		to study and do well in school
9		to learn hard facts in school
10	Mobility	to be able to move to another neighborhood
11		to ride my bike to my friend's house
12		to have a car as soon as I have my driver's license
13	Time Autonomy	time to relax and unwind
14		time to play
15		time to do whatever I want to do
16	Equality	boys and girls to be equal
17		people from different races to be treated the same
18		to be equal to all my family members
19	Freedom from Exploitation	my parent(s) to worry less about money
20		to not worry about money
21		my parent(s) to be able to spend more money
22	Love and Care	to have a parent who loves me
23		to give happiness
24		to have people who care for me
25	Safety	to avoid drug dealers
26		to avoid bullies
27		to feel safe in school
28	Social Relations	to have someone to talk to
29		to be able to make friends
30		to be able to use Facebook or Instagram to connect with others
31	Leisure Activity	to play an instrument
32		to be able to play the sports I like
33		to go on vacations

Table 2 cont.

Card #	Capability	Statement [I WANT…]
34	Respect	to be respected by others
35		for people to respect my property
36		to respect people who have different opinions
37	Mental Well-Being	to have good self-esteem
38		to make good decisions
39		to be comfortable around people
40	Shelter	to live with someone who gives me food
41		to live with someone who keeps me clean
42		to have shelter
43	Participation	to have a chance to make a difference
44		to participate in politics
45		to be able to work

Part Two

Self-Reported Demographics of Q Sort Participants

Demographic information was provided by each participant at the beginning of

the session in which the Q sort was carried out. This information included age, gender,

grade level, race/ethnicity, parental education, one or two parent home, and number of

siblings (see Appendix G for demographics of all participants).

The participants' ages ranged from 9 to 14. Twenty-three participants were

female and 12 participants were male. As can be seen in Figure 2, which shows the age

distribution by gender, there were similar numbers of males and females at each age

except the youngest, which was all female.

Figure 2 – Age Distribution by Gender
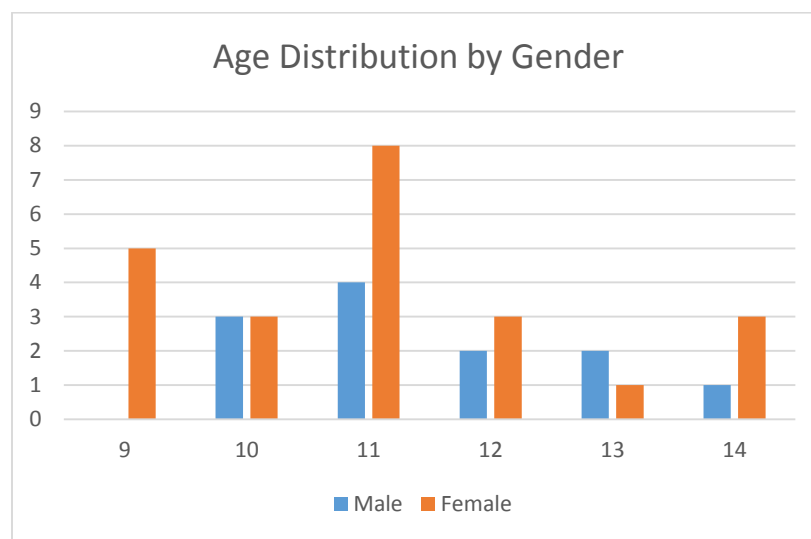
Fifteen participants were black, 19 participants were white, and one participant was Asian. Grade levels spanned from 4th to 9th grade. Fourteen participants came from a single parent household (mother as head of household) and 21 participants were raised by couples. All participants but one had siblings. Most had one (n=16) or two (n=13) siblings, but five had from three to four.

Participants were asked to identify for each of their parents the educational level the parent had achieved, with choices that included High-School Diploma, Associates Degree, Undergraduate Degree, and Graduate Degree; there was also a choice of "Not Known" (The latter choice was used mostly in cases in which fathers did not live with their children.) As can be seen in Figure 3, parental education levels (as reported by the participants) varied from high school to graduate degree, with little difference between parents, except as noted for the "Not Known" category. All parents were reported to have at least a high school diploma. (Note: The accuracy of these reports was not confirmed. Hence, the data reflect the child's understanding of the parents' education.)

Figure 3 – Educational Status of Parents
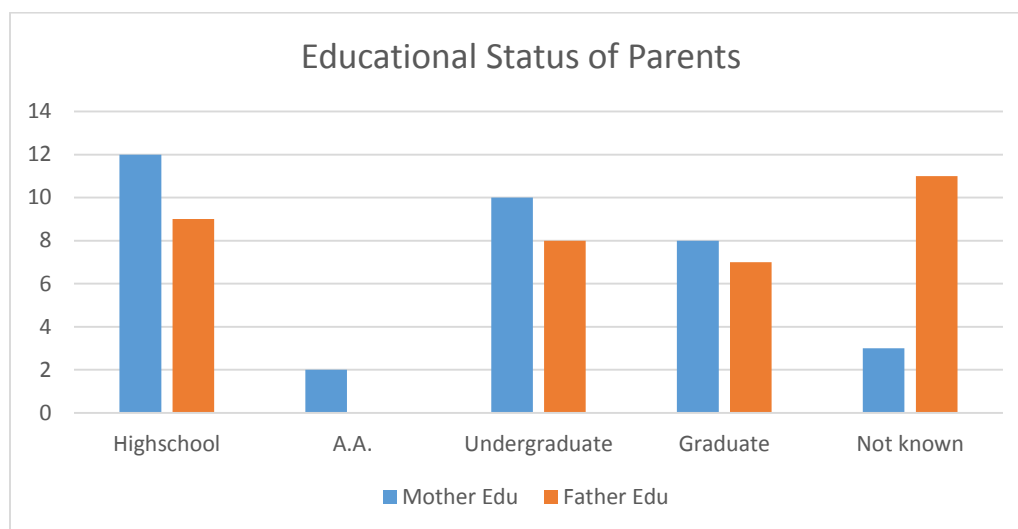
Normative Measures for Q Sort Participants

Information on socio-economic status of the Q sort participants based on information about the town in which they lived, was taken from 2010 Census data. For the purpose of this study, towns with poverty levels over 12% were considered low SES, towns with poverty levels between 8 and 11% were considered medium SES, and one town with a poverty level of 5.0% was considered high SES (see Table 3). As the data in Table 2 might suggest, there seems to be a relationship between single parenting, median household income, and percent of people living below poverty. These data were used to establish a socioeconomic status (SES) measure for each participant's neighborhood, based on where the participant lived. Using this measure, participants were evenly distributed across SES levels: low SES, n=11, medium SES, n=12, high SES, n=12 (see Appendix G for complete demographic data.)

Eight out of 14 participants in this study who had a single parent lived in a low SES neighborhood.

Table 3, Census Data (2010)

Town Code	No. of Family Households	Median Household Income	People below Poverty	Couples with Children	Man with Child(ren)	Woman with Child(ren)
A	4,212	**$41,411**	**19.1%**	12.6%	**3.5%**	**10.5%**
B	1,227	**$42,578**	**17.8%**	14.2%	**3.0%**	**9.3%**
C	7,185	**$48,542**	**16.9%**	15.6%	**3.0%**	**11.7%**
D	2,604	**$55,365**	**15.4%**	16.1%	**3.2%**	**11.0%**
E	376	$60,208	12.7%	11.7%	1.9%	5.2%
F	3,974	$62,158	12.4%	17.8%	1.8%	8.4%
G	8,287	$67,697	8.0%	17.4%	1.9%	7.9%
H	10,180	$69,716	8.1%	23.6%	2.6%	8.8%
I	75,824	$74,524	8.1%	24.9%	2.2%	6.3%
J	1,210	$79,107	8.1%	21.0%	3.0%	5.9%
K	7,435	$80,471	5.0%	24.6%	1.2%	4.1%

Additionally, for the participants who attended public schools, data was obtained from the NJ School Performance Report 2013-14 (State of New Jersey, 2015) to indicate how public schools performed on state standardized tests. As shown in Table 4, participants' schools varied from 6.8% economically disadvantaged (e.g. free or reduced priced lunch eligibility) to several schools with more than half of students eligible for free or reduced priced lunch. Schools with higher numbers of economically disadvantaged students also had more students with higher percentages in partial Math and Language Arts (LA) proficiencies, on average about one-third of all students of schools A, C, F, G were not proficient in those subjects

Table 4 – NJ School Performance Report 2013-2014

School Code	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	Economically Disadvantaged	Language Arts Advanced	Language Arts Proficiency	Language Arts Partial Proficiency	Math Advanced Proficiency	Math Proficiency	Math Partial Proficiency
Sch1	31.2%	52.4%	11.0%	3.6%	**56.7%**	1.0%	48.0%	**51.0%**	22.0%	43.0%	**34.0%**
Sch2	41.6%	17.4%	36.2%	4.3%	**56.4%**	8.0%	54.0%	**38.0%**	26.0%	44.0%	**30.0%**
Sch3	51.6%	30.8%	14.7%	1.8%	**54.6%**	1.0%	48.0%	**51.0%**	23.0%	38.0%	**39.0%**
Sch4	46.1%	37.4%	12.6%	1.9%	**52.4%**	3.0%	45.0%	**52.0%**	31.0%	41.0%	**28.0%**
Sch5	55.9%	26.9%	8.6%	4.1%	41.8%	3.0%	56.0%	41.0%	29.0%	47.0%	23.0%
Sch6	59.9%	29.3%	5.5%	3.6%	34.8%	5.0%	65.0%	30.0%	32.0%	46.0%	22.0%
Sch7	55.6%	33.7%	5.1%	4.6%	31.4%	18.0%	78.0%	4.0%	21.0%	69.0%	11.0%
Sch8	63.9%	11.4%	3.5%	19.5%	14.5%	18.0%	68.0%	14.0%	43.0%	41.0%	17.0%
Sch9	77.5%	7.3%	2.9%	10.9%	6.8%	8.0%	67.0%	24.0%	47.0%	38.0%	15.0%

Six participants were homeschooled and therefore no standardized test results were available. Five participants were attending Catholic schools, for which standardized test data is not publicly available.

Part Three

Q Sort Analysis

The data for the Q sort analysis consisted of the rankings by the 35 participants of the 45 statements in the Q sort. As noted in Part 1, these 45 statements were extracted from a larger concourse of statements about opportunities developed in discussions with children who were in the same age range and the same geographical area as that of the children who completed the Q sorts. The discussions were initially guided by Nussbaum's (1999) list of opportunities as revised by Biggeri et al. (2006). As the discussions developed, Biggeri's list was expanded by suggestions from the participants about other opportunities. For example, the opportunity "Equality" was added to Biggeri's list (see Chapter Three for a description of the concourse development). The complete set of the 45 statements is shown in Table 1 on page 75.

The ratings given to the statements (+5 to -5) by each participant were entered into the PQMethod 2.35 program (Schmolk, 2014) and also into a spreadsheet for analysis. These data were analyzed with the QPCA module of PQMethod, which does a principal components analysis to extract the major sources of common variance from among all the ratings. The principal components analysis is a standard procedure used with multivariate data. It proceeds sequentially, identifying first the factor that accounts for the largest portion of the variance in all the measures, then, with the influence of that factor removed, identifies the factor that accounts for the largest portion of the remaining

variance in all the measures, and so on, until the amount of variance accounted for and/or the number of factors extracted reach some designated number. One common convention is to stop extracting factors when the eigenvalue of the matrix produced by each stage of the analysis is less than 1 (see McKeown & Thomas, 2013, p. 53), but aside from this convention, selection of the number of factors to include is determined by considerations of how much additional variance is explained as more factors are included and how sensibly the identified factors can be interpreted (DiLeonardi & Curtis, 1988).

Once the identification of principal components is completed, it is often useful to rotate the solution in the factor space so that the identified components are more easily interpreted. The PQMethod offers a Varimax rotation, which is a standard procedure, or an individualized rotation in which the researcher chooses factors and amounts of rotation. The current analysis used the Varimax rotation, which "is trying to ensure that each Q sort defines, i.e. has a high factor loading in relation to, only *one* of the study factors" (Watts & Stenner, 2012, p. 125).

A preliminary analysis of the data using the factor analysis tools in SPSS found 10 factors with eigenvalues greater than 1. Eigenvalues can be used to determine how many factors will be used in the final analysis. According to DiLeornardi and Curtis (1988), "an eigenvalue is a mathematical property of a matrix that accounts for a certain proportion of a variance in it" (p. 146).

Figure 4 shows the scree plot from this analysis, depicting the eigenvalue as a function of the order of extraction of the components. This plot suggests there is one "inflection point" (where the slope of the line changes) between the first and second factor, and a second inflection point between the fifth and sixth factors.

Figure 4, Scree Plot
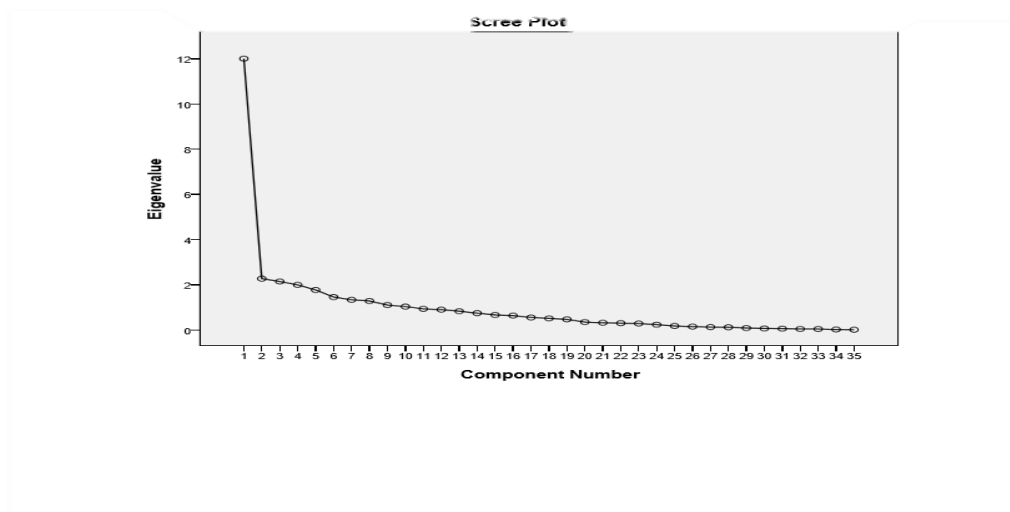
Accordingly, the first analysis with the QPCA module in PQMethod was chosen

as a 5-factor solution, which accounted for 57% of the variance, but examination of these

factors suggested that some of them might have been based on chance effects.

Consequently, the analysis was redone to seek a 3-factor solution. This solution only

accounted for 46% of the variance, but it produced a set of factors that were more readily

interpretable. Even with this 3-factor solution, the last factor was dominant for only a

handful of participants. Table 5 shows the amount of variance accounted for by each of

the 3 factors in the rotated solution from the principal components analysis.

Table 5 -   Eigenvalues Explained Variance and Cumulative Variance for the First Three
Factors

	Eigenvalue	% explained Variance	% Cumulative Variance
Factor 1	12.0023	34	34
Factor 2	2.2714	6	40
Factor 3	2.1437	6	46

Once factors have been rotated, the PQMethod analysis allows one to flag factors by associating specific participants with particular factors. This flagging makes it easier to group participants with similar profiles. As will be shown below, these groups provided a foundation for making sense of the Q sorts. The flags generated automatically by the PQMethod program associated 18 participants with Factor 1, 10 participants with Factor 2 and 3 participants with Factor 3.

The automatic flagging process in PQMethod simply identifies for each participant the factor on which the participant's Q sort has the highest correlation. This automatic process does not take into account of possible correlations between factors nor does it take account of cases in which two factors have similar loadings. Thus a follow-up analysis to identify the best participants to use for categorical decisions is often useful.

However, the analysis module of PQMethod showed that Factors 1 and 2 were moderately strongly correlated (Pearson $r = .61$), and inspection of the output of the flagging routine showed that a number of participants who were flagged on Factor 1, for example, also had a similar correlation on another factor. Consequently, a second stage of flagging was carried out in which only those participants who had a moderate correlation with a single factor, rather than with 2 or 3, were flagged.

The results of the second stage of analysis produced a set of defining sorts (see Table 6) which showed more independence among the factors, as can be seen in Table 7. Q sorts in red are the second-stage Q sort (after re-flagging) that were used to establish the dominant viewpoints. Q sorts in blue were the sorts that were initially flagged but then were not used to establish the factors because of some of their factor were more highly correlated with each other. However, after the factors were determined and

named, these sorts were used in Part 4 to enrich the analysis. Q sorts marked in yellow

either did not show consensus or displayed mixed loadings and therefore were not used as

defining sorts.

Table 6 - Factor Matrix with an X Indicating a Defining Sort

QSORT		Loadings		
		1	2	3
1	P1	0.4274	0.4729X	0.1251
2	P2	0.7187X	0.2966	0.1895
3	P3	0.5443X	0.0358	0.0289
4	P4	0.5904X	0.4942	-0.1367
5	P5	0.2133	0.4903X	0.3685
6	P6	0.5073X	0.4010	0.0877
7	P7	-0.0764	0.4568X	-0.1575
8	P8	0.5386	0.6002X	0.0036
9	P9	0.7046X	0.1311	0.2018
10	P10	0.7755X	-0.0728	-0.0956
11	P11	0.5455X	0.3204	0.2986
12	P12	0.5509X	0.2883	0.4461
13	P13	0.4037	0.3013	0.5724X
14	P14	-0.0874	0.2650	0.1356
15	P15	0.4572	0.3893	0.3708
16	P16	0.1600	0.4570X	0.0054
17	P17	0.3855X	0.3681	0.0448
18	P18	0.3062	0.6751X	0.0176
19	P19	0.0410	0.5087X	0.3229
20	P20	0.5275X	0.3578	0.1076
21	P21	0.5941X	0.3501	-0.1252
22	P22	0.3090	0.4288	0.3412

23	P23	-0.4360	-0.5030	-0.2983
24	P24	0.7147X	-0.0096	0.0852
25	P25	0.5720X	0.2174	-0.3024
26	P26	0.7508X	0.4488	0.0242
27	P27	0.2466	0.6280X	-0.0741
28	P28	0.0161	0.2828	-0.7733X
29	P29	0.2056	0.7887X	-0.0236
30	P30	-0.0677	0.0486	0.6665X
31	P31	0.5045X	0.0933	0.0219
32	P32	0.3764X	0.2902	0.1687
33	P33	0.3429	0.4643X	0.1881
34	P34	0.6440X	0.4104	0.0195
35	P35	0.7028X	0.0802	0.1987

Participants, who did not show consensus, participant 14 and participant 22 were a 13-year-old and a 10-year-old male, who both had trouble concentrating and needed to be reminded a few times to focus. Participants 15 and 23 (11-year-old females), on the other hand, were focused and delivered interesting conversations after the sort. Looking at their individual Q sort and interview notes, it appears both share certain opportunities, such as being loved by a parent, but are overall more deviant from the factor arrays (see Table 6 for factor arrays).

These flagged individuals were then submitted to the QANALYZE program of the PQMethod to extract a prototypical sort for those individuals who loaded on each factor. That is, the program generated for each statement in the concourse a score that indicated how characteristic or uncharacteristic the statement was of a prototypical

individual for a given factor. In the words of Schmolck (2014), "the central goal of the analysis consists in the creation of one idealized, *prototype sort* for each factor as the best possible, intrinsically coherent, representation of what is general in the individual views associated with the factor" (Schmolck, 2014, n.p.). These factor scores are expressed in *z*-scores (Appendices J-1, J-2, J-3).

In order to interpret the data in a meaningful way, PQMethod converts these *z*-scores into a factor array for each factor (See Table 7).

Table 7, Factor Q Sort Values for Each Statement - Factor Arrays

No. Statement	No.	1	2	3
1 believe in choice of religion	1	1	-1	1
2 learn about religions	2	-5	-4	-1
3 take ideas from different religions	3	0	-3	1
4 be able to eat good food	4	-1	3	-1
5 have enough food to eat	5	2	2	0
6 be able to go to doctor	6	4	-2	3
7 learn languages	7	-1	-2	3
8 study and do well in school	8	4	1	2
9 learn hard facts in school	9	-1	-1	3
10 be able to move to another neighborhood	10	-4	-1	-1
11 ride my bike to my friend's house	11	-4	-4	1
12 have a car as soon as I have driver's license	12	-3	0	3
13 have time to relax and unwind	13	-1	1	-4
14 time to play	14	-3	1	-2
15 time to do whatever I want to do	15	-3	2	-4
16 boys and girls to be equal	16	0	3	-3
17 people from different races to be treated the same	17	2	4	-2
18 be equal to all my family members	18	-2	2	1
19 my parents to worry less about money	19	1	-3	0
20 not worry about money	20	3	-2	2
21 my parents to be able to spend more money	21	-2	-3	0
22 have a parent who loves me	22	5	5	2
23 give happiness	23	0	2	0
24 have people who care for me	24	3	2	1
25 avoid drug dealers	25	1	4	-2
26 avoid bullies	26	0	-2	-3
27 feel safe in school	27	2	0	4

28	have someone to talk to	28	1	0	-1
29	be able to make friends	29	-1	3	-1
30	be able to use Facebook or Instagram to connect	30	-2	-4	-4
31	play an instrument	31	-4	-3	5
32	be able to play sports I like	32	-2	1	-5
33	go on vacations	33	-2	0	1
34	be respected by others	34	3	0	-1
35	people to respect my property	35	1	-1	2
36	respect people who have different opinions	36	1	0	-1
37	have good self-esteem	37	2	1	-3
38	make good decisions	38	2	4	0
39	to be comfortable around people	39	0	-2	-2
40	live with someone who gives me food	40	0	1	2
41	live with someone who keeps me clean	41	-3	-1	4
42	have shelter	42	4	3	-2
43	have a chance to make a difference	43	3	-1	-3
44	participate in politics	44	-1	-5	0
45	be able to work	45	0	0	4

Watts and Stenner (2012) explained that "a factor array is, in fact, no more or less than *a single Q sort configured to represent the viewpoint of a particular factor"* (p. 140). Study participants were asked to rate each item in a Q sort against all other items (by ranking them from +5 to -5), ending with a picture of their viewpoints. Similarly, Watts and Stenner (2012) argue, factors are viewpoints which should be represented as whole in a single Q sort. However, they note that these factor-exemplifying Q sorts are not completely accurate because it is unlikely that one Q sort loads 100% on a factor and therefore shares the exact factor viewpoint. Thus, this factor array is an approximation of

a factor-exemplifying Q sort. As noted above, reassigning the flags by eliminating sorts in which factors were highly correlated helped distinguish the factors in a more meaningful way.[1] (See Table 8 for correlations between factors.)

Table 8 - Correlations Between Factor Scores

	1	2	3
1	1.0000	0.4103	0.0233
2	0.4103	1.0000	-0.1723
3	0.0233	-0.1723	1.0000

The factor arrays were then used to establish "cribsheets" for each factor. This method was taken from Watts and Stenner (2012) who pointed to the holistic quality of Q methodology whereby items are ranked in relation to each other, forming a picture of a "single, gestalt configuration" (p.148). Therefore, they argued that one needs to look not only at the anchors (in this study +5, +4 and -5, -4) but also at items in the middle of the distribution in order to get a complete picture of the factor. The crib sheet contains information on the anchors, as well as information on items that ranked higher and lower in in one factor array as opposed to the others. Establishing this crib sheet for each factor array sheds light on items in the mid-range that might be important for interpreting the factors (see Appendix K for factor crib sheets). Furthermore, Watts and Stenner (2012) encouraged the researcher to look a second time at the factor arrays to explore any additional information that might seem of importance. Then, demographics as well as post-interviews can be used to explore each factor.

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[1] Dr. Brown, personal communication, April 24, 2015

Figure 5 is a visual display of the three groups selected by this flagging process using a color-coded Q sort map. Each participant is represented by one row of the map, and each statement in the concourse is represented by a column of the map. Looking across the color-coded rows, one can see differences among the factors. The following section elaborates on each factor separately.

Figure 5, Q Sort Map of 3 Factors
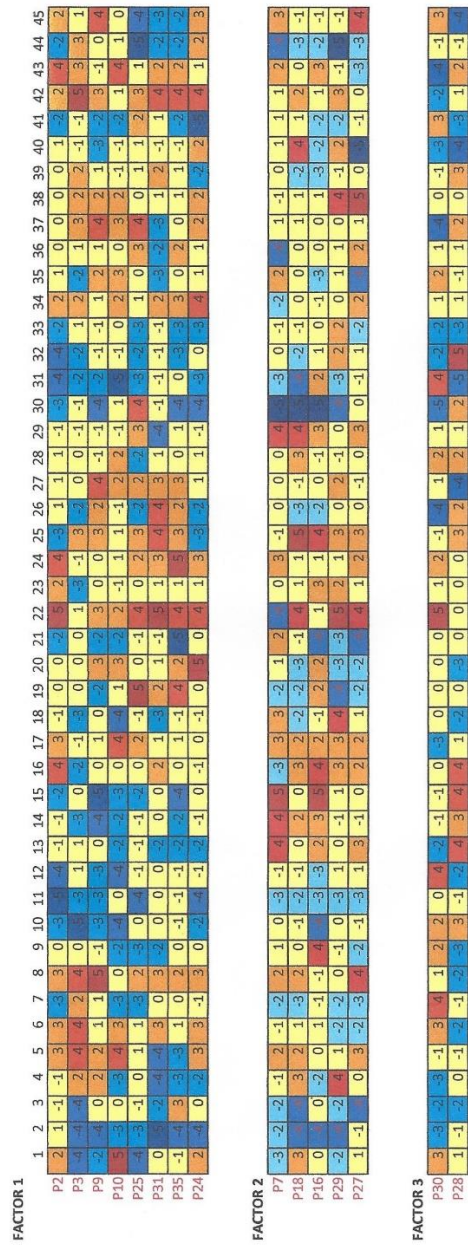
Factors

Q factors "provide windows into the thinking of social segments" (Brown, 2005, p. 202).

At the beginning of the Q sort, participants were asked to sort the statements in order of importance; that is, which of the opportunities they valued the most to the ones they valued the least. It was emphasized to only consider their own opinion and their own lives, as opposed what their parents might think or what might be valuable for other children. Q factor analysis of the 35 Q sorts revealed three factors corresponding to "subgroups of people who tend to answer in similar ways" (Brown, 2005, p. 201). The three factors, named "Sociality and Security," "Equality and Freedom of Choice," and "Basic Living and Learning," are described in the following section.

Factor 1 – Sociality and Security

In the first PQMethod data output, 18 participants scored high on Factor 1. However, because Factor 1 was highly correlated with Factor 2, participants with a lower correlation between factors were flagged and the data was re-analyzed. In this re-analysis, Factor 1 included eight participants, who covered the full age range of the cohort from 9 to 14 years old. Seven participants were female, of whom four were black and three were white. The male participant was white. Two participants lived in a high SES neighborhood, one in a medium SES neighborhood, and five in a low SES neighborhood. Two participants were attending private schools and the remaining six were attending public schools (see Table 9 for demographic profile of Factor 1).

Table 9, Factor 1 - Participant Demographics

Participant #	Age	Gender M=male F=female	Race	SES	1 or 2 Parents at home	Education Mother	Education Father	School	School Code *	Grade
3	11	M	White	High	2	Grad	Grad	Public	Sch8	7
2	12	F	White	High	2	Undergrad	Grad	Public	Sch8	7
25	14	F	White	Medium	2	High School	HS	Private	N/A	9
35	11	F	White	Low	1	High School	High School	Private	N/A	6
9	10	F	Black	Low	1	Undergrad	High School	Public	Sch5	5
10	14	F	Black	Low	1	Undergrad	High School	Public	Sch7	9
24	9	F	Black	Low	1	High School	Unknown	Public	Sch6	4
31	11	F	Black	Low	1	High School	Unknown	Public	Sch2	6

*see Table 4 for 2013/14 NJ School Performance Scores

Table 10 shows the four most important and the four least important opportunities in the prototypical Q sort for Factor 1 (see Appendix J-1 for Factor 1 *z*-scores for a complete list). Combined with information from the interviews, these statements provide a provisional understanding of this factor. Security, financial or otherwise, and sociality were the main themes in Factor 1 and were mentioned by several participants in the interviews following the Q sort.

Table 10 – *Z*-scores for Factor 1 (Four highest, four lowest statements)

Statement #	Statement	Z-score
22	Have a parent who loves me	1.964
42	Have shelter	1.688
8	Study and do well in school	1.449
6	Be able to go to the doctor	1.335
11	Ride my bike to my friend's house	-1.400
10	Be able to move to another neighborhood	-1.402
31	Play an instrument	-1.574
2	Learn about religions	-1.730

The highest ranked item in Factor 1, "to have a parent who loves me" (+5) was shared with Factor 2. In Factor 1, however, this pointed toward sociality and security, as interviews revealed that this love was connected to avoiding loneliness and enhancing self-esteem. Therefore, that parental love provided an important anchor in their daily lives. As one participant emphasized, "If no one likes you, you won't be happy, and you are not alone when you have a family," or in the words of another participant, "Your heart would be broken if you wouldn't have a family." Furthermore, participants also

ranked "to have people who care for me" higher in Factor 1 as compared to the other factors. As will be discussed further in the next section, among participants who scored high on Factor 2, the importance of "to have a parent who loves me" was described as part of the love they felt for their parents as well as part of an accepted role that parents play in their lives.

In Factor 1, statements such as "to be able to go to the doctor," "to study and do well in school," and "to have shelter" were ranked highly. Items that ranked higher in Factor 1 than in other factors were, for example, "to not worry about money," "to avoid bullies," "to have people who care for me," and "to be respected by others". Items that ranked lower in Factor 1 than in other factors were, for example, "to go on vacations," "to be equal to all my family members," and "to have a car as soon as I have a driver's license" (see Appendix K for Cribsheet-Factor 1 for a complete description).

For example, one participant from a low SES neighborhood mentioned that she wishes her mom would worry less about money. She felt she had to beg every time they went shopping in order to get something she likes. There were clearly some financial problems as the participant indicated: "My mom should have more money for food." This was echoed by a participant from a medium SES neighborhood who reported that her parents stress over money, particularly when her younger brother has wishes that they cannot fulfill. Another participant from a low SES neighborhood lived with her mother and 3 siblings. Her father was in jail, a situation that possibly added to some financial hardship.

Some of the participants had experiences with bullies in school and remarked that "it is important to feel safe in school." These incidents were third-person experiences in

which bullying incidents, such as "this boy was making fun of a short girl," were observed. School shootings were also mentioned when school safety was discussed. It seemed that the participants overall felt safe in school. However, some participants were somewhat fatalistically reporting that school shootings have happened and can happen again. Several participants elaborated on how to react when witnessing bullying or when one is a victim of bullying. For example, one should tell other people of the incident in order to get help and support.

One participant described the discrimination she experienced at her public school. She attended a "mixed school" in which she felt everybody was discriminating against everybody else. She was very bothered by this fact and said that everybody should be the same.

"To be respected," "to have self-esteem," and "to be comfortable around people," which could be viewed as protective factors against being bullied, were also important opportunities discussed by the participants. One participant stated that "it is important to treat others how you want to be treated." Another participant said that while she enjoyed playing her instrument it was not as important as having self-esteem. She liked music, yet she did not view it as a necessity as compared to other things, such as food and shelter. However, she explained that self-esteem was needed when someone played an instrument in front of people; or, in the words of another participant, "You have to be proud of who you are."

Shelter was important to a participant from high SES because he did not want to be in a position in which he would have to live on the streets, being exposed to snow. He also remarked that he viewed health as an important opportunity and he recognized that

to keep healthy, one needs health insurance (or in his words: "I want health insurance if I have pneumonia"). This sentiment was echoed by another participant, as she stated that if one has problems or sick, one should be able to go to the doctor.

Participants in this group, when asked about their future job aspirations, gave answers like the following: Go to [a good] college, veterinarian, gynecologist, and police officer (and lion rescuer). They recognized that school - in particular, doing well in school - played a part in their aspirations. One participant was focused on getting her grades up because she thought she might want to attend college one day. Another participant focused more on keeping his grades up because he was sure he wanted to attend an Ivy League university. He added that the ultimate outcome of a college education would be "getting a good job." Nevertheless, one participant, who wanted to become a doctor, mentioned that while "doing good at school is a big deal," at the same time you can get by with less.

Participants also mentioned how they would like to make a difference in the world. One participant thought that if she (and her generation) would be able to vote, she might make a difference, whereas another participant stated that being able to make a difference is important, because "it affects everything." The latter participant was very intent on the fact that "everyone deserves a chance to be happy." When asked what it meant to her to be happy, she answered, "To feel good about yourself and to be inspired to do good things."

Items in Factor 1 that played a lesser role or were rated as less important than others were of a more practical nature or indicated opportunities that were already present. For example, "to learn about religions" ranked at -5. The interviews revealed

that these children either were already immersed in religion or they were professed atheists. For example, several participants stated that they grew up with one religion and that they enjoy the religion they are practicing. Learning about religion (or about atheism) in these instances was not viewed as an opportunity, but as part of their upbringing.

Similarly, "to move to another neighborhood" was rated less important. Participants from all SESs declared they were happy where they lived, which was partially motivated by the fact that most had friends in the neighborhood. This also confirms sociality (having friends and neighbors) as well as security because knowing one's surroundings might give a sense of safety. On a more practical side, items such as "to play an instrument," "to ride my bike to my friend's house," and "to live with someone who keeps me clean" were also viewed as either part of their daily lives or unnecessary opportunities. For example, participants either walked or were driven by their parents.

Almost all participants currently played or had played an instrument, predominately inspired by schools and they while they enjoyed being part of a band or an orchestra, it was also just another school routine. "To go on vacation" was also an opportunity of lesser importance for this factor as compared to the other factors. However, this was due different reasoning among participants. For some, vacations were part of their lives, traveling from Disney World to the Caribbean to Europe. Others had not experienced vacations but did not assess taking a vacation as a valuable experience as opposed to other opportunities.

Factor 2 – Equality and Freedom of Choice

   In the first PQMethod data output, nine participants scored high on Factor 2. As mentioned previously, factors were re-flagged and the data was re-analyzed. In this re-analysis, Factor 2 included five participants. The five participants covered an age range from 9 to 12 years old. Four participants were male, of which three were identified as white and one as Asian. The female participant was white. Four participants lived in a high SES neighborhood and one participant lived in a medium SES neighborhood. Two participants were home-schooled and the remaining three attended public schools. (See Table 11 for demographic profile of Factor 2).

Table 11   Factor 2 - Participant Demographics

Participant #	Age	Gender M=male F=female	Race	SES	1 or 2 Parents at home	Education Mother	Education Father	School	School Code*	Grade
16	9	F	White	High	2	Undergrad	Grad	Home	N/A	5
7	12	M	Asian	High	2	Grad	Grad	Public	Sch8	8
27	11	M	White	High	1	Grad	Grad	Public	Sch8	6
29	10	M	White	High	2	Grad	Undergrad	Public	Sch9	5
18	12	M	White	Medium	2	High School	Unknown	Home	N/A	6

*see Table 3 for 2013/14 NJ School Performance Scores

Table 12 shows the four highest ranked and four lowest ranked items in Factor 2 (see Appendix J-2 for Factor 2 z-scores for a complete list). Consideration of these statements and the associated interviews suggest that Factor 2 reflects the opportunities of equality and freedom of choice.

Table 12, Z-Scores for Factor 2

Statement #	Statement	Z-score
22	Have a parent who loves me	1.756
25	Avoid drug dealers	1.706
38	Make good decisions	1.456
17	People from different races to be treated the same	1.351
11	Ride my bike to my friend's house	-1.510
2	Learn about religions	-1.756
30	Be able to use Facebook or Instagram to connect	-2.004
44	Participate in politics	-2.044

In Factor 2, as was noted in describing Factor 1, "to have a parent who loves me" was the highest ranked statement. In Factor 2, however, parental love seemed not always be equated with happiness. Some participants had more a matter-of-fact attitude instead. They looked up to their fathers ("I want to do IT when I grow up just like my dad") but at the same time revealed some anxieties, discontent, and a feeling of powerlessness. For example, one participant disclosed that he found his father to be very strict and he did not like that his father would come home from work and yell at him and his sister. This participant was home-schooled by his mother. Another participant was unhappy that his

father was very strict and made him study even during summer vacations, "He makes me do stuff in the summer but I just want to relax. He wants me to do next year's math."

The statement about "to have a parent who loves me" was followed by statements such as "to avoid drug dealers" and "to make good decisions". Items that ranked higher in Factor 2 than in other factors were, for example, "to have time to relax and unwind," "to be able to make friends," and "to be equal to all my family members." Items that ranked lower in Factor 2 than in other factors were, for example, "to study and do well in school,, "to not worry about money," and "to feel safe in school" (see Appendix K for Cribsheet-Factor 2 for a complete description).

One participant expressed that in his family all members were equal. When questioned on the issue of equality, since it seemed his father made the decisions over his free time (i.e., he was enrolled in Karate even though he had no interest in that sport), his answer was that they are equal as humans but not in decision-making processes. This participant felt constrained by his parents, so much so, that he thought he would do even better in school if they would lay off him. He thought he was self-motivated enough and any added pressure would result in more stress for him.

Decision making ("to make good decisions") ranked at +4 in Factor 2 and came up as a point of discussion in several conversations. While the above participant was yearning to have more agency in decision-making situations, another participant stated that he was "bad in making decisions" as he had a difficult time making up his mind. He recognized that the decisions one makes can affect one's life and there are always pros and cons to consider.

Decision-making abilities played also a role in statements regarding time

autonomy. "Time to relax and unwind," "time to play," and "time to do whatever I want to do" were higher ranked in Factor 2 than in the other factors. When one participant was asked what he would do if he had more time to relax, he answered he would feel less stressed and less pressured. Another participant also felt stressed because of the time he needed for studying and because he was unsure of what to expect from some of the tests in middle school. He said that his mother always pushed him and her expectations for him were high. The female participant, who was homeschooled, was less concerned with free time, as her parents afforded her ample time to play and follow her ambitions (at the time of the Q sort she was writing her second novel – with her first one already having been published). However, she did not like traveling and admitted to being scared by it. Her free time was mainly spent in and around her neighborhood in which she felt safe.

Statements reflecting "Equality" were also important to Factor 2. "People from different races to be treated the same" was ranked +4, and "boys and girls to be treated equal" as well as "to be equal to all my family members" were higher ranked in Factor 2 than in the other two factors. Some of the wish for more equality seemed to stem from the constraints some children were under and related to the inability to make decisions because of parental attitudes.

Discrimination as a topic came up with the Asian participant who noted that he had never been bullied but some of his friends would tease him from time to time. The other participants were white and talked about racial equality in terms of discriminatory practices against races other than white. For example, one white 10-year-old participant noted that people from other races are not treated the same as white people. He felt that was "not right."

Similarly, all but one participant had never had any exposure to drugs or drug dealers. However, "to avoid drug dealers" was rated at +4. One participant declared drugs to be bad because one could become addicted to them. Another one gave what he called the best advice he had ever gotten in baseball practice: "Stay away from drugs because they can ruin your career." Drugs were considered unhealthy and a bad influence. The only participant, a white 12-year-old, home-schooled male from a medium SES neighborhood, who disclosed to have had some exposure to drugs because of a relative who used and sold drugs, rated "to avoid drug dealers" as +5 on his Q sort.

Factor 2 shared with Factor 1 an indifference toward religion as an opportunity. "To take ideas from different religions" was ranked lower in Factor 2 as opposed to the other factors and "to learn about religions" was ranked at -4. As mentioned in Factor 1, religion was part of their daily lives. Even though one participant stated that he was "not super-religious," he still attended Hebrew school and prepared for his Bar-Mitzvah. For the Asian participant religion was a topic he never questioned because he just accepted his parents' guidance. When asked if he thought indoctrinating children with a particular religion was an acceptable practice, he commented that he did not think that was the right thing to do, but he felt resigned that he had no choice in this matter.

The homeschooled female participant stated that her parents were from different faiths and they celebrated only a few holidays. The parents left it up to her and her sister to decide whether they wanted to follow a religion or not. At the point in time of the interview, she had decided that religion was not important to her.

Since these participants came from high and medium SES neighborhoods, money was not viewed as an important opportunity. Statements such as "my parents to worry

less about money" and "to not worry about money" were ranked lower in the Factor 2 array than in the other arrays. Similarly, "to be able to go to the doctor" and "to study and do well in school" was ranked lower than in other factor arrays. All participants in this cohort had at least one professional parent and therefore probably access to health insurance and doctors.

Doing well in school was not of importance to the two home-schooled participants since they were not attending a traditional school system; the three public school participants were already high achieving students who reported good grades and who had parents who enforced academic success. Thus, these three participants did not assess educational success as an immediate opportunity. However, two participants noted that they would need to sustain their current educational standing because they wanted to go to elite post-secondary schools, such as Stanford. Aspirations for future jobs were neurosurgeon, lawyer, writer, and business owner (taking over father's business) for the participant from the high SES neighborhoods. The participant from the medium SES neighborhood wanted to become an IT expert.

While *Equality and Freedom of Choice* were defining for this factor, the ability to participate in politics was ranked in the factor array as -5 which might seem somewhat of a contradiction in terms of this groups wish for agency. The two youngest participants (both 9 years old) noted that politics was not important to them and they were not interested in being able to vote. One of the 9-year-olds felt, for now, her parents were her voice in politics. Another participant seemed somewhat resigned when he stated, "Nothing is going to change if I get involved."

Factor 3 – Basic Living and Learning

In the first PQMethod data output, three participants scored high on Factor 3. As already mentioned, factors were re-flagged and the data was re-analyzed. In the re-analysis, Factor 3 included two participants. Factor 3 was a bi-polar factor defined by a positive and a negative loading (see Watts and Stenner, 2012, p. 133). Thus, the two participants had polar opposite views to each other. Since this factor is only defined by two participants, one of whom loaded negatively on it, the participants will be described separately instead of comparing each demographic. In order to make the following narrative more readable, the first, positively factor-loading participant will be denoted participant A. and the second, negatively factor-loading participant will be denoted participant Z. (see Table 13 for demographic profile of Factor 3).

Table 13, Factor 3 - Participant Demographics

Participant #	Age	Gender M=male F=female	Race	SES	1 or 2 Parents at home	Education Mother	Education Father	School	School Code*	Grade
28	12	F	White	High	2	Grad	Undergrad	Public	Sch8	7
30	11	F	Black	Low	1	Unknown	Unknown	Public	Sch1	6

*see Table 3 for 2013/14 NJ School Performance Scores

Table 14 shows the four highest ranked and four lowest ranked items in Factor 3 (see Appendix J-3 for Factor 3 z-scores for a complete list). Consideration of these statements and the associated interviews suggest that Factor 3 reflects the opportunities of basic needs and education.

Table 14, *Z-Scores for Factor*

Statement #	Statement	Z-score
31	Play an instrument	2.224
45	Be able to work	1.742
41	Live with someone who keeps me clean	1.445
27	Feel safe in school	1.372
15	Time to do whatever I want to do	-1.372
30	Be able to use Facebook or Instagram to connect	-1.519
13	Have time to relax and unwind	-1.557
32	Be able to play the sports I like	-1.854

Participant A., who loaded positively on Factor 3, was an 11-year-old black female who lived with her mother and 3 siblings. She resided in a low SES neighborhood and attended a low performing school with a high number of economically disadvantaged students (School F – see Table 4, p. 80). Participant Z., who loaded negatively on this factor, was a 12-year-old white female who lived with both of her parents and had one sibling. She resided in a high SES neighborhood and attended a high performing school (School D – see Table 4, p.80).

Keeping the polarity of Factor 3 in mind, "to play an instrument" was the highest ranked statement in the factor array (+5), followed by statements such as "to feel safe in school," "to live with someone who keeps me clean," and "to be able to work" (see

Appendix K - crib sheet for Factor 3).

Opposite to these high-ranking statements were "be able to play the sports I like" (-5), time autonomy statements, such as "time to relax and unwind" and "time to do whatever I want to do". Both participants felt leisure activities were important; however, it depended on the type of leisure. While the participant A. wanted to learn the flute, participant Z. said she had no desire at all to learn an instrument, as she had learned an instrument in the past and found it boring. Instead she would prefer to play sports and to be a cheerleader. She explained, "This is how I was raised." Her younger brother was also heavily involved in sports, so much so that his goal was to become a professional soccer player. Sports took up a big part of her life. She complained that she went to practice soccer and cheerleading every afternoon or evening during the week, which left her little time for her school work.

In fact, education statements, such as "to learn languages" and "to learn hard facts in school" were items that ranked higher in Factor 3 than in the other two factors. Participant A. was unsure of what she wanted to be when she grew up; however, she was aware of the importance of school and reported to have mostly As on her report card. She also placed an emphasis on "to be able to work". She did not know her parents' educational status but reported that both were unemployed. At the time of the Q sort she was fairly upset. Her parents were unable to pay the gas bill and they had informed her that they were moving the next day to another town far away from her current neighborhood.

Participant Z., on the other hand, had lived for several years at the West Coast before moving to New Jersey and mused if her parents should move back there because

she liked it there very much. She was already sure she wanted to move to a neighboring town because she had a lot of friends there.

When asked what she wanted to be when she was grown up, she said (with a chuckle) "I want to get paid to exist. But I can't do that." Her grades were "middle of the road." She had no real interest in school and felt that learning hard facts was not very important. At the time of the Q sort, her mother was pursuing a Ph.D. degree and her father was a business owner. She was unsure if she wanted to attend college. She wondered if perhaps she could be a therapist or lawyer but recognized that she would not want to go to college for a long time.

Time autonomy was of little importance to participant A. "Time to relax" and "time to do whatever I want to do" ranked at -4 in the factor array. Participant Z. said that her mother was always after her either go to sports practice or do school work. She was yearning for evenings when she could come home and relax.

Mobility was of higher importance to participant A. than to participant Z. In fact, "to ride my bike to my friend's house" and "to have a car as soon as I have a driver's license" ranked higher in the factor 3 array than in the others. Participant A. felt more constrained in her mobility because she had to rely on the willingness of her mother to drive her, which seemed not always readily available. Also, she saw a car as a necessity in later life in order to get to and from work. Participant Z. was less concerned as her mother and father drove her or parents of other children were part of a shuttle system, in which they would alternate in driving duties.

Both participants were actively engaged in religion and went to religious services with their families. However, participant Z. viewed religion as more of a cultural duty to

satisfy her family's wishes, whereas participant A. was interested "to learn about religions" and "to take ideas from different religions," both items ranking higher on Factor 2 than in the other factors. She did not elaborate on her religiosity, but she indicated that it was the learning aspect that was interesting to her.

Basic safety ("to feel safe in school") and basic living requirements, such as "to live with someone who keeps me clean" and "to be able to work," were ranked +4 in the factor array. Participant A.'s living circumstance seemed to be more economically dismal as compared to participant Z. Participant A. lived with unemployed parents who could not afford to pay bills in a low SES town, while attending a school that performed poorly and had more than half of economically disadvantaged students. Therefore, her focus was on day-to-day survival as well as hope for betterment in the future. Education was part of her path to improvement. Participant Z., on the other hand, lived in a large home with both parents receiving an income. She expressed no concerns about her financial circumstances.

Part Four

Participants' Views on Capabilities, Aspirations, and Methodology

Part 4 explores the three viewpoints found in the study by adding some of the thoughts expressed by all the participants who initially also were flagged but had a higher correlation between some of their factors. Furthermore, this part of the analysis looks at the three segments of the capability approach, which are opportunities, functionings (their actual doings and beings), and agency and how they were expressed by the participants' viewpoints.

Capabilities. Participants held several of the same beliefs in terms of their views on their opportunities, as expressed in the three extracted factors: *Sociality and Security Factor* (1), *Equality and Freedom of Choice* (Factor 2), and *Basic Living and Learning* (Factor 3).

Sociality and Security were expressed in terms of family and neighborhood in Factor 1, which was indicative of love, happiness, caring, and a safe haven. It seems that participants viewed this as their safe basis out of which they were able to operate. They recognized that family provides an important support system, one that not every child enjoys, as several participants remarked. "It's inspirational to have a parent who loves me, you feel happy, and if you are happy, you can make the best out of the situation" was one participant's assessment of parental love, adding that everyone deserves a chance to be happy. Another participant explained the importance of parental love as a function of happiness and sociality, "You need someone to love you. When people don't love you, then you are not happy. And when you are not happy, people start not liking you. Because when you are not happy, sometimes you are not nice." One participant who grew up with her mother and grandmother, stated that "you don't want a parent who doesn't love you, who treats you like you are nothing." She explained that when the children grow, they will do the same thing to other people. Instead, she said, "you want a parent who shows you the right way, tells you what is right and what is bad. Someone who just cares for you a lot, instead of telling you you are stupid and you are nothing."

Being integrated safely in a social community was viewed as both an opportunity (with the recognition that not everyone enjoys such an opportunity) and a functioning as many participants reported they enjoyed their parental love. Also, most participants were

content with their neighborhoods, regardless of SES. Participants felt safe in their

neighborhood, often had friends and family members nearby, and expressed that they

liked their neighbors. Thus, moving to another neighborhood was rarely considered (and

if it was, a possible move was only into a neighboring town).

Furthermore, for this group, agency seemed only important in terms of making a

difference in the world, and it often seemed to be difficult for the participants to explain

what this meant to them. Generally, it was a more future adult opportunity, as one female

participant wanted to become a nurse and help people. One 12-year-old male participant

stated that it is important to make a difference because otherwise one will not be

remembered. To him, having the chance to make a difference was equal to the legacy

one might leave. Most participants were not very interested in politics and deferred to

their parents as decision-makers in terms of the bigger decisions, such as voting for the

president of the United States of America.

It seemed that this group, regardless of differing demographics was nestled safely

in their community, and felt well-taken care of, with the capability of Love and Care in

place as a functioning, and with the capability of Mental-Wellbeing as an acknowledged

necessary opportunity to be happy. Considering the participants' ages (9 to 14), mental

well-being was an important capability. For example, one participant reported that an 8th

grader in his school had committed suicide. According to the CDC (2015), in 2012

suicide ranked third in the leading causes of death for young people ages 10-14.

While the views in Factor 1 revolved about family, friends, and security, views in

Factor 2 also recognized parental love as important. However, in this view, parental love

was seen more as an opportunity to have a parent who is less critical, less pushy, and less

demanding. These participants felt loved by their parents, but it seemed at times parental love was constricting and exhausting and they wished for more free time. The capability of Time Autonomy was important as this was something these participants did not currently have available. Some participants felt they needed some time to unwind and de-stress from daily demands from school and after-school activities while others thought less pressure from their parents would actually make them do better in school. Some participants also felt restricted by their parents in other ways.

Two participants reported that their mothers would not let them go to friends' houses on their own because their mothers were worried that they would be kidnapped. Perhaps not surprisingly, the capability of Equality was similarly important to this group. It seemed by wanting "to make good decisions" and by being equal between genders, races, and within families would alleviate some of the feelings of being treated unjustly or too strictly and would give them more freedom to make their own choices about their lives. Having autonomy over their time, being able to make decisions, and being equal partners were views that made this group of participants more desiring of having agency in an adult ruled environment.

Participants in Factor 3, *Basic Living and Learning,* were divided by social class and race. Participant 13 who had originally been flagged in Factor 3 (see Table 5) was a 13-year-old black female who lived in a medium SES neighborhood with her mother and two siblings. Comparable to participant A., who also lived with her mother and siblings, this participant valued education as an opportunity to overcome circumstances. She also viewed "to play an instrument" as a valued opportunity as she was actively involved in the school's marching band. For her, as opposed to participant A., playing an instrument

was already a functioning, as her mother afforded her an instrument. However, she viewed it also as an opportunity to make her a well-rounded person. In her case, her mother had to struggle financially, however, she tried to afford her children as much as possible in terms of after-school activities. This participant also thought that basic needs such as having enough to eat, being able to go a doctor, and to be able to work were important opportunities to have. As she said, "You have to study in school, so you can make some money and not be broke."

Participant Z., who loaded negatively on Factor 3, was from a high SES neighborhood and displayed very little sense of opportunities. Instead, living in a high SES neighborhood, with a family that was able to afford her material things, she did not have to consider basic needs for herself. Neither participant knew what she wanted to be when she grew up, however, participant Z. had little concern about her future. What were desired, but not necessarily available opportunities for participant A. were opportunities that were potentially available but not necessarily desirable for participant Z.

Aspirations. As Hart (2012) noted, "not all aspirations are converted into capabilities and fewer still are realized as functionings, immediately or at all" (p. 80). However, having the ability to aspire may be an important step in developing opportunities for oneself. While this study did not explore aspirations in depth, participants were asked after the Q sort if they knew what they would like to do after they finished school.

Twenty-five out of 35 participants had an idea of what they wanted do after high school. Author, artist, musician, actress, teacher as well as lawyer, veterinarian,

gynecologist, nurse, doctor (pediatrician, neurosurgeon), police officer, army, and athletes (for example, soccer player, gymnast, and basketball player) covered the span of answers. Some of the 10 participants, who were unsure about what to do after graduating high school, were considering to go to college or university. Neither gender, SES, age nor race seemed to be a factor in not having a professional goal at this point in their lives since the demographic data for this group varied.

Methodology. Before the actual sorting of the cards, all participants were asked to explain what the term *opportunity* meant to them. Answers were similar to the ones in Part 1 of this section and the term needed no further clarification. Some children read the cards aloud while pre-sorting and during the distribution, while others read them silently. None of the children had difficulties with reading. All were encouraged to asked questions if they did not understand any of the statements. Two items that needed to be clarified on a few occasions were "self-esteem" and "to participate in politics." In these instances, participants were encouraged to come up with a definition or to give an example. Self-esteem was explained as being like self-confidence and "to think well of yourself." Participation in politics was explained with examples, such as being able to vote for the next president of the United States.

All but two participants pre-sorted into three stacks (important, somewhat important/not so important, and not important at all). The pre-sort was suggested to the participant but not made a requirement. The two participants who sorted the cards immediately did so without hesitation but seemed to rearrange cards more after they were laid out. Participants remarked that the task was clear; however, one participant recognized that the importance of some cards seemed to change and thus he needed to

rearrange a few cards. Most participants rearranged during the sorting and after the sort was laid out, several also rearranged a few more cards. Even when participants admitted they had a hard time making decisions during the distribution of the statement cards, some participants would point out that looking at the cards once the sort was done was somewhat like looking at themselves. Clearly, having the sorted card as a visual aid helped stimulate the interviews after the sort by "giving a picture" of their opinions.

This visual display of the views held by the participant was perhaps the most striking feature of the Q sort. The visualization not only helped spark the conversation after the sort but also anchored the conversation. Furthermore, as compared to a survey, the statements stayed in front of the participant in an uncluttered way with clear poles of their views. In some cases, the participant or the researcher pointed out how at times similar cards would be near each other. This served as an added stimulus for reflection and discussion.

None of the participants had prior experience with a research study. Participants remarked that they enjoyed thinking about the statements and what they meant to them. Overall, participants were enthusiastic about the research experience in a variety of ways. I was asked several times at the end of a Q sort session if either the participant could do a sort again one day or if the participant could come to visit the university and learn more about the research. Many expressed their gratitude having been part of this experience. The usability and efficiency of this methodology will be discussed in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER FIVE – IMPLICATIONS and FUTURE DIRECTIONS

"The point is that if we are to have a rich and full life in which we are to share and play their parts, if the American dream is to be a reality, our communal spiritual and intellectual life must be distinctly higher than elsewhere, where classes and groups have their separate interests, habits, markets, arts, and lives" (Adams, 1931, p. 411).

Introduction

The goal of this investigation was two-fold: It was designed to provide a baseline study of children's views of which opportunities they value in order to understand from a child-centered perspective what kinds of activities and initiatives encourage children's well-being; and it was designed to create a new measure of capabilities that gives children a participatory role in the research process while allowing for individual evaluations. This new measure offers an innovative way of evaluating children's well-being in a variety of settings, including educational ones. Importantly, this research used children from the ages of 9 to 14, asking them to make choices from a set of opportunities which had been identified by other children in the same age range.   This age group is often overlooked in research on children's views of their capabilities, especially in determining which choices of opportunities are more important than others to them.

To accomplish its goals, the study used Q methodology as a measure that aligned with the capability approach in several ways: it offered a measure that fostered agency and participation of the studied group, it allowed for individual viewpoints to be heard and expressed, and it also created group viewpoints through the Q sort. The analysis of the Q sort revealed three factors, which provided prototypical viewpoints for separate

groups of the participating children. These factors were identified as *Sociality and Security*, *Equality and Freedom of Choice*, and *Basic Living and Learning*.

The following discussion is structured in four parts. The first part will discuss each of the three factors separately, the second part will evaluate the Q sort in relation to its successful implementation and explore its limitations, the third part will discuss the results in light of the capability approach and as it relates to the human capital and the human rights approach, and the fourth part will address the broader impact of this study and possible future research.

Part One: Examination of Factors

Factor 1: Sociality and Security

Participants who were aligned with the viewpoint of *Sociability and Security* that was expressed in Factor 1 valued the capability of Love and Care and the capability of Mental-Wellbeing the most (see Table 2, p. 75, for list of capabilities as expressed by opportunities). The demographics and life circumstances of the participants in this group were quite diverse, despite their shared viewpoint regarding capabilities. The group included both black and white participants, participants from low SES and high SES neighborhoods, and participants who attended public school and who attended private schools. The most common feature of participants in this group is that all but one were female, a point that will be discussed below.

Exploring the demographics in this group in more detail showed that all black participants lived with a single parent, resided in low SES neighborhoods, and attended public schools that were lower performing as compared to schools in high SES neighborhoods. Two of the four white participants, one from a low SES and one from a

medium SES neighborhood, attended private schools. The white participant from the low

SES neighborhood received financial support from her grandmother in order to go to a

private school in order to avoid the low-performing public school in her neighborhood.

The remaining two white participants were from a high SES neighborhood and attended a

high performing school. There also seemed to be a relationship between parental

education status and SES as most parents who resided in low SES neighborhoods had

only high school education and all parents who resided in high SES neighborhoods had

undergraduate or graduate degrees. However, none of these demographic interactions

were statistically evaluated due to the small number of participants.

In any case, it seems more important to note that all participants in the study were

raised within two neighboring counties in New Jersey, and the group represented the

diversity in these neighborhoods. Thus, the research was successful in finding a sample

that represented a range of children from this area (see Table 9, p. 95, for demographics).

It was also successful in showing that the opportunities for these children were not simply

aligned with the kinds of demographic characteristics that traditional objective measures

would rely on.

Love and Care. "I want to have a parent who loves me" was equally important

for participants aligned with Factor 1 and those aligned with Factor 2. However, analysis

of the interviews revealed that this parental love was viewed from different angles

between the two groups. Parental love in Factor 1 was seen as a safe, protective, and

supportive haven and therefore was not viewed though a more critical lens; in contrast, as

will be described below, parental love in Factor 2 was viewed as more constricting.

Moreover, the opportunity was more geared toward a change in the expression of parental

love, for example, allowing more freedom of choice instead of demanding activities that were unwelcomed by the participants.

The importance of the capability of Love and Care in this investigation is consistent with the results reported by Biggeri et al. (2006), who surveyed children ages 11-17 participating in an international children's congress on child labor. Biggeri et al. found that the capability of Love and Care was second in importance (only the capability of Education was more important). Interestingly, Love and Care was rated more important in developed countries (59.2%) as opposed to developing countries (45.5%). Not surprisingly, all participants in this study, whether they lived only with their mother or whether they lived with two parents, seemed to have the perspective of those living in a developed country. Moreover, they seemed at this point in their lives very much rooted in their home environment, depending on their parent for a variety of reasons, and were in need of stability. In fact, the one participant who was about to move the day after completing the Q sort, was in quite a state of upheaval. While her parents were unemployed, it was her extended family with whom she had lived that gave her stability. With losing that stability, she was also losing the stability of a familiar school environment. Thus, parental love in most cases guaranteed emotional well-being and also a stable social environment, such as school and neighborhood.

Mental Well-Being and being female. As noted above, one common feature in the group aligned with Factor 1 was the fact that all participants but one were female. This may be particularly significant as regards the results for the capability of Mental Well-being. Biggeri et al. (2006) reported that mental well-being was more important to children from developed countries than to children from developing countries. More

importantly, though, was the fact that, when asked to choose the three most relevant capabilities, respondents to Biggeri et al.'s survey placed Mental Well-Being only 7th on their list of 14 capabilities, which suggests it was viewed as less important than was found in this study. Nonetheless, the importance of Mental Well-Being was higher for girls than for boys. When asked to rate the three most important capabilities, girls in Biggeri et al.'s study rated Mental Well-Being much higher than boys did [14.8% vs. 2.3%]. Given that almost all the participants aligned with Factor 1 in this study were female, the importance of Mental Well-Being in this group seems consistent with Biggeri et al.'s results. That is, for the female participants in the current study, the opportunity to enhance self-esteem was very important.

To have good self-esteem was assessed as an important opportunity to have, as one might need it particularly when appearing in public. One female participant said it was important for her to be able to acquire self-esteem because she wanted to "play in front of people." This participant was in her first year of drama club at her middle school, which presumably was a factor in her choice of words. Equally, the participants in this group wanted to be comfortable around people and they valued respect from others. It seemed that for the mostly female participants in this group, social dynamics at this pre-teen time of their lives, played an important role in asserting themselves in their surroundings and constituted a support system outside of their family.

At the same time, this group was still very connected to their family, needing the supportive network of a loving family. As one participant stated, "They do a lot for you, and they make you feel loved." It seemed this group was in a socialization process in which safety, familial and otherwise (avoiding bullies, availability of doctors, having

shelter), was still very important and was counted on, although with the recognition that life outside their safe boundaries, such as life in school, needed to be explored and opportunities for future, successful relationships and behaviors were pertinent to their well-being.

The capability of Freedom from Exploitation, as expressed in this Q sort through statements such as "I want to not worry about money," added to the need for feeling safe. Interestingly, the worry about money took on different dimensions depending on neighborhood status. Participants from low SES neighborhoods were worried about how to obtain more money than what was currently available to them and they were also concerned about having enough money once they were on their own, whereas the participants from the high SES neighborhood did not want to lose the money they presently had, as they recognized their current financial well-being was possibly unstable over time. Thus, regardless of SES, money was a way to continue to feel secure or to obtain future security. In Biggeri et al.'s (2006) study, Freedom from Exploitation was 4th on the list of desirable opportunities. It was almost equally important to both genders [24.6% girls/25.6% boys] and somewhat more important for children from developed countries as opposed to children from developing countries.

Factor 2: Equality and Freedom of Choice

Equality. Participants aligned with the viewpoint of *Equality and Freedom of Choice* that was expressed in Factor 2, valued the capabilities of Equality and Time Autonomy. In the initial interviews which established the concourse for this Q sort, "equality" was a much mentioned term, especially in regards to gender, race, and parental power relationships. Because equality was a topic that endured throughout the concourse-

establishing interviews, I decided to add Equality as a separate capability instead of considering it to be part the capability of "Respect." Giving Equality its own space in the list and in the Q sort gave the participants what seemed to be a needed area of contemplation. In Factor 2, equality between races, family members and genders were considered important opportunities.

As opposed to the demographic characteristics of individuals matching the prototypical views of Factor 1, most participants in the group for which Factor 2 was prototypical were male (four out of five), none of the participants were black, and none lived in a low SES neighborhood. These participants were attending high performing public schools (with one white female from a high SES neighborhood being home-schooled and the male participant from the medium SES neighborhood also being home-schooled).

It is interesting to note the desire of participants aligned with the viewpoint of Factor 2 for "people from different races to be treated the same," given that most of these participants were white (one participant was Asian) and affluent. This may well have been an example of what Pahlke, Bigler, and Suizzo (2012) described as "colorblind racial ideology," in which parents do not allow the making of judgments of people based on race but instead allow the making of judgments based on merit. Critics of this ideology argue that it leads to ignorance of the cultural and historical experiences of minorities (Schofield, 2009), and colorblind people might be more likely to disregard existing racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2003). For example, Pahlke et al. (2012) reported on a study by Apfelbaum, Pauker, Amady Somers and Norton (2008) in which the willingness

of children ages 8-11 to label race declined throughout these years. By the time the children reached age 11, only 37% were willing to concede to racial differences.

Discovering this viewpoint of Factor 2 could be of particular interest in a classroom in order to understand how discourses on race are constructed and how teachers' practices play a role in socialization (Priest, Walton, White, Kowal, Baker & Paradies, 2014, Quintana, 1998). However, Pahlke et al. (2012) stated that often race as a topic of discussion in classrooms is avoided and teachers and students are asked to consider themselves as colorblind. The public school participants in this group attended schools that are predominately white (including the teachers) and therefore were not exposed to much racial diversity. Thus, racism might not be evident as a concrete problem in their world, with the result that equality between races is not critically evaluated but is more of an idealistic abstraction.

Time Autonomy and Well-Being. Another dimension of Factor 2 was Freedom of Choice, as expressed through the capabilities of Time Autonomy and Mental Well-Being ("I want to make good decisions"). This dimension was important for the group as it seemed that it was an opportunity they were lacking. For most participants there was little power in their opportunity to do what they wanted to do in their free time and they felt too constricted in their decision-making. Therefore, "to be equal with family members" played also a part in their desire for freedom of choice.

It seemed that the (mostly) male participants in Factor 2 were more willing to share with me their discontent with their parents' constant oversight and demands, whereas many of the female participants in Factor 1 viewed the oversight as a sign of parental love and caring. The participants aligned on Factor 2 viewed themselves -

perhaps more critically than did the participants aligned on Factor 1 - to be in a transitional space, in which they were trying to assert themselves as capable decision-makers who were less in need of constant parental guidance. Some thought that the time they spent in school as well as time spent on homework activities was enough regulated time to endure. Some of the participants felt they were caught between obedience and their desire for freedom. In Biggeri et al.'s (2006) study, the capability Time Autonomy was more desired by boys than by girls, which is consistent with its differential importance for Factor 1, involving mostly girls, and for Factor 2, involving mostly boys. Nonetheless, overall it was a less relevant capability as compared to others.

Factor 3: Basic Living and Learning

Socio-economic status. Two female participants with polar opposite views were aligned with the perspective of *Basic living and Learning* that was expressed in the prototype for Factor 3. Participant A. was an 11-year-old black female, who lived with her mother in a low SES neighborhood and attended a low-performing school. Participant Z. was a 12-year-old white female, who lived with her parents in a high SES neighborhood and attended a high-performing school.

According to their demographic profile and their descriptions of their lives, these participants mirrored Lareau's (2003) picture of families from different socio-economic backgrounds. Lareau drew a distinction between what she called the concerted cultivation of middle-class children versus the natural growth of working-class and poor children. According to Lareau, in middle-class families who display concerted cultivation, children are scheduled for many after-school activities, are encouraged to reason with adults, and have parents who are actively involved in their school progress

and who are protective in almost every aspect of their children's lives. This characterization seems to be closely aligned with participant Z.'s experiences. Natural growth, on the other hand, allows working-class and poor children more free time, is less scheduled and involves a dominant parenting approach of fulfilling the children's basic needs, such as love, shelter, and food. It is these basic needs that were also important for participant A., although the capability of Love and Care was not a part of her basic needs at this time.

In an educational setting, the discovery of this viewpoint could help educators understand these students' motivations to learn and thereby use this understanding to develop more individualized teaching strategies. For example, neither participant was sure of what kind of work they would be interested in after they left high school. While participant A. saw education as a means to an end, and was therefore motivated, she was uninformed about the opportunities available to her. Participant Z. was unmotivated to learn and while she understood her opportunities after high school, she had little interest in them.

Thus, having this information about these students could encourage, for example, a discussion of strategies to enhance motivation as well as opportunities. Other important distinguishing features between concerted cultivation and natural growth are that middle-class parents in Lareau's study overall seem to be less authoritarian than their working-class and poorer counterparts, treating their children more as equals than inferiors. Instead, they actively taught as well as modeled to their children language-skills in order to be on equal plane in institutionalized situations, such as in doctor's offices or in schools. According to Lareau, this approach seems to construct children who have a

sense of entitlement. Their working-class and poorer peers on the contrary, seem more

timid in institutionalized situations (just as their parents are) but fare better in sibling and

family relations, being less competitive and more involved with each other.

Education. However, in the case of this study, participant A. viewed the

capability of Education as important in the present as well as for the future and received

mostly A's (self-reported). Participant Z. had little concern for education and reported

B's and C's. In the educational aspect, participant A., who lived in a low SES

neighborhood, reflected Biggeri et al.'s (2006) results in which education was very

important to children (and particularly more important to children from developing

countries versus developed countries). Similarly, participant A. viewed the capability of

Time Autonomy as not important, as she thought leisure time would not bring her toward

her goals of being able to live a decent life. Biggeri et al. reported that Time Autonomy

was also not one of the more relevant capabilities for the children in their study. On the

other hand, participant Z. was longing for free time as her whole life seemed be

scheduled around school and sports which also mirrored Lareau's (2003) description of

the lives of middle-class children.

The contrast between participants A. and Z. with respect to the nature of the

opportunity represented by education reflects both the positive view, that education is a

freedom, a way to attain access to other opportunities, and the negative view, that

education is an unfreedom, a way to induce conformity, that have already been discussed.

What is particularly interesting here is that the objectively advantaged child, Z., is the one

who saw education as a loss of freedom. The fact that education was less important for

the more advantaged child may also related to the difference between the importance of education found here and that reported by Biggeri et al. (2006).

Part 2: Evaluation of Methodology
Usability

As reported in Chapter Four, participants gave very positive feedback overall on the methodology. Each participant was able to sort at his or her own pace and in a manner they were comfortable with. Also, questions and comments were possible during and after the sorting, which helped to alleviate possible misunderstandings of the statements and also informed the researcher why some of the decisions were made as some participants were musing aloud about where to place to cards. This kind of interactive engagement between researcher and respondent is often not possible in surveys.

The ability of the researcher to ask the participants about their decisions also allowed for a deeper understanding of their reasoning for the ratings and served as a safeguard that the data was entered correctly. For example, in surveys one must assume that the answers given are correct and that they are aligned with the question being asked, even though participants might sometimes miss answering a question or might misinterpret the scale. In the case of the Q sort, once the participants had distributed all the cards in front of them, it was clear when all that statements had been used. Additionally, the interviews allowed double-checking to see if the answers were transposed correctly onto the data entry form (see Appendix I). For example, if a participant rated Love and Care highly, this rating would have also appeared in the interviews, because the anchors were used as probes for the discussion after the sorting.

Giving Voice

One of the significant contributions of Q methodology as it applies to understanding children and their capabilities is the way in which it "gives voice" to its respondents. As noted by Holt (2004), it is particularly essential to have a method that lends itself well "to represent the voices" of children as accurately as possible because it is important to understand that "although children may have different ways of knowing/doing to adults, this does not necessitate viewing children as 'less than' adults" (Holt, 2004, p. 17).

Interestingly, Q methodology provides a way to give voice to children that also addresses the concern, expressed, for example, by Arneson (2010) that capability sets between people are probably not comparable because of the multitude of different options each person might have. Therefore, in order to measure people's well-being in a capability approach, a standard needs to be established that separates trivial capabilities from significant capabilities. The present investigation illustrates how Q methodology can be used to achieve this goal. As was explained, this study utilized Biggeri's et al.'s (2006) list as a starting point, then interviewed children in order to elicit statements of what and how they would verbalize different capabilities. As it happened in this study, one outcome of these interviews was to add a capability to the list, showing how the methodology allows for a flexible and adjustable approach.

Students or classrooms to be studied might differ in a variety of ways from the participants in this study. For example, students might differ in grade levels (i.e. elementary school or high school), they might come from different socio-economic environments, they might be in ESL (English as a Second Language) programs, and so

forth. Q methodology is a measurement strategy that can be tailored to specific

situations, as it asks for the statement set to "be broadly representative of the opinion

domain, population or concourse at issue" (Watts & Stenner, 2012, p. 580) and as a way

to reveal "marginalized tendencies" (Brown, 2006, p. 361). One way to establish a set of

statements is by interviewing the participants involved in the study in order to elicit a

concourse, which comprises a set of statements in the language of the participants and

therefore commonly understood (see Stephenson, 1993/1994). As Brown (1993) has

described it: "concourse is the very stuff of life, from the playful banter of lovers or

chums to the heady discussions of philosophers and scientists to the private thoughts

found in dreams and diaries" (Brown, 1993, n.p.)

The more important point is that this method empowers its participants because it

uses their language for the instrument instead of the researcher's language, which is what

usually happens in surveys. Additionally, children were not only able to construct the

statements, but they were able to express themselves through sorting as well as discussing

the results of the sort. Having the finished Q sort in front of them, participating children

were encouraged to reflect on their answers. As stated in Chapter 4, this visual aid

helped to frame the conversation as well as spark topics for discussion. As Wolf (2013)

explained, Q methodology lends itself well to study "intersubjective wellbeing" as it

enables "access to the everyday ontology of emotions and affect, routine, internal

dialogue, streams of sensory inputs, heuristics and instincts..." (p. 221).

Giving Choice: Q Methodology versus Surveys

The present investigation helps to clarify the ways in which using Q methodology

as a means of assessing capabilities differs from the more traditional approach of using

surveys. Biggeri et al. (2006) used survey methodology to ask children to conceptualize their capabilities. In this effort, Biggeri et al. (2006) utilized a list that had been established earlier with some help of children. While they recognized that capabilities might have different applicability as children become older, Biggeri et al. had no method readily available to modify the capabilities or evaluate whether they were interpreted differently.

In contrast, the present investigation used Biggeri et al.'s (2006) list of capabilities as a starting point, but it transposed these capabilities into statements that reflected different opportunities assigned to each capability. For example, the descriptions by the children who helped develop the concourse (which were later used for the Q sort) for the capability of Equality were "boys and girls to be treated equal." Thus, the process of creating the Q sort allowed for the capabilities to be expressed in the participants' language. The process also made the statements less abstract. Of course, more concrete descriptions could be potentially more restricting of which capabilities were considered, even though they were in the language of the participants, because such descriptions could allow much variety in free associations (as, for example, "playing an instrument" still allowed envisioning any instrument). In order to combat such possible restrictiveness, the researcher used the interview questions after the Q sort to ask if the participant had any suggestions on what opportunities could be added. Furthermore, for future studies, the set of statements used in a Q sort can always be adjusted to the cohort being studied in order to be representative and to stay applicable to the participant group.

A further contrast between the survey methodology used by Biggeri et al. (2006) and the Q sort used here is that the Q sort used ranking (in a forced distribution) of

statements about capabilities. Consequently, meaning was given to each statement

through evaluating items in relation to each other. As McKeown and Thomas (2013)

explained, "When performing a Q sort, or a series of Q sorts, the participant engages in

behavior common to many life situations: a viewer flipping through television channels

with a remote controller, a teacher evaluating essays and making judgments of their

respective quality on the basis of a continuum of excellence, …" (p. 25). Therefore,

participants were able to express their subjective viewpoints through the sorting process

with the added benefit of being able to discuss their choices during and after the sort.

One example of how ranking leads to different results than a survey is seen in the

importance given to Mental Well-being in this Q sort where it was relatively unimportant

for Biggeri et al (2006).

Perhaps the most important contribution made by Q methodology as it applies to

using a capability approach with children is that it clearly supports the assumption that

children can make thoughtful choices. One of the more striking behaviors often observed

in the process of carrying out the Q Sorts was the deliberative way in which participants

considered the relative importance of different statements.

Limitations

Neither the capabilities approach nor Q methodology have at their initial goal that

of being generalizable to a wider population. As Watts and Stenner (2012) pointed out,

this does not imply that "that a Q study can have no wider implications, nor that

generalization is precluded" (p. 73). However, if the goal of a study is to generalize

results from the sample studied to a larger population, then, for example, student

achievement measures such as the PARCC (based on Common Core Standards) are

perhaps more appropriate. The aim of Q methodology is to understand subjective viewpoints, and as such it provides an excellent application to the theoretical underpinnings of the capabilities approach. If it is of any interest to investigate how many people share the views found in a Q study, the Q sort data including the interview data can be used to design a survey that does this.

Thus, generalization is not readily available. Another limitation of this method is that it can be more time consuming than a survey. It takes time to establish the concourse, no matter whether one uses interviews, focus groups, or other sources of statements, and it takes time to analyze the data and determine how best to characterize a set of prototypical views. In case of a Q sort, it is not only statistical analysis that is necessary but also time is needed to "make sense" of the factors through evaluating the interviews.

Furthermore, while a given concourse may work for one particular group of participants, as in this case, young people within a certain geographical radius, it might need to be adjusted to be used with other groups. As already noted, however, this limitation is also one of the strengths of Q methodology as it applies to using a capabilities approach. It speaks to Sen's (1999) criticism of standardized measures because individual viewpoints get lost in standardization. It is the individual viewpoints of people that should be considered in order to ensure well-being of all. With a Q sort, the researcher retains the flexibility to create a concourse that speaks the language of the participants. Comin (2008) also pointed out that a priori specification should not be employed in order to avoid discrimination. But if the measure (and the capability set) is

established by the people who are to be measured, the process becomes a representation of the agency the participants can possess.

Finally, distributing a survey, for example, does not usually need much training on the part of the survey administrator. In contrast, giving a Q sort, whether to children or adults, requires a skilled interviewer who is able to probe, ask non-leading questions, and present herself as someone with whom the participant will feel comfortable discussing the his or her capabilities.   Also, in order to interpret the different viewpoints, one needs to be looking deeper into the qualitative data to find relationships between quantitative and qualitative data. This procedure is potentially more time-consuming and involved than interpreting quantitative data only. However, current standardized performance measures in education do not give holistic information about the students but only a snapshot of their academic knowledge.

On balance, the limitations of Q methodology are more than compensated by the combination of the richly detailed picture it provides of individual viewpoints and the quantitative characterization of prototypical viewpoints.

Part Three: Using Q Methodology to Understand Goals and Roles of Education

Goals of education are often expressed in terms of promoting critical thinking (see Cohen, 2006, Kuhn, 2008, Dam & Volman, 2004) and participatory citizenship (see Wolk, 2007, Kraenzl-Nagl & Zartler, 2010). These goals are also in line with the capability approach; Nussbaum (2011) listed 'Practical reason' and 'Control over one's environment' as part of her ten Central Capabilities (see p. 30 for Nussbaum's list). However, as noted in the introductory chapter, education can play several roles - it can be

intrinsically important, it can be economically-instrumental, and it can be non-economically instrumental. The capability approach encompasses all three roles of education, while the human rights approach is mostly interested in the intrinsic role, and the human capital approach evaluates only the instrumental role. The Q sort results provide an interesting window on how these roles are perceived by some of the intended recipients of education, children in middle school.

Education as Capability

Both Sen (e.g. 1999) and Nussbaum (2011) viewed children's capabilities in terms of future outcomes. The capability of Education is considered a vehicle that creates future opportunities.   As Nussbaum (2011) explained, "Education is such a pivotal factor in opening up a wide range of adult capabilities that making it compulsory in childhood is justified by the dramatic expansion of capabilities in later life" (p. 156). In fact, as mentioned above, that seemed to be the view which is held not just by adults but by many of the children in this study as well. Interestingly, as opposed to the findings of Biggeri et al. (2006), the future outcomes of education (while acknowledged) were not assigned as much importance in relation to other capabilities in the current study. Partially this might be due to the fact that education in the U.S. is not only available (no matter the quality) but also mandatory. Thus, the participants' current education was not viewed as a real choice or as anything they were able to decide but instead was viewed as a necessary means to an end.

Nonetheless, results of this study still indicated that children viewed education as essential.   For example, participants stated that education was important "to get a good job" or "to be able to make a difference in the world." Nevertheless, education did not

receive the highest ranking when compared to other opportunities. This contrasts with

Biggeri (2007), who reported that when children in three different countries (Italy,

Uganda and India) were asked about their opportunities, one of the most important

opportunities was education. It also contrasts with the data from Biggeri et al.'s (2006)

survey, in which education as a capability was rated highest out of all capabilities.

Unfortunately, surveys allow participants to rate every item highly (or lowly) and

therefore do not necessarily show a very differentiated picture as they do not have the

relative importance as they would have in a Q sort. For example, we do not know why

education was rated so highly nor do we know the differences between participants for

their reasoning. As participants in this study did not rank education as one of the more

important capabilities, it indicates that education did not have the salience for this group

of children as other items did. Indeed, as the Q sort and interview results relating to

education in this study suggest, education did not have an immediate value to many of the

participants. Most, however, recognized the future value of education in terms of

economic benefits, for example. It is interesting to note, of course, that the future value

of education is in fact what Sen and Nussbaum provide as the justification for imposing

education on children (see Chapter 2).

Human Rights, Agency, and Autonomy

The present study did not find much support among children for the view of

education championed by the human rights approach. Marchant and Kirby (2004) argued

that "children's active participation is their right as citizens and is also essential for their

well-being and to ensure a healthy inclusive society" (p.94). What seemed to be an

important viewpoint for participants in this study was the ability to make decisions on

their own. Brighouse (2006) stated that "autonomy is important enough to justify a requirement that all children be subject to an education designed to facilitate it… The deeper principle is the idea that education should aim at enabling people to lead flourishing lives, and the argument that education should facilitate autonomy depends on the idea that autonomy plays an important role in enabling people to live flourishing lives" (p. 15). This kind of facilitation of autonomy echoes Sen (1999) who stated that people need to be considered as agents of their own lives, as "someone who acts and brings about change" (p. 19). Thus, agency and autonomy can enhance a person's freedom to do the things one values. What improves agency and autonomy in schooling is not part of this discussion, however.   In Unterhalter and Walker's (2007) words, "It is thus key in education that we promote freedom and agency to participate further in education and social debate and to enlarge wider freedoms" (p. 245). Grundmann and Dravenau (2010) added that agency is important in order to have a chance for upward mobility as it supports a belief in oneself, self-directed behavior, a realistic appraisal of outcomes, and strategies to control and cope with situations to create beneficial environments (p. 96).

Tisdall (2010) pointed to problems with the quality of children's participation in schools. Traditionally, schools have not promoted children's rights and participation well, partially because schooling is compulsory and many children do not have a choice in being schooled. Furthermore, schools are often spaces of adult power in which top-down codes of conduct, "create a docile student body unpracticed in democratic citizenship", according to Raby (2008, p. 77). In order to increase participation of children, schools should consider what Tisdall (2010) called *opening dialogic spaces* and

give voice to its participants. For example, students should be able to vote in school board elections, be included as decision-makers on what happens with school funding, and be heard on issues such as curriculum and evaluation.

The absence of engagement of students with issues of civic participation is seen in this study in the low values given for capabilities of engaging in political activity.

Human Capital, Social Capital, and Conversion Factors

Unlike the limited support seen for the human rights perspective, the human capital perspective that education is a means to end is ingrained in the minds of most participants in this study. The participants had a keen awareness that one needs education to get a "good job." The definition of "good job" varied from definite future aspirations, such as being a nurse, a veterinarian, and a basketball player, to more non-descript ideas, such as going to college. These goals were independent of gender, race, and social class and also without consideration of possibly needed conversion factors, for example, the quality of the education is a conversion factor that might impact the available choices of universities.

To be able to generate valued opportunities depends on conversion factors, which can be social, environmental and personal. Social conversion factors are similar to social capital; they are determined by social institutions, such as schools and the family, social norms, such as gender and cultural norms, and behaviors of others, such as biases and prejudice (Robeyns, 2008). In order to achieve wellbeing and have the ability to choose between opportunities, a person needs conversion factors that facilitate the process. For example, having a teacher who, as in J's case, discourages students from learning by

telling them that they will amount to nothing in their lives, denies an important conversion factor from a student's life. Grundmann and Dravenau (2010) have explained that "the experience of success and ability depends on knowledge about the structural and situational options and opportunities, on the pragmatics of everyday life in the respective social context, as well as on attitudes toward the person of teachers, peers, and other counterparts" (p. 96).

Participants in this study had ample family support. Socio-economic status and single or dual parent households for the most did not play a role in what was afforded to the children for after-school activities. On the contrary, children of single mothers from low SES neighborhoods were involved in many after-school activities, from music to sports to academics. Single mothers in particular were described by the participants as determined and self-motivated and several of these mothers had gone back to school to receive a degree. This ambition was transmitted to their children, with the result that they experienced similar after-school activities as children from higher SES neighborhoods. However, these mothers could not afford to live in higher SES neighborhoods and therefore the schools for their children were not as high-performing as those in higher SES neighborhoods. Most participants did not seem aware of the status of their schools, but they did seem driven to perform well (as self-reported grades alluded to earlier indicated). The pressure from parents to do well in school and to participate in activities existed across participants. However, while they were aware of the importance of their education for their economic future, to sustain or transcend their current economic state, it seemed that education had little meaning for their present state of mind.

Part Four: Future Research and Broader Impact

Future Research

This investigation has demonstrated that the Q methodology is suitable for use with children in an age range, namely 9 to 14, that have seldom been given the chance to express their voices or make their choices known. Furthermore, Q methodology has been shown to line up well with the concerns of the capability approach. Thus, it is worth considering how this methodology can be extended.

One simple extension would be to ask teachers (and parents) to complete a Q sort with the statements used here in the manner that they thought their students (and children) would complete it. Determining the degree to which teachers and parents correctly understood the opportunities seen by their students could be a helpful tool for teachers to use to become more effective educators and for parents to use to become more effective mentors.

Another simple extension would be to do a parallel study with children from the age range used by Maguire et al. (2012). In this case, it would make sense to collect statements for a new concourse as well as do a Q Sort. One analysis that would be interesting would be to compare the ideas of opportunities, as expressed in the concourses for the younger and the older children. The other analysis that would be interesting would be to compare the views that emerged as prototypical views among the older children with those that have been identified here from the younger children. Opportunities like Mobility, for example, might be expected to have more importance for older children, who are closer to or already at an age at which they can drive (see Biggeri,

2006). Also, for young children who do not yet read, Stephenson (1980) and Thorsen and Storksen (2010), for example, have used images instead of written statements to sort. Therefore, children of all ages can be involved in a Q sort.

A somewhat more complex extension would be to use the existing Q sort to assess the impact of an educational intervention. For example, if the measure is used as a pre/post measure, the Q sort could be used to evaluate if there is some change in the value that is placed on education. Considering results from this study, one might not expect to see a change in views on education as a capability in such an application, because education seems to be viewed as something children have access to and as something that has a value for their future but not so much for their present.

However, if an intervention is geared toward changing that view (to have children appreciate education as a present opportunity), this Q sort could be used to measure a possible change. On the other hand, depending on the children's viewpoints, it might not be desirable to change children's views of their opportunity choices but instead to foster their views. The question then arises as to how an educational program could be tailored and what conversion factors would be needed so that the program would be supportive of children's views. Thus, a Q sort could function as a cross-checking tool for policy makers to investigate whether the implemented policies have the desired impact.

Finally, an even more ambitious undertaking would be to use Q methodology for groups of children from different cultural or geographical backgrounds and begin to build up a picture of how children from many different experiences view their opportunities.

What matters in education is how it relates to other opportunities. This study, using a Q sort, revealed that education was not viewed to be as important as other capabilities. One benefit of a Q sort is that when employed as a pre-post measure of an educational intervention, it can reveal changes in rationale for viewpoints even if the viewpoints do not change over time. For example, in this study the rationale for viewing Love and Care as important differed between Factor 1 and 2. Therefore, a Q sort can give a more refined and explanatory picture of children's viewpoints than a survey would.

Broader Impact

This study has contributed to research with and for children in several ways. First, it used a capability approach to investigate children's well-being and education in the U.S. which (at time of this writing) had only been done in one other study (Maguire et al., 2012). The participants in this study were mostly middle-school students (ages 9-14) and therefore younger than the high school students in the Maguire et al. (2012) study. Most importantly, the study has shown that children as young as 9 years old can express their views and make choices regarding their perceived opportunities, and that they are as able as adults to be part of a capability approach. These children were able to voice their opinions, have an understanding of the world around them, and have diverse viewpoints. This study also used a bottom-up strategy by letting children take on an active part in the research as they established the concourse for the statements to be used in the Q sort. Furthermore, this study gives strong evidence that combining a capability approach with Q methodology to reveal children's viewpoints is a new and effective way to study what matters for children in terms of their well-being and in terms of their education. Using

the capability approach through Q methodology can effectively reveal what choices in opportunities are valued, what capabilities need to be fostered, and what capabilities need to be made available.

From the perspective of childhood studies, James, Jenks, and Prout (1998) suggested that if researchers wanted to use statistical measures for children, "a shift in the underlying vision of children, a determination to include them as social actors and the imagination to develop new techniques" is required (p. 179). This study successfully answered this requirement by showing that concepts like the importance of granting agency to children, the idea of the child as an individual to be respected for her viewpoints, and the need to give voice to the perspectives of children are meaningful in the context of Q methodology. Conversely, from the perspective of Q methodology, the study shows that children are as capable as adults of participating at all stages of the investigation of their subjective viewpoints regarding their capabilities.

Furthermore, looking at individual well-being has potential to exert profound effects on education: "Particular students, from particular backgrounds, living particular lives and holding particular values, become the major focus, making it far less supportable to excuse away any student's disengagement and/or failure" (Wood & Deprez, 2012). Brown (2005), discussing empowerment of minorities, explained that "objective opportunities, while necessary, are insufficient for empowerment. It is also necessary that they become a functional part of the person's perspective" (Brown, 2005, p. 197). Having this adaptable measure of capabilities will support the entrance of functional and valued opportunities in children's lives. An educational space (or "field" in Bordieu and Wacquant's (1992) terminology) therefore can become a place of

investigation and change, in which power relations are uncovered, and social capital is explored (how much is available to the individual and is the individual able to convert any capital into functionings). As this study demonstrated, students such as J., who had been severely discouraged by his teacher, would have a voice in this new way of investigating children's well-being, a voice that could express choices in valued opportunities and a voice that would be heard.

APPENDIX A

Sorting Grid
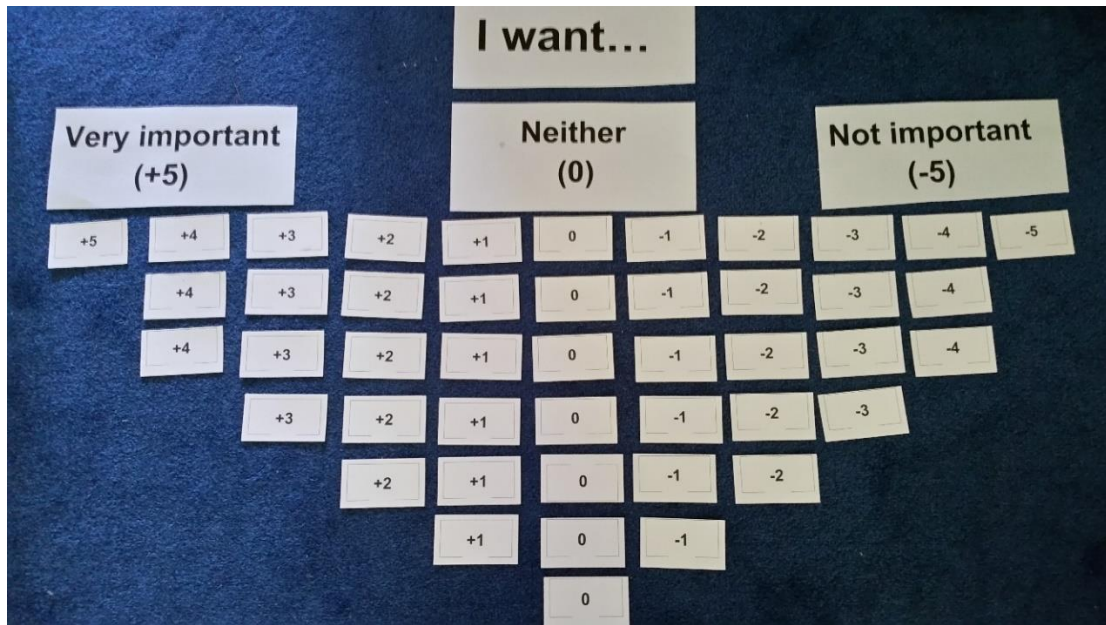
APPENDIX B

Statement Cards

… to believe in whatever religion I choose. 1	… to be able to take ideas from different religions. 2
… to learn about religions. 3	… to be able to eat good food. 4
… to have enough food to eat. 5	… to be able to go to a doctor. 6
… to learn languages. 7	… to study and do well in school. 8

... to learn hard facts in school.

9

... to be able to move to another neighborhood.

10

... to ride my bike to my friend's house.

11

... a car as soon as I have a driver's license.

12

... time to relax and unwind.

13

... time to play.

14

... time to do whatever I want to do.

15

... boys and girls to be equal.

16

… people from different races to be treated the same.

17

… to be equal to all my family members.

18

… my parent(s) to worry less about money.

19

… to not worry about money.

20

… my parents to be able to spend more money.

21

… to have a parent who loves me.

22

… to give happiness.

23

… to have people who care for me.

24

… to avoid drug dealers.

25

… to avoid bullies.

26

… to feel safe in school.

27

… to have someone to talk to.

28

… to be able to make friends.

29

… to be able to use Facebook or Instagram to connect with people.

30

… to play an instrument.

31

… to be able to play sports I like.

32

... to go on vacations.

33

... to be respected by others.

34

... to people to respect my property.

35

... to respect people who have different opinions.

36

... to have good self-esteem.

37

... to make good decisions.

38

... to be comfortable around people.

39

... to live with someone who gives me food.

40

... to live with someone who keeps me clean.

41

... to have shelter.

42

... to have a chance to make a difference.

43

... to participate in politics.

44

... to be able to work.

45

APPENDIX C

Post Q Sort Questions

Participant # _____

Questions after Q Sort:

1. Can you tell more about why you chose the statements which are most important to you (Have participant pick at least one statement and probe for the reason of placement).

2. Can you tell more about why you chose the statements which are most unimportant to you (Have participant pick at least one statement and probe for the reason of placement).

3. If not already discussed during the Sort, did you have any difficulties with some statements? If so, what difficulties and why (i.e. "did not understand the statement" or "unsure where to place it because…").

4. Are there any statements you would have added?

5. What would you say, is the most important opportunity for you right now (and why)?

6. What do you think are important opportunities for other young people? Why?

ADDITIONAL NOTES:

APPENDIX D
Parental Consent Form

PARENTAL PERMISSION FOR A STUDY ABOUT OPPORTUNITIES
Investigator: Ines Meier

Rutgers University

Dear Parents,

I am a Ph.D. student in the Department of Childhood Studies at Rutgers University-Camden. I am conducting a research study with middle-school aged children. I will briefly explain the study to the children who have returned this permission slip, and also ask for their agreement to participate.

The subject of my research project is: Children and their views on opportunities. To answer the research question, children will rank statements with the help of cards. Their names or any other identifying information will not be recorded, but I will ask them for their age. The card sorting will take about 15 minutes to complete. After the card sorting, I might ask questions directly relating to the sort. If the child indicates at any time that he or she wants to stop, he or she will be thanked for their participation and can immediately stop the participation.

[*FOR INTERVIEWS: The subject of my research project is: Children and their Views on Opportunities. To answer the research question, children will be asked to brainstorm on what they think opportunities are. Their names or any other identifying information will not be recorded, but I will ask them for their age. The interview should last between 30 minutes and 1 hour. If the child indicates at any time that he or she wants to stop, he or she will be thanked for their participation and can immediately stop the participation*.]

There are no known risks to your child for participating in this study. Your child will receive a $5 gift card as a token of appreciation. The data collected may lead to increased understanding of the factors that influence children's views of their opportunities. If you would like to have a report of the study when it is completed, please indicate this at the bottom of this form.

This research is anonymous. Anonymous means that I will record no information about your child that could identify him or her. This means that I will not record a name, address, phone number, date of birth, etc. I will keep the research data confidential by limiting individual's

access to the research data and keeping it in a secure location. The research team and the Institutional Review Board at Rutgers University are the only parties that will be allowed to see the data, except as may be required by law. If a report of this study is published, or the results are presented at a professional conference, only group results will be stated, unless you have agreed otherwise.

If you have any questions about the research, you may contact me at (XXX) XXX-XXXX or at imeier@rutgers.edu. If you have any questions about your child's rights as a research subject, you may contact the IRB Administrator at:

Rutgers University Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects
Office of Research and Sponsored Programs
3 Rutgers Plaza
New Brunswick, NJ 08901-8559
Tel: 848.932.1050
Email: humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu

Your child's participation in this study is completely voluntary. Please sign and return the attached permission slip if you are willing to have your child participate. Your support is greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Ines Meier

****

_____(Child's name) has my permission to participate in the research study, "*Children's Views on Opportunities*", that will be conducted Ines Meier.

Signature of Parent or Guardian _____ Date _____

Investigator's Signature: _____Date: _____

APPENDIX E

Child Assent Form

ASSENT FOR PARTICIPATION IN A STUDY ABOUT OPPORTUNITIES

Investigator: Ines Meier

Rutgers University

This assent form will explain to you what this study is about. If there is something you don't understand, please let the researcher, your parent or caregiver know. They will explain any
words or information that you do not clearly understand before signing this document.

1.**Ms. Meier is inviting you to take part in her research study. Why is this study being done?**
I want to find out what kind of opportunities are important to you.

2.**What will happen**:
You will be one out of 40 – 60 children who will be part of this study. First you will be asked questions about yourself, such as how old you are. However, I will NOT ask your name or address because this study is anonymous. This means I won't know who participated in the study. This will take only a few minutes. I will read a question aloud and you will have enough time to answer the question. I will give you cards with statements about opportunities on them. You will decide whether the statement on each card is important to you or not. You can ask questions at any time. You can also refuse to participate at any time. This will take 10 - 15 minutes.
[For interviews: I will ask you to describe what kind of opportunities are important to you. You can ask questions at any time. You can also refuse to participate at any time. This will take no more than 30 – 60 minutes]

3.**There are very few risks in taking part in this research, but the following things could happen**:

Probably: Nothing bad would happen.

Maybe: For example: Your answers would be seen by somebody not involved in this study. I will do my absolute best to keep all your answers private. Your answers will be kept locked up. Your name will not appear on the answer sheets; I will use a code number instead. I understand the importance of confidentiality. But, if I learn that you or someone else are in serious danger, I would have to tell an appropriate family member, such as your mother, father, or caretaker or the appropriate officials to protect you and other people.

Very unusual: For example: You could be upset or embarrassed by the questions. If this should occur, remember that you don't have to answer any questions you don't want to and either you or I may choose to stop the project.

4.**Are there any benefits that you or others will get out of being in this study?**
All research must have some potential benefit either directly to those that take part in it or potentially to others through the knowledge gained. The only direct benefit to you may

be the enjoyment participating in a research study. The knowledge gained through this study may allow me to develop more effective programs for young learners.

It's completely up to you! Both you and your parents or caregivers have to agree to allow you to take part in this survey. If you choose to not take part in this survey, I will honor that choice. No one will get angry or upset with you if you don't want to do this. If you agree to take part in it and then you change your mind later, that's OK too. It's always your choice!

5.**CONFIDENTIALITY: I will do everything we can to protect the confidentiality of your records.** If I write professional articles about this research, they will never say your name or anything that could give away who you are. I will do a good job at keeping all our records secret by following the rules made for researchers.

6.**Do you have any questions?** If you have any questions or worries regarding this study, or if any problems come up, you may call the principal investigator Ines Meier at:

XXX-XXX-XXXX
Department of Childhood Studies, Room XXX
405-07 Cooper St.
Camden, NJ 08102

You may also ask questions or talk about any worries to the Institutional Review Board (a committee that reviews research studies in order to protect those who participate). Please contact the IRB Administrator at Rutgers University at:
Rutgers University, the State University of New Jersey
Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects
Office of Research and Sponsored Programs
3 Rutgers Plaza
New Brunswick, NJ 08901-8559
Tel: 848.932.0150
Email: humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu

Your parent or guardian will also be asked if they wish for you to participate in this study. You will be given a copy of this form for your records.

Please sign below if you assent (that means you agree) to participate in this study.

_____
Signature   Date

Name (Please print): _____

Investigator's Signature: _____Date: _____

Appendix F

Demographic Information

Participant#_____

Age: _____

Gender (observed): _____

Ethnicity/Race (observed): _____

School Name (and location): _____

Grades: Math:_____ LA: _____ Science: _____ Other:_____

Parents Info:

Live together? Yes ____   No_____ If no, who does P live with? _____

Parents Education (College, if yes, what
degree?):_____

Parents' Jobs: _____

Siblings (how many, gender, ages):

_____

NOTES:

APPENDIX G

Participant Demographics

Participant Demographics (As Reported by Participants)

Participant #	Age	Gender M=male F=female	Race	SES	1 or 2 Parents at home	Siblings	Education Mother	Education Father	School	Grade
1	11	F	Black	Low	1	1	Associate	High School	Public	6
2	12	F	White	High	2	1	Undergrad	Graduate	Public	7
3	11	M	White	High	2	0	Graduate	Graduate	Public	7
4	11	M	White	Medium	2	2	Graduate	Undergrad	Home	6
5	10	F	White	Medium	2	2	Graduate	Undergrad	Home	5
6	11	M	White	Medium	2	1	High School	Graduate	Private	6
7	12	M	Asian	High	2	1	Undergrad	Undergrad	Public	8
8	10	M	White	High	2	1	Undergrad	Graduate	Public	5
9	10	F	Black	Low	1	1	Undergrad	High School	Public	5
10	14	F	Black	Low	1	1	Undergrad	High School	Public	9
11	9	F	White	High	2	2	Graduate	Undergrad	Public	4

Participant Demographics cont.

Participant #	Age	Gender M=male F=female	Race	SES	1 or 2 Parents at home	Siblings	Education Mother	Education Father	School	Grade
12	13	M	White	High	2	2	Grad	Undergrad	Public	7
13	13	F	Black	Medium	1	2	Unknown	Unknown	Public	8
14	13	M	Black	Medium	1	2	Unknown	Unknown	Public	8
15	11	F	White	High	2	1	Undergrad	Graduate	Home	6
16	9	F	White	High	2	1	Undergrad	Graduate	Home	5
17	9	F	White	Medium	2	2	High School	Unknown	Home	4
18	12	M	White	Medium	2	2	High School	Unknown	Home	6
19	10	F	Black	Medium	2	2	High School	High School	Public	5
20	9	F	Black	Medium	2	2	High School	High School	Public	4
21	11	F	Black	Medium	2	1	High School	High School	Public	6
22	10	M	Black	Low	2	2	Undergrad	Unknown	Public	5
23	11	F	Black	Low	1	4	High School	Unknown	Public	6
24	9	F	Black	Low	1	4	High School	Unknown	Public	4

Participant Demographics cont.

Participant #	Age	Gender M=male F=female	Race	SES	1 or 2 Parents at home	Siblings	Education Mother	Education Father	School	Grade
25	14	F	White	Medium	2	1	Associate	High School	Private	9
26	14	F	White	Medium	1	1	High School	High School	Private	9
27	11	M	White	High	1	1	Graduate	Graduate	Public	6
28	12	F	White	High	2	1	Graduate	Undergrad	Public	7
29	10	M	White	High	2	1	Graduate	Undergrad	Public	5
30	11	F	Black	Low	1	3	Unknown	Unknown	Public	6
31	11	F	Black	Low	1	3	High School	Unknown	Public	6
32	14	M	Black	Low	1	3	High School	Unknown	Public	8
33	12	F	Black	High	1	2	Undergrad	Unknown	Public	7
34	11	F	White	Low	2	2	Undergrad	Undergrad	Private	6
35	11	F	White	Low	1	1	High School	High School	Private	6

APPENDIX H

Q Sort Instructions:

1.   Ask participant if he/she has ever taken a survey or if they know what a survey is and how it works.

2.   Point to the number cards and ask the participant to describe what they are seeing (i.e. numbers go from +5 to -5, there are more numbers [0s] in the middle and only one on each end). Then explain and/or reiterate that +5 means very important, - 5 means not important at all.

3.   Explain that all the statement cards in front of the participant have statements about opportunities written on them. It will be the participant's choice to decide which of these statements deserve a higher ranking and which deserve a lower ranking.

3.   Explain again that this study is about the participant's view on which opportunities are important or not important to him or her. Remind the participant that it is only his or her view that matters, as opposed to what others may think.

4.   All statement cards will have to be laid out on top of the number cards. Only one statement card can be laid on top of one number card.

5.   Give the participants the choice to pre-sort. If they like, they can presort into 3 piles: One pile for very important opportunities, one for neutral or somewhat important opportunities, and one pile for opportunities that are not important.

6.   [After the pre-sort if so chosen], ask the participant to lay out the cards on top of the number cards in any way they would like. They can start at either end of the spectrum or in the middle.

       Also, remind the participant that he/she can move the cards around at any time and to feel free to ask if he/she does not understand a statement.

       Remind the participant that there are no right or wrong answers and that he/she can stop at any time.

7.   Have the participant read the numbers on the statement cards and transcribe the Q-Sort onto a grid sheet. Put the participant number on the grid sheet (no names).

8.   Leave the cards open to discuss the choices the participant made.

APPENDIX I

Data Entry Form

PARTICIPANT # _____

+5	+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5

APPENDIX J-1

Factor Scores Factor 1

Factor Scores -- For Factor   1

No.	Statement	Z-SCORES
22	have a parent who loves me	1.964
42	have shelter	1.688
8	study and do well in school	1.449
6	be able to go to doctor	1.335
24	have people who care for me	1.263
34	be respected by others	1.255
43	have a chance to make a difference	1.201
20	not worry about money	1.184
27	feel safe in school	1.158
37	have good self-esteem	1.028
17	people from different races to be treated the same	0.948
5	have enough food to eat	0.940
38	make good decisions	0.753
19	my parents to worry less about money	0.587
25	avoid drug dealers	0.515
35	people to respect my property	0.456
36	respect people who have different opinions	0.433
1	believe in choice of religion	0.281
28	have someone to talk to	0.252
16	boys and girls to be equal	0.244
23	give happiness	0.127
39	to be comfortable around people	0.095
26	avoid bullies	0.094

No.	Statement	Z-SCORES
3	take ideas from different religions	-0.149
45	be able to work	-0.185
40	live with someone who gives me food	-0.212
44	participate in politics	-0.237
29	be able to make friends	-0.332
9	learn hard facts in school	-0.524
7	learn languages	-0.647
13	have time to relax and unwind	-0.712
4	be able to eat good food	-0.728
33	go on vacations	-0.827
18	be equal to all my family members	-0.987
32	be able to play sports I like	-0.990
30	be able to use Facebook or Instagram to connect	-1.000
21	my parents to be able to spend more money	-1.033
41	live with someone who keeps me clean	1.033
14	time to play	-1.047
12	have a car as soon as I have driver's license	-1.188
15	time to do whatever I want to do	-1.314
11	ride my bike to my friend's house	-1.400
10	be able to move to another neighborhood	-1.402
31	play an instrument	-1.574
2	learn about religions	-1.730

APPENDIX J-2

Z-Scores for Factor 2

Factor Scores -- For Factor   2

No. Statement	Z-SCORES
22 have a parent who loves me	1.756
25 avoid drug dealers	1.706
38 make good decisions	1.456
17 people from different races to be treated the same	1.351
16 boys and girls to be equal	1.246
29 be able to make friends	1.194
4 be able to eat good food	1.019
42 have shelter	0.976
5 have enough food to eat	0.871
23 give happiness	0.807
18 be equal to all my family members	0.794
15 time to do whatever I want to do	0.775
24 have people who care for me	0.760
8 study and do well in school	0.710
13 have time to relax and unwind	0.648
14 time to play	0.335
40 live with someone who gives me food	0.332
32 be able to play sports I like	0.326
37 have good self-esteem	0.281
45 be able to work	0.195
27 feel safe in school	0.187
36 respect people who have different opinions	0.182
28 have someone to talk to	0.104

Factor Scores -- For Factor 2

No. Statement	Z-SCORES
34 be respected by others	0.034
33 go on vacations	0.028
12 have a car as soon as I have driver's license	-0.042
1 believe in choice of religion	-0.113
9 learn hard facts in school	-0.125
43 have a chance to make a difference	-0.228
35 people to respect my property	-0.260
41 live with someone who keeps me clean	-0.448
10 be able to move to another neighborhood	-0.452
26 avoid bullies	-0.481
6 be able to go to doctor	-0.494
39 to be comfortable around people	-0.621
20 not worry about money	-1.018
7 learn languages	-1.256
21 my parents to be able to spend more money	-1.262
31 play an instrument	-1.265
19 my parents to worry less about money	-1.272
3 take ideas from different religions	-1.423
11 ride my bike to my friend's house	-1.510
2 learn about religions	-1.756
30 be able to use Facebook or Instagram to connect	-2.004
44 participate in politics	-2.044

APPENDIX J-3

Z-Scores for Factor 3

Factor Scores -- For Factor   3

No. Statement	Z-SCORES
31 play an instrument	2.224
45 be able to work	1.742
41 live with someone who keeps me clean	1.445
27 feel safe in school	1.372
12 have a car as soon as I have driver's license	1.334
9 learn hard facts in school	1.260
6 be able to go to doctor	1.149
7 learn languages	1.037
22 have a parent who loves me	0.925
20 not worry about money	0.890
8 study and do well in school	0.779
35 people to respect my property	0.667
40 live with someone who gives me food	0.632
18 be equal to all my family members	0.593
33 go on vacations	0.520
24 have people who care for me	0.370
11 ride my bike to my friend's house	0.297
1 believe in choice of religion	0.258
3 take ideas from different religions	0.223
23 give happiness	0.185
5 have enough food to eat	0.112
44 participate in politics	0.112
21 my parents to be able to spend more money	0.000

38	make good decisions	0.000
19	my parents to worry less about money	0.000
29	be able to make friends	-0.112
34	be respected by others	-0.112
36	respect people who have different opinions	-0.112
28	have someone to talk to	-0.223
2	learn about religions	-0.258
10	be able to move to another neighborhood	-0.520
4	be able to eat good food	-0.555
42	have shelter	-0.667
17	people from different races to be treated the same	-0.852
14	time to play	-1.075
39	to be comfortable around people	-1.075
25	avoid drug dealers	-1.075
16	boys and girls to be equal	-1.187
26	avoid bullies	-1.334
37	have good self-esteem	-1.334
43	have a chance to make a difference	-1.334
15	time to do whatever I want to do	-1.372
30	be able to use Facebook or Instagram to connect	-1.519
13	have time to relax and unwind	-1.557
32	be able to play sports I like	-1.854

APPENDIX K

Cribsheets

Cribsheet - Factor 1

1) Items Ranked at +5 and +4

Statement #	Statement
22	Have a parent who loves me +5
6	Be able to go to the doctor +4
8	Study and do well in school +4
42	Have shelter +4

2) Items Ranked higher in Factor 1 Array than in Other Factor Arrays

Statement #	Statement
20	Not worry about money 3
24	Have people who care for me 3
26	Avoid bullies 0
34	Be respected by others 3
37	Have good self-esteem 2
39	To be comfortable around people 0
43	Have a chance to make a difference 3

3) Items Ranked Lower in Factor 1 Array than in Other Factor Arrays

Statement #	Statement
12	Have a car as soon as I have a driver's license -3
18	Be equal to all my family members -2
33	Go on vacations -2
41	Live with someone who keeps me clean -3

4) Items Ranked at -5 and -4

Statement #	Statement
2	Learn about religions -5
10	To be able to move to another neighborhood -4
11	Ride my bike to my friend's house -4
31	Play an instrument -4

Additional Items to be included for Factor 1

Statement #	Statement	Inclusion Rationale
16	Boys and girls to be equal 0	Equality statements are in the middle between factor 2 and 3
17	People from different races to be treated the same 2	Thus, supports the value of -2 for Statement 18
25	To avoid drug dealers 1	More indifferent than Factor 2 (4) and Factor 3 (-2)
40	Live with someone who gives me food 0	Lowest of all 3 factors
41	Live with someone who keeps me clean -3	Lowest of all 2 factors / big difference to factor 3

Cribsheet - Factor 2

1) Items Ranked at +5 and +4

Statement #	Statement
22	Have a parent who loves me +5
17	People from different races to be treated the same +4
25	To avoid drug dealers +4
38	Make good decisions +4

2) Items Ranked higher in Factor 2 Array than in Other Factor Arrays

Statement #	Statement
4	To be able to eat good food +3
13	Have time to relax and unwind +1
14	Time to play +1
15	Time to do whatever I want to do +2
16	Boys and girls to be treated equal +3
18	be equal to all my family members +2
29	Be able to make friends +3
32	Be able to play the sports I like +1

3) Items Ranked Lower in Factor 2 Array than in Other Factor Arrays

Statement #	Statement
3	Take ideas from different religions -3
6	Be able to go to the doctor -2
8	Study and do well in school +1
19	My parents to worry less about money -3
20	Not to worry about money -2
27	Feel safe in school

4) Items Ranked at -5 and -4

Statement #	Statement
44	Participate in politics -5
2	Learn about religions -4
11	Ride my bike to my friend's house
30	Be able to use Facebook or Instagram to connect

Cribsheet Factor 3

1) Items Ranked at +5 and +4

Statement #	Statement
31	Play an instrument +5
27	Feel safe in school +4
41	Live with someone who keeps me clean +4
45	Be able to work +4

2) Items Ranked higher in Factor 3 Array than in Other Factor Arrays

Statement #	Statement
2	Learn about religions -1
3	Take ideas from different religions +1
7	Learn languages +3
9	Learn hard facts in school +3
11	Ride my bike to my friend's house +1
12	Have a car as soon as I have my driver's license +3
21	My parents to be able to spend more money 0

3) Items Ranked Lower in Factor 3 Array than in Other Factor Arrays

Statement #	Statement
16	Boys and girls to be equal -3
17	People from different races to be treated the same -2
22	Have a parent who loves me +2
25	Avoid drug dealers -2
37	Have good self-esteem -3
38	Make good decisions 0
42	Have shelter -2
43	Have a chance to make a difference -3
44	Participate in politics 0

4) Items Ranked at -5 and -4

Statement #	Statement
32	Be able to play the sports I like -5
13	Have time to relax and unwind -4
15	Time to do whatever I want to do -4
30	Be able to use Facebook or Instagram to connect -4

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CURRICULUM VITAE

Ines Meier

EDUCATION

2015	Ph.D. Candidate, Childhood Studies, Rutgers University
	Dissertation: Giving Voice and Choice to Children:
	Q Methodology as a Capability Measure
2008	M.A., Psychology, Rutgers University
	Thesis with Distinction
2006	B.A., Psychology, Rutgers University
	Summa cum laude
1996	A.A., Communications Option, Camden County College
	Permanent President's List

ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT

2010 - 2015	Instructor, Rutgers University
	Designed and taught the following courses:
	The Rational Child,
	Senior Seminar in Childhood Studies (Children as Persons),
	Child Psychology,
	Cognitive Development,
	Educational Psychology,
	Psychology of Addiction,
	Psychology of Parenting (Undergraduate and Graduate),
	History of Youth,
	Children and Migration,
	Supervisor Undergraduate Independent Studies.
2012	Graduate Assistant to Dr. Charles Watters, Chair, Childhood Studies, Rutgers University
2011	Teaching Assistant to Dr. Daniel Cook, Graduate Director, Childhood Studies, Rutgers University
2008 – 2010	Statistics Teaching Assistant and Research Assistant to Dr. Jane Siegel, Chair Sociology, Anthropology and Criminal Justice, Rutgers University

EMPLOYMENT

2013-Present   Freelance Program Evaluator
REU Program-NSF funded (Center for Computational and Integrative Biology, Rutgers-Camden), Q-Step Program-NSF funded, (Rutgers-Camden).

2013-Present   Editorial Assistant, International Journal of Migration, Health and Social Care, ISSN: 1747-9894. Emerald Group Publishing.

2013   Part-Time Assistant to Director of the Center for Global Childhoods, Rutgers-Camden.
Development of the center, including grant-writing and conference organization.

2004 – 2014   President, Smart Apple LLC, Voorhees, NJ
Co-owner of an educational testing firm. Conducted student assessments in math, language arts, science, history, and ESL from grades K-12. Developed standardized tests for student and teacher evaluations.

HONORS AND AWARDS

2013   2013-14 David K. Sengstack Endowed Graduate Fellowship for Outstanding Graduate Student in Childhood Studies.

2012   Rutgers University, Center for Global Advancement and International Affairs, $10,000 (Co-Investigator of project titled "Rutgers University-Universidade Catolica de Brasília Research Network.")

2008-

2012   TA/GA Fellowship, Childhood Studies Department, Rutgers-University-Camden

2011   Dean's Travel Award, Rutgers University

2009   Dean's Travel Award, Rutgers University

2007   Graduate Fellowship, Childhood Studies Department, Rutgers University

2006   Graduate Fellowship, Psychology Department, Rutgers University-Camden

2006   Charles Kaden Memorial Award for Psychology

RECENT ACADEMIC/UNIVERSITY ACTIVITIES

2014-
Present   Member of Steering Group for the Annual Global Interdisciplinary. Net Conference at Oxford University, Oxford, U.K.

2013   Research group manager: Establishing an interdisciplinary working group in global and international research in a collaboration of Rutgers University, Camden and Universidade Catolica De Brasilia, Brazil.

2013   3rd Global Interdisciplinary.Net Conference: Childhood-A Persons Project – Panel Chair

2011   Multiple Childhoods Conference, Rutgers University-Camden, Panel Chair

2010   Exploring Childhood Studies Conference, Rutgers University – Camden, Organizer
2010   Childhood Studies Film Series, Rutgers University – Camden, Organizer
2009   Children and War Conference, Rutgers University – Camden, Assistant

PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS

Meier, I. & Gemerek, D. (2015), *Children's Voices in Q-Methodology.* Poster presented at Eastern Psychological Association Conference, Philadelphia, PA, March.

Meier, I. (2013). *Children as Persons: Enhancing capabilities*. Paper presented at the 3rd Global Interdisciplinary.Net Conference: Childhood – A Persons Project, Oxford University, U.K.

Meier, I. & Whitlow, J.W., Jr. (2012). *The Rational Child: How the Age of Reason shaped children's status as persons.* Paper presented at the 9th European Social Science History Conference, Glasgow, Scotland, April.

Meier, I. (2011). *Review of Reason's Children: Childhood in early modern philosophy by Anthony Krupp.* Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth, 4 (2), 343 - 345. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Meier, I. (2011). *Children as Persons: Implications of a capabilities approach in education*. Paper presented at the Children's Capabilities and Human Development Conference, University of Cambridge, UK, April.

Meier, I. (2009). *Children's University at Rutgers-Camden.* Poster presented at 2nd Conference of the European Children's Universities Network, Vienna, Austria, December.

Meier, I.& Whitlow, J.W., Jr. (2009). *Improving public health messages: Acting on emotions*. Poster presented at the annual meeting of the Psychonomic Society, Boston, MA, November.

Whitlow, J.W., Jr. & Meier, I. (2007). *Acting on emotions: The importance of emotion in public health messages*. Poster presented at the annual meeting of the Eastern Psychological Association, Philadelphia, PA, March.

Meier, I. (2008). *Acting on emotions. Impact of emotions on public health messages*. (unpublished Masters thesis, Rutgers University)

Other Publications
Brief Articles
"Jonathan T. – Diagnosed with Asthma" – Standardized Tests, Inc., 2005
"The Monarch Butterfly" – Standardized Tests, Inc., 2005
"The Five Senses" – Standardized Tests, Inc., 2006
"The 3 Rs – Reduce, Reuse, Recycle" – Standardized Tests, Inc., 2006

Collaborative Assessment Packages

    High School Proficiency Test
    Grades 9 and 10 – Language Arts, Math, Science
    (Standardized Tests, Inc., 2005)

    Writing Assessment Prompts
    Grades 3-8
    (Standardized Tests, Inc., 2005)

    Primary Practice Test for Standards
    Primary, Primary 1, Primary 2 – Language Arts, Math
    (Standardized Tests, Inc., 2006)

    Science Proficiency Test – Grades 4 and 8
    (Standardized Tests, Inc., 2007)

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

American Evaluation Association
Eastern Psychological Association
The International Society for the Scientific Study of Subjectivity
Association for Psychological Science
Human Capabilities Association
European Union Children's Universities Network
PSI BETA Honor Society in Psychology