But Is It Safe? Experimental Evidence on the School Characteristics that Effect Students' and Parents' Perceptions of School Safety and School Choices.

Safety and security has become an increasingly important aspect of American schools. This is partially due to the exponential increase in highly publicized school shootings over the past twenty years[1]. During the 2017- 2018 academic year alone, media sources covered two school shootings at Sante Fe High School and Stoneman High School in Parkland Florida where 10 and 17 students were killed. In the wake of these shootings, the federal government formed the Federal School Safety Commission to create policies focusing on school safety and security. Simultaneous with the increased salience of safety in schooling, there has also been an increase in school choice options and policies over the past twenty years. These school choice options include magnet schools, open enrollment school districts, charter schools, and vouchers to attend private schools (Goyette 2014).

This study reconciles the current social and policy contexts to understand which school characteristics affect parent and student perceptions of school safety and their ultimate school choices. By employing two experimental vignette studies with samples of NYC eighth grade students and parents and an internet-based sample of parents, I uncover a deeper understanding of what causes our current patterns of school inequality and segregation. In particular, I explore the following research questions: *Does school safety, neighborhood safety, the presence of visual cues of safety or disorder, and school racial demographics affect families' perceptions of school safety and their desire to attend a school? Do these effects differ by high schools' characteristics (racial demographics, safety rating, graduation rate)? How do these effects differ by respondents' background characteristics (parent v. student; race; current school's racial demographics, school disorder rate, and students' perceptions of school safety; residential neighborhood's racial demographics and crime rate; respondents' explicit racial/ethnic attitudes, affect, and perceptions of injustice)?*

[1] It is important to note that although public fear of school shootings has increased, recent research demonstrates the actual number of school shootings and mass school shootings has not increased over the past twenty years (Fox and Friedel 2018).

FAMILIES' PREFERENCES FOR SAFE SCHOOLS

Families report safety as a prominent factor in their school choice decisions (Deluca and Rosenblatt 2010; Goyette 2014; Pattillo 2015; Rhodes and Deluca 2014; Schneider et al. 1999; Weininger 2014). In previous studies, parents and students often point to three dimensions of school safety: violence and disorder within schools, school climate, and violence and disorder in the neighborhood surrounding schools (Briggs et al. 2010; Deluca and Rosenblatt 2010; Goyette 2014; Kimelberg 2014; Rhodes and Deluca 2014).

Studies on families' actual middle and high school choices, however, demonstrate contradictory evidence on the role of school safety in school choices. Families in New York City, Denver, and Philadelphia prefer schools with low school disorder and neighborhood crime rates over schools with high disorder and crime rates (Denice and Gross 2016; Hailey 2018a, 2018b; Saporito and Lareau 1999). In contrast, families in Washington, D.C. rank schools in higher crime neighborhoods above schools in lower crime neighborhoods (Glazerman and Dotter 2016).

When overwhelmed with the school choice process or when faced with scant information on school safety, families may rely on salient information and safety heuristics[2], or cognitive shortcuts, to make their school choices (Bruch and Feinberg 2017; Shafir and Leboeuf 2002; Slovic and Peters 2006). Research provides some evidence of this salient information and heuristic use. Salient school information, or information that is straightforward, accessible, and easily interpretable, sways parents' school transfer and enrollment decisions (Friesen et al. 2012; Hailey 2018a, 2018b; Hastings and Weinstein 2008; Hussain 2013; Koning and Van der Wiel 2013; Valant 2014). Furthermore, studies on perceptions of neighborhood safety, neighborhood choice, and school choice suggest that families use two heuristics in their judgments and decision making—visual cues (Krysan, Farley, and Couper 2008; Quillian and Pager

[2] Heuristics are problem-solving techniques, or cognitive shortcuts, individuals employ to manage information processing, judgment formulating, and decision-making (Bruch and Feinberg 2017; Tversky and Kahneman 1974). They "keep the information-processing demands of a task within the bounds of their [individuals'] limited cognitive capacity"(Bruch and Feinberg 2017: 211).

2001, 2010; Sampson 2012; Sampson and Raudenbush 2004) and race-based stereotypes (Billingham and Hunt 2016; Bobo and Zubrinsky 1996; Denice and Gross 2016; Goyette 2014; Holme 2002; Krysan et al. 2009, 2008; Phillips, Hausman, and Larsen 2012; Saporito 2003; Saporito and Lareau 1999; Zubrinsky and Bobo 1996; Zubrinsky Charles 2003). Evidence from NYC families' school choices supports this proposition; salient safety ratings and heuristics—visual cues of safety and school racial demographics stereotypically associated with disorder—relate to school demand and choices, even when accounting for official school disorder and neighborhood crime rates (see Hailey 2018a, 2018b).

The extant literature cannot establish whether school safety affects families' school choice decisions. It only establishes correlative relationships that may be driven by an unmeasured or mis-measured variable. A recent vignette experiment from Billingham and Hunt (2016) begins to provide some causal evidence of families' concerns with school safety. They find parents are 54 percent less likely to enroll their young children in a school with heightened security (i.e. a security guard, metal detector, and bag search when entering building). We should, however, be cautious to interpret this finding as definitive proof that school safety uniformly affects families' school choices. First, this interpretation assumes parents use heightened security as a signal for school safety and that their school choices are in response to this latent safety factor. Parents may just have an aversion to their young child attending a school with heightened security, rather than interpreting this as a measure of safety. Secondly, several threats limit this study's external validity. Their respondent sample only includes White respondents, who represent only half of school-age children in the United States. Researchers ask parents about young children entering kindergarten and we cannot assume these findings extrapolate to other school ages (i.e. middle and high school choice). Finally, the heightened security apparatus in their hypothetical schools is an unrealistic scenario for elementary schools. In 2014, only 10 percent of elementary schools had a full-time security guard and less than 1 percent used a metal detector daily (Zhang, Musu-Gillette, and Oudekerk 2017).

The question still remains does school safety affect families' school choices. This study answers this question. Using visual and text vignette experiments, I estimate the effect of school safety on school

choice with a racially and economically diverse sample of students and parents. By randomly varying the school characteristics presented in hypothetical school profiles, I separate the effects of school safety information, school racial demographics, visual cues of school safety/insecurity, and neighborhood safety on parents' and students' perceptions of school safety and school choice decisions.

This study makes several contributions to sociological theory. First, I build on the school choice literature by comprehensively analyzing school safety, a school characteristic incautiously examined in extant studies. I analyze families' sensitivity to school safety elements in their school choices, incorporating the safety aspects families state as important to their school choices—school climate and neighborhood safety—and salient safety indicators and heuristics they may employ to judge school safety. Second, I evaluate how school safety preferences vary by schools' characteristics and students' background characteristics. Third, I assess if theories on adults' neighborhood and school choices extend to adolescents' choice behaviors. To date, most research has focused on parents' school choice preferences; given evidence that students play a central role in high school decision-making (Sattin-Bajaj 2015), this project extends the literature to study student preferences. I particularly evaluate whether adolescents' racial attitudes, affect, and perceptions of social injustice influence their perceptions of spaces and school choices. Finally, by using an experimental design to isolate factors that may influence school choices, my study attempts to isolate the causal effects of official school and neighborhood safety measures, visual cues of safety, and school racial demographics. Experiment results contribute to judgment and decision making theories that suggest individuals use heuristics, or short cuts, in complex decision-making processes when overwhelmed with choices and information (Bruch and Feinberg 2017; Shafir and Leboeuf 2002; Slovic and Peters 2006). Results, additionally, can inform the decisions districts make about how they convey information to families and the efficacy of school choice policies to abate school inequality patterns.

DATA AND METHOD

Modeled on Krysan et al.'s (2009) neighborhood choice video experiment and Billingham and Hunt's (2016) school choice vignette experiment, I create school profiles that simulate the hard-copy and

online high school directory students receive from the NYC Department of Education (DOE) (see Appendix A) and school photographs that simulate families' experiences if they observed schools during afternoon dismissal times and the school's neighborhood. By systematically varying school characteristics in the photographs and school profiles (see Table 1 and 2), I estimate the effect of these characteristics on students' school choices and perceptions.

[Table 1]

[Table 2]

There are two iterations of this survey experiment. In the first iteration, I engage current NYC eighth grade parents and students in this study, since young people often have a large role in their high school decisions (Sattin-Bajaj 2015). As opposed to previous vignette studies that solely rely on parents who may or may not be making an active school choice (Billingham and Hunt 2016), high school choice is both contextually relevant to my sample members and engages their current interests. Including students does not appear to raise substantial new methodological issues; many researchers have effectively implemented vignette studies with adolescents (Ha, Overbeek, and Engels 2010; Romeo and Horn 2017; Zwaanswijk et al. 2011).

The experiment will be conducted at the citywide and borough-specific NYC High School Fairs in September and October 2018. The NYC DOE hosts fairs during two weekends and offers families an opportunity to learn about high schools throughout the city and within their borough. Each year, approximately 20,000 of the 75,000 applicants attend these fairs; while this certainly creates a form of selection bias, the ability to reach large numbers of families at a low cost makes this methodology the most feasible forum for data collection. Valant (2014) uses a similar experiment setting at a Philadelphia high school fair to conduct an experiment with parents and students. To generate a somewhat random sample of fair attendees, I will use an "exit poll" sampling strategy and interview every fifth student and parent in standing in line to enter or exiting the high school fair. It is imperative that parents or guardians be present to provide consent for students to participate in the study. This participation criteria will also likely bias the sample toward students whose parents are somewhat engaged in their high school

application process and attend the fair.

The survey will be administered in English and Spanish. These languages represent the two most common languages spoken in NYC eighth grade students' homes—51 percent speak English at home and 24 percent speak Spanish.

For the second iteration, I will survey a nationally representative sample of parents with children currently enrolled in middle school. Qualtrics Survey Company will gather this survey sample and administer the survey. This survey will only be offered in English.

To solicit responses to the vignettes, in both survey samples, respondents will read the following instructions/ cover story at the beginning of the survey:

> *Please imagine that you set up a meeting to discuss your [student's] high school options with your [their] guidance counselor. Your [Their] guidance counselor shows you this list of five high schools. Your [Their] counselor would like to know how you feel about each of these high schools.*
>
> *All schools on the list are within a 20-minute bus ride from your home and are midsized with about 450 students. Students do not wear uniforms. School meets from 8:00 to 3:00. The schools have many after school programs and sports teams. You qualify [Your student qualifies] for admission to attend the school based on your [their] grades and attendance record.*
>
> *Can you please give your opinion of each potential high school option? These are your opinions and there are no right or wrong answers. Please do not consult your parent/guardian [student] when giving your opinion.*

The introduction ensures factors that have demonstrated impacts on school choices are held constant: location/convenience, school size, uniforms, extracurricular activities, and qualification for admission (Abdulkadiroglu et al. 2017; Denice and Gross 2016; Glazerman and Dotter 2016; Harris and Larsen 2015; Hastings et al. 2009). It also attempts to reduce social desirability bias by emphasizing that respondents should provide their opinions when they answer the follow-up questions.

In the NYC-based sample, parents and students will simultaneously and separately participate in the experiment. After reading the instructions, the survey will reiterate that parents and students should not consult with each other to answer the questions.

Manipulation of Independent Variables

I present each respondent with five hypothetical school profiles.

For the NYC-based sample, the school profiles mimic presentation and the school profiles in the NYC Department of Education's High School Directory and School Finder. See Appendix A for example of the profiles in the parent and study surveys[3]. The profiles include information about current students' perceptions of safety inside the school and in the school's neighborhood, racial demographics, the presence of a metal detector, and the graduation rate. I randomly vary the five school characteristics, or factors, independent of each other[4]. Table 1 outlines the five vignette dimensions and levels.

Within the school profile description, I randomly vary the five school characteristics in two increments above and below the 50th percentile of all NYC high schools during the 2016/17 academic year. The school safety rating mirrors the information available to families in the NYC High School Directory. It indicates the percent of current high school students who feel safe in hallways, bathrooms, locker rooms, and cafeteria of the school. I set the school safety levels at 79 percent and 91 percent to correspond with the 25th and 75th percentiles. The neighborhood safety rating aligns with the NYCDOE school survey question that asks students if they feel safe "outside around their school." I set the neighborhood safety levels at 70 percent and 88 percent to correspond with the 25th and 75th percentiles of students' responses during the 2016/17 school year. Graduation rate factor levels will be 75 percent and 89 percent, aligning with the 50th and 75th percentiles of NYC high schools.

The student demographics correspond with demographics of NYC high schools in 2016/17 and represent majority White schools, majority Black schools, majority Latino schools, and schools that reflect the whole NYC high school student population. Majority white schools have 58 percent White students, 15 percent Asian students, 15 percent Latino students, and 7 percent Black students. The

[3] Auspurg and Hinz (2015) find factorial surveys with between 5 and 9 variable dimensions and up to 10 vignettes produce internally valid results with no cognitive overload or fatigue effects. Employing more vignettes or more complexity could result in responding using simplifying heuristics that ignore some dimensions.

[4] The five factors are within the recommended number vignette factors (5-8) needed to retrieve consistent estimates and to limit respondent fatigue (Sauer et al. 2011).

majority Black schools have 74 percent Black students, 18 percent Latino students, 3 percent Asian students, and 2 percent White students. Majority Latino schools have 63 percent Latino students, 25 percent Black students, 5 percent Asian students, and 4 percent White students. The NYC school population representative schools have 44 percent Latino students, 36 percent Black students, 10 percent Asian students, and 8 percent White students.

For the national sample, I present parents with a school profiles that include a picture of the school at afternoon dismissal, a picture of the school's neighborhood, and a school performance profile. See Appendix A for example of the profiles in the national parent survey. In the pictures, I introduce three school characteristics: students' racial demographics (mostly White, mostly Black, mostly Latino, and mixed race), metal detectors (yes or no), and neighborhood advantage/disadvantage. All pictures illustrate similarly new school buildings and include twelve students (six female and six male students). Pictured students are ages 14 to 18 and dressed in simple, middle-class clothing. A graphic designer generated these photographs specifically for this study. Table 2 outlines the five vignette dimensions and levels.

The student populations will correspond with NYC high school demographics during the 2016/17 academic year. The mostly White school mirrors the nine NYC high schools with 50 percent or more White students. They picture 7 White students, 2 Latino student, 1 Black student, and 2 Asian students. The mostly Black school reflects the 98 NYC high schools with 50 percent or more Black students—8 Black students, 2 Latino students, 1 Asian student, and 1 White student. Similarly, the mostly Latino school reflects the demographics of the 196 NYC schools with 50 percent or more Latino students—7 Latino students, 3 Black students, 1 Asian student, and 1 White student. The racially mixed school reflects the student demographics in the average NYC high school—5 Latino students, 5 Black students, 1 White student, and 1 Asian student.

I place a metal detector similar to those in NYC high schools in the schools' main entryway as a visual cue of safety (or insecurity).

In the second picture, I display an advantaged neighborhood or a disadvantaged neighborhood. Refurbished brownstone homes, tree-lined and clean sidewalks, and newer expensive cars will surround

schools in advantaged neighborhood. On the other hand, public housing buildings, older-model cars, graffiti tagged buildings, and trash on the sidewalk will surround schools in the disadvantaged neighborhood.

I pre-tested the two survey instruments via MTurk and conducted cognitive interviews to ensure students and parents identified the elements being manipulated in each picture and interpreted the photographs as representing advantaged and disadvantaged neighborhoods.

The school profiles, for the national sample, only include the school safety rating and graduation rates. These two school characteristics vary at the same levels as the NYC-based survey instrument. See description above and Table 2.

Crossing all vignette dimensions results in a vignette universe of 64 scenarios (4 x 2 x 2 x 2 x 2). To reduce respondent fatigue and limit the survey length, each respondent evaluates five school profiles. A D-efficient fraction[5] of 60 vignettes was drawn from the vignette universe and allocated to 12 decks of five vignettes (D-efficiency: 97.7). All main effects, all two-way interactions, an interaction for students' race, metal detectors, and school graduation rate, an interaction for students' race, metal detectors, and school safety rating, an interaction for students' race, metal detectors, and neighborhood advantage, and an interaction for students' race, safety rating and neighborhood advantage were orthogonalized so they can be estimated independently of each other (see Auspurg and Hinz (2015) for details). Correlations between factors are all less than 0.09 (see Table 3).

[Table 3]

All vignettes were included in sampling strategy because no combinations seemed implausible or impossible. The NYC high school portfolio includes low quality, unsafe schools in advantaged neighborhoods and high quality, safe schools in disadvantaged neighborhoods. The Secondary School of

[5] A D-efficient design uses an algorithm to choose a portion of the total vignette universe and allocate vignettes to decks. The design attempts to maximize balance in the number of times each factor-level occurs in the experiment and to minimize high correlations between dimensions. D-efficiencies range from 0 to 100 with perfectly symmetrical and orthogonal designs scored as 100. See Auspurg and Hinz (2015) for further details.

Journalism located in the advantaged Park Slope neighborhood, for instance, enrolls 50 percent Black and 40 percent Latino students, has a permanent metal detector, and below average safety ratings and graduation rates. On the other hand, University Heights Secondary School located in the historically disadvantaged South Bronx neighborhood does not have a metal detector, 94 percent of students feel safe, and almost all students (99 percent) graduate in four years.

Potential Advantages and Biases of Design

Each respondent evaluating multiple vignettes (or a within-subject design) offers several advantages over each respondent evaluating one vignette (or a between-subject design). First, it increases the statistical power to detect effects and differences between populations because of the increased number of observations. In this study, the number of vignette observations increases by 6,000 and 1,200 by employing a within-subject design rather than a between-subject design. Second, it decreases error associated with unmeasured respondent characteristics because I can calculate within-subject effects.

However this method has several potential risks. Respondents may become fatigued when answering too many vignettes. In this study, I minimize fatigue by limiting the number of vignettes to five per respondent. I used pilot tests to ensure the viability this method with adolescents and parents. Additionally, there may be carryover effects, or respondents' evaluations may be influenced by characteristics presented and their evaluations of prior vignettes (Auspurg and Hinz 2015). If the same school profiles are presented first or last, then they could have systematically low or high evaluations due to their position in the vignette survey. To minimize this bias, I randomly rotate the vignette order between each respondent[6].

To minimize the likelihood that participants provide socially desirable response, interviewers in the NYC-based study will give participants tablets to answer the survey questions privately. They will also ensure respondents that their identity will not be attached to their answers. Additionally, the instructions outlined above are non-normative and ensure respondents there are no right or wrong answers. To take

[6] Although this method decreases order effects, it may increase error variance.

further precaution, a racially diverse group of researchers will recruit participants and administer the surveys. The research group includes two Asian, six Black, three Latino, and three White researchers. When possible, researchers will recruit respondents from their same phonotypical race/ethnic group.

Measures of School Safety Characteristics and School Desirability

Factorial surveys have been used to assess behavior intentions across a number of sectors: hiring (Di Stasio and Gërxhani 2015), training (Karpinska et al. 2015), choosing a neighborhood (Krysan et al. 2009), and enrolling a child into a school (Billingham and Hunt 2016). In this study, I solicit how welcome respondents would feel in the school, the likelihood they would rank the school first on their high school application, and how safe they believe the school would be. After presenting school pictures and profile to respondents, I ask three questions. First, "In general, how welcome do you think you [your student] would feel in this school?" Respondents answer a 7-point likert scale ranging from 1, very unwelcome, to 7, very welcome. Second, they answer, "How safe do you think this school would be?" with answers ranging from 1,very unsafe to 7,very safe. Finally, "Overall, how likely is it that you would rank this school first on your [your student's] high school application? " Respondents answer the likert scale ranging from 1, very unlikely, to 7, very likely. For each question, respondents will have the option to select "don't know."

These questions are a variation of the questions Krysan et al. (2009) asked adults to garner their perceptions of neighborhoods[7] and Billingham and Hunt (2016) asked parents to solicit their perceptions of schools[8]. The 7-point scales allow for optimum variability in responses without making the categories

[7] In their survey they asked adults: In general, how comfortable do you think you would feel living in the neighborhood you just saw on the video? Would you say 1 Not at all comfortable 2 Slightly Comfortable 3 Somewhat Comfortable 4 Pretty Comfortable 5 Very Comfortable 6 Extremely Comfortable; The next few questions use a scale where a "1" is the lowest rating and a "7" is the highest rating. A "4" is midway between the lowest and highest and of course you can choose any number in between. First, overall, how would you rate the neighborhood you just saw as a place to live? 1 Very Desirable 7 Very Undesirable ; How unsafe or safe do you think the neighborhood in the video looks like it would be? 1 Very Unsafe 7 Very Safe.. For each question, respondents had the option to select "don't know."

[8] Billingham and Hunt (2016) asked parents: How suitable (very suitable, somewhat suitable, somewhat unsuitable, very unsuitable) they believed the school was for their children's academic needs? How safe (very safe, somewhat safe, somewhat unsafe, very unsafe) they believed the school was? How likely (very

arbitrary to respondents (Auspurg and Hinz 2015; Karpinska et al. 2015). Pretest respondents interpreted these questions as they were intended and did not feel limited or overwhelmed by the 7-point scale.

Measures of Respondent Background Characteristics

Finally, I collect basic demographic information from participants—age, gender, race/ethnicity, language spoken at home, current school name, and residential zip code. See Appendix B for exact survey questions. Respondents will select their, or their student's, current school name from a drop down menu of NYC public and charter middle schools and an option for private/ catholic school. I ask for their zip codes to approximate residential neighborhood characteristics.

I will link respondents' current school names to NYC Department of Education data to attain the schools' racial demographics (percent Latino, percent Black, percent White, percent Asian, and percent "Other"), socioeconomic demographics (percent of students who receive free or reduced price lunch or universal free lunch program), and average student performance on the New York State standardized exam. To capture current school violence and insecurity, I will also calculate schools' disorder rate from the New York State Violent and Disruptive Incident Reports and current students' perceptions of school and neighborhood safety from the New York City School Climate Survey.

Linking respondents' zip-codes to U.S. Census and New York Police Department crime incident and stop and frisk data, I will calculate students' residential neighborhood racial demographics (percent Latino, percent Black, percent White, percent Asian, and percent "Other"), socio-economic status (percent of residents in poverty), crime rate (misdemeanor, violent, and nonviolent), and stop, question, and frisk rate as a measure of street-level police encounters.

To understand whether or not racialized perceptions of school choice patterns operate through respondents' racial attitudes, affect, and/or perceptions of racial injustice, I compose in-group/out-group stereotype scores, racial feeling scores, and perception of social injustice scores. Using visual analog scales and based on question wording from the General Social Survey (see Billingham and Hunt 2016;

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likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely, very unlikely) they would be to enroll their children in the hypothetical school? For each question, respondents had the option to select "don't know."

Krysan et al. 2009; Okeke et al. 2009; Zubrinsky and Bobo 1996), I ask respondents to rate on a100-mm line if Latino, Black, White, and Asian students tend to be intelligent/unintelligent, peaceful/violent, and easy to get along with/hard to get along with. See Appendix B for exact question wording. Racial groups are randomly arranged to decreases response bias based on question ordering. To calculate the in-group—out-group scores, I subtract racial groups' scores from each other to determine whether respondents have more positive or negative attitudes toward their in-group compared to Latino students, in-group compared to Black students, in-group compared to White students, and in-group compared to Asian students. In addition, the survey also includes a racial feeling thermometer to measure racial affect, or respondents' explicit positive or negative feelings toward in and out-group members. Respondents were asked to mark on a line labeled 0 (cold or unfavorable feelings) to 100 degrees (warm or favorable feelings), how they felt toward White, Black, Latino, and Asian persons. Finally, the survey includes a battery of questions to measure respondents' perceptions of racial injustice drawn from Shedd's (2015) study of social injustice among Chicago students. These questions ask, on a five-point scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree, how much do respondents agree with the following: (1) People from my racial group are more likely to be unfairly stopped and questioned by the police than people from other racial groups.; (2) Discrimination makes it harder for people from my racial group to find a good job.; (3) Discrimination makes it harder for people from my racial group to find a good place to live. (4) Discrimination makes it harder for people from my racial group to get good grades in school.

Race in New York City

Race is a social construction that categorizes individuals based on their phenotype and ancestry (Bonilla-Silva 2014; Omi and Winant 2015). It is historically and socially situated. In the United States, a racial structure confers access to power and privilege based on individuals' racial proximity to whiteness and generates patterns of racial inequality.

The New York City public school student demographics are racially/ ethnically diverse: thirteen percent of students are White, twenty-eight percent are Black, thirty-nine percent are Latino, fifteen percent are Asian, and three percent are other/multiple races. These broad race/ethnic categories,

however, obscure intra-racial national and phenotypic differences that could have implications for families' school choices and perceptions of safety. "Black" students include African Americans, African immigrants, and Caribbean students and "Asian" students include Chinese, Filipino, Korean, Indian, and Pakistani students. "Latino" students, in particular, include Puerto Rican, Dominican, Mexican, Ecuadorian, etc. students and phenotypically White and phenotypically Black students. These intra-racial/ethnic groups occupy different positions in the American racial stratification system, live in different neighborhoods, experience different levels of racial stereotyping and implicit biases, identify as different racial groups, and hold different racial attitudes toward their in-group and other racial groups (Bonilla-Silva 2014; Kahn and Davies 2010; Massey and Denton 1993).

In this study, I collect respondents' detailed race, ethnicity, and national background. These detailed categories enable me to assess potential intra-racial differences in the effects of school racial demographics on respondents' reactions to school racial demographics, in-group—out-group racial attitudes, perceptions of school safety, and school choices.

Sample

Based on the population of NYC students across the city and within each borough who applied to high school in the 2015/2016 academic year and a targeted sample of 750 students and 750 parents/guardians, I expect a diverse sample. See Table 4 for more details. The population of students who attend the citywide fair and each borough fair likely reflect the general NYC eighth grade population and each borough's eighth grade student population. I project sample demographics based on the potential sample at each high school fair. I expect 609 Latino, 380 Black, 219 Asian, and 273 White respondents to complete the experiment. About 53 percent of the sample will speak English at home, 23 percent to speak Spanish, 5 percent to speak Chinese, and remaining nineteen to speak Russian, Bengali, Korean, Haitian Creole, French, or "Other" languages. I can also expect respondents to currently attend over 600 public or charter NYC middle schools and six percent to currently attend private school. Respondents will reside in 200 of NYC's 240 zip codes.

[Table 4]

The national parent study targets a racially diverse and nationally representative sample of parents who have children currently enrolled in middle school.

Analytic Approach

The systematic variation in the schools displayed to respondents allows me to estimate the causal effect of schools' safety rating, student body racial demographics, visual cues of safety, and neighborhood safety/advantage on respondents' perceptions of school safety and desire to attend schools. I determine whether the relationship between these safety components and school choice operates through respondents' perceptions of the school as safe. Finally, I test for heterogeneous effects by high schools' characteristics, for parents versus students, and by respondents' background, current school, and residential neighborhood characteristics.

Given that vignettes are nested within respondents, I use hierarchical linear models to estimate these relationships. The models have two levels. The first-level predictors are the dimensions that randomly vary across vignettes—student body race, metal detectors, neighborhood advantage/safety, school safety, and graduation rate. The second level predictors are fixed within respondents but vary between respondents. They include parent v. student; race; gender; age; current school's racial demographics, SES, average students' achievement-level, school disorder rate, and students' perceptions of school safety; residential neighborhood's racial demographics, SES, and crime rate; negative racial/ethnic attitudes, affect, and perceptions of social injustice.

To determine how school and respondents' characteristics affect perceptions of school safety and school desirability (Y_{ij}), I estimate Y_{ij} as a function of the vignette- and respondent-level predictors and decompose the error term into respondent-level variation and vignette-level variation. Second, I expect heterogeneous effects of metal detectors and school racial demographics by the high schools' characteristics. To test this hypothesis, in separate regressions I will interact these factors and each school characteristic. In the fourth regression for this experiment, I examine heterogeneous effects by respondents' background characteristics. To assess, I estimate separate models with an interaction between metal detector presence and each respondent background characteristic and separate models with

an interaction between schools' racial demographics each respondent background characteristic. Finally, to estimate heterogeneous effects of neighborhoods, I estimate separate models with an interaction between neighborhood and each respondent background characteristic. And to understand differential effects of neighborhood by school characteristics, in separate models I interact neighborhood and each school characteristic.

For models that include student and parents, will use robust standard errors to account students and parents being nested within one household.

Pretest Results

I conducted pre-test experiments with 60 parents using MTurk in Summer 2018. They completed preliminary versions of the experiment. The sample included 52 White, four Black, two Asian, four Latino, and one multi-racial participant. Most of the sample was between 25 and 54 years old (85%). The sample was half male and half female, most attended some college or had a B.A. degree or higher (95%), and most were born in the United States (95%). See Table 5.

[Table 5]

Determinants of Safety Perceptions

Pretest parents rated the schools as slightly above average on the safety rating, 4.2, on a scale from one (very unsafe) to seven (very safe) (SD=1.5). See Figure 1. Results from random effects models predicting parents' overall perceptions of school safety are outlined in Model 1 in Table 6. There were no racial differences in parents' assessments of school safety. However, retired parents and those with more than a high school diploma/ GED rated schools as safer than other parents.

Parents use school and neighborhood safety ratings to judge school safety. They rate schools with higher safety ratings as safer than schools with indicators that signaled that the school was unsafe (b=0.416 and b=0.313). Although this difference is not statistically significant, school safety matters slightly more for parents' safety perceptions than neighborhood safety.

Reflecting findings from studies on perceptions' of neighborhoods (Quillian and Pager 2001, 2010), I find schools' racial demographics affect parents' perceptions of school safety. Even when

controlling for schools' graduation rates, the presence of a metal detector, and school and neighborhood safety ratings, parents indicated that majority Black, Latino, and mixed race schools were less safe than the majority White school. They rated these schools' safety as 0.88, 0.55, and 0.44 standard deviations below White schools.

Finally, for this sample of parents, the presence of a visual cue of safety/insecurity—a metal detector—did not affect their perceptions of school safety. However, the effects of visual cues of safety/insecurity depend on the racial context of the school. In model 2, I interact school racial demographics and metal detector presence and, in Figure 3, I illustrate the mean perceptions of safety for these race and visual cue interactions. First, I find that parents indicate that the majority White school without a metal detector is more safe than the other schools. Contrary to expectations, the presence of this visual cue in the majority White school may serve as signal of security and slightly increases parents' perceptions of school safety (b=0.187; this result does not reach statistical significance (p=0.260)). It may also serve as cue of security in the majority Black school. Families perceive the majority Black school as below average in safety and the presence of the metal detector also slightly increases their perceptions of the schools space as safe (b=0.03, p=0.862). On the other hand, the metal detector presence in the majority Latino and mixed race schools may be interpreted as a sign of insecurity. It negatively influences parents' perceptions of safety (b=-0.29 p<.10 , b=-0.35 p<.05).

School Attendance

On a scale from one (very unlike) to seven (very likely), parents, on average, indicated they were somewhat likely to attend the schools presented in the experiment (3.45, SD=1.88).

School and neighborhood safety and racial demographics stereotypically associated with safety influence parents' desires to attend a school. First, results indicate parents were more likely to want to attend schools with safety indicators signaling that current students feel safe within and in the neighborhood surrounding a school (b=0.313, b=0.368). This finding is consistent with results from NYC demonstrating that families' school choices relate to salient indicators of school safety (Hailey 2018a). Secondly, compared the majority white school, I find parents were less likely to want to attend the

schools with more Black and Latino students—two groups stereotypically associated with crime, violence, and disorder. They rated their likelihood of attending majority Black, Latino, and mixed race schools -1.05,-0.847, and -0.783 below the majority White schools.

Racialized Perceptions of Safety in School Choices

While school racial demographics have a direct effect on the likelihood parents would choose for their student to attend a school, this relationship may be partially driven by their perceptions of the school's safety. Experiment results support this proposition. As previously noted, school racial demographics affect parents' school choice and perceptions of school safety. Parents' perceptions of school safety, additionally, directly relates to their likelihood of choosing a school (b=0.77; results available upon request). In model 4 in Table 6, I add perceptions of school safety as a predictor of the likelihood to attend a school. Perceptions of school safety strongly relates to parents' likelihood of choosing a school. Most importantly, the coefficients for the effects of school demographics on school choice substantially diminished when perceptions of school safety were included in the model. The coefficient for the majority Black school decreased by 53 percent from -1.053 to -0.492; the coefficient for the majority Latino school decreased by 42 percent from 0.947 to -0.494; and for the mixed race school's coefficient decreased by 36 percent from -0.783 to -0.501. These results suggest parents' racialized perceptions of school safety mediate the relationship between racial demographics and school choices.

CONCLUSION

Safety affects parents' school choices. Drawing on pretest results from an experimental vignette survey, this study reveals several findings about parents' school choices.

First, similar to assessments of Black and Latino individuals and neighborhood spaces (Correll et al. 2002; Eberhardt et al. 2004; Kahn and Davies 2011; Krysan et al. 2008; Quillian and Pager 2001, 2010; Sampson and Raudenbush 2004**),** schools' racial demographics influence parents' school safety judgments. Above the effects of graduation rates, salient school and neighborhood safety ratings, and visual cues of safety, parents indicate that schools with more Black and Latino students are less safe than

schools that are majority White.

Secondly, depending on schools' racial contexts, visual cues have divergent effects on school safety perceptions. I find metal detectors have a slightly positive impact on parents' perceptions of safety in majority Black and White schools and a negative impact on these perceptions in majority Latino and mixed race schools. Expanding Sampson (2012) theory of neighborhood visual cues of (in)security, these findings exhibit that families not only differentially respond to visual cues within neighborhoods but also visual cues within schools.

Finally, the results confirm that race and safety matter in families' ultimate school choices (Billingham and Hunt 2016; Briggs, Popkin, and Goering 2010; Goyette 2014; Pattillo, Delale-O'Connor, and Butts 2014; Rhodes and Deluca 2014; Rosenbloom 2010; Schneider et al. 1999; Denice and Gross 2016; Saporito 2003; Saporito and Lareau 1999; Hailey 2018a, 2018b); salient indicators of school and neighborhood safety and racial demographics stereotypically associated with crime and violence affect parents' likelihood of choosing to attend a school. Parents' racialized perceptions of school safety partially mediate the relationship between student race and school choice.

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Figure 1. Histogram of Perceptions of School Safety

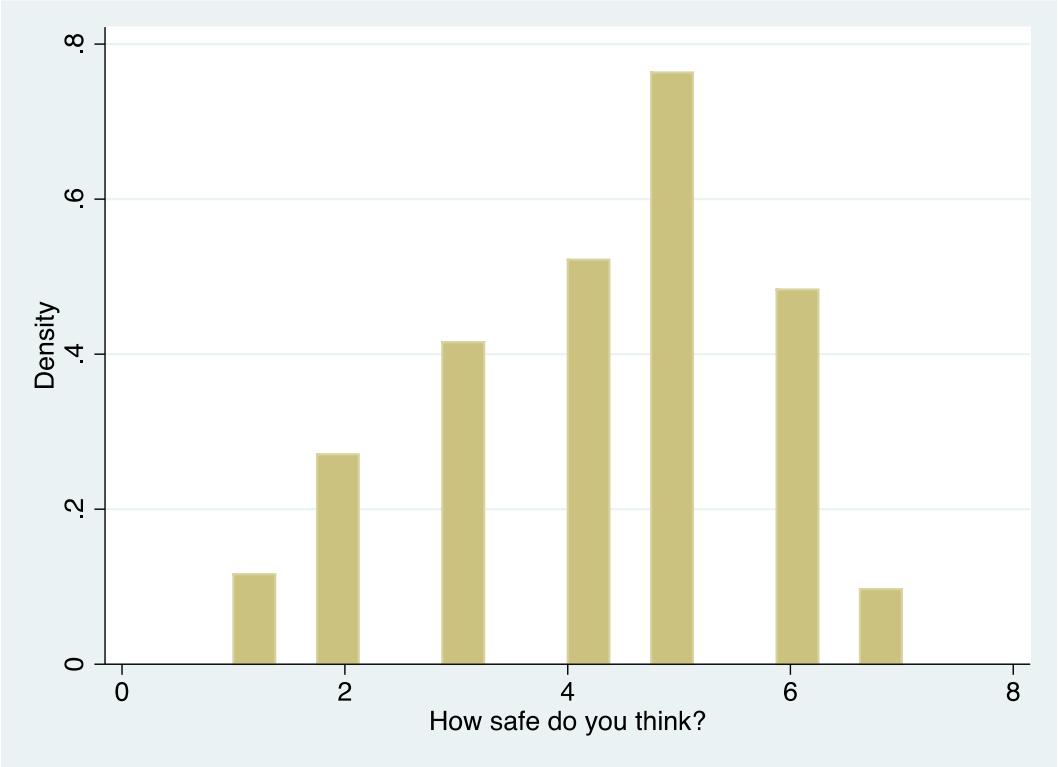


Figure 2. Histogram of Likelihood to Choose to Attend School

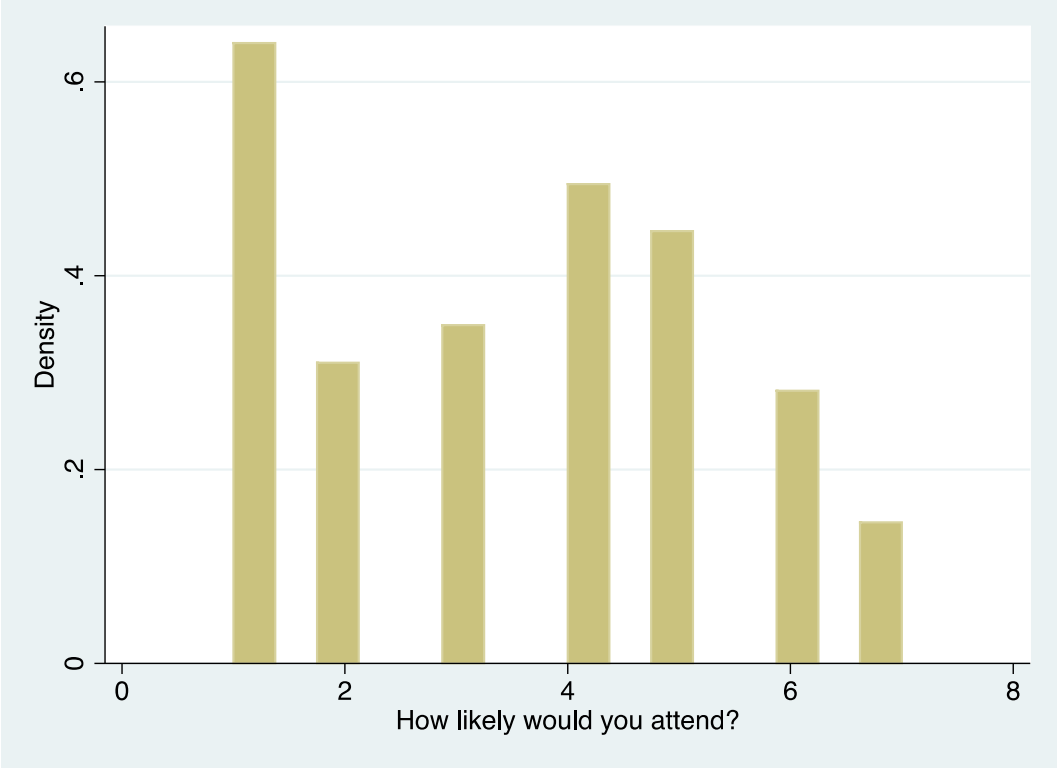


Figure 3. Differences in Parents' Perceptions of School Safety by School Racial Demographics and Metal Detector Presence

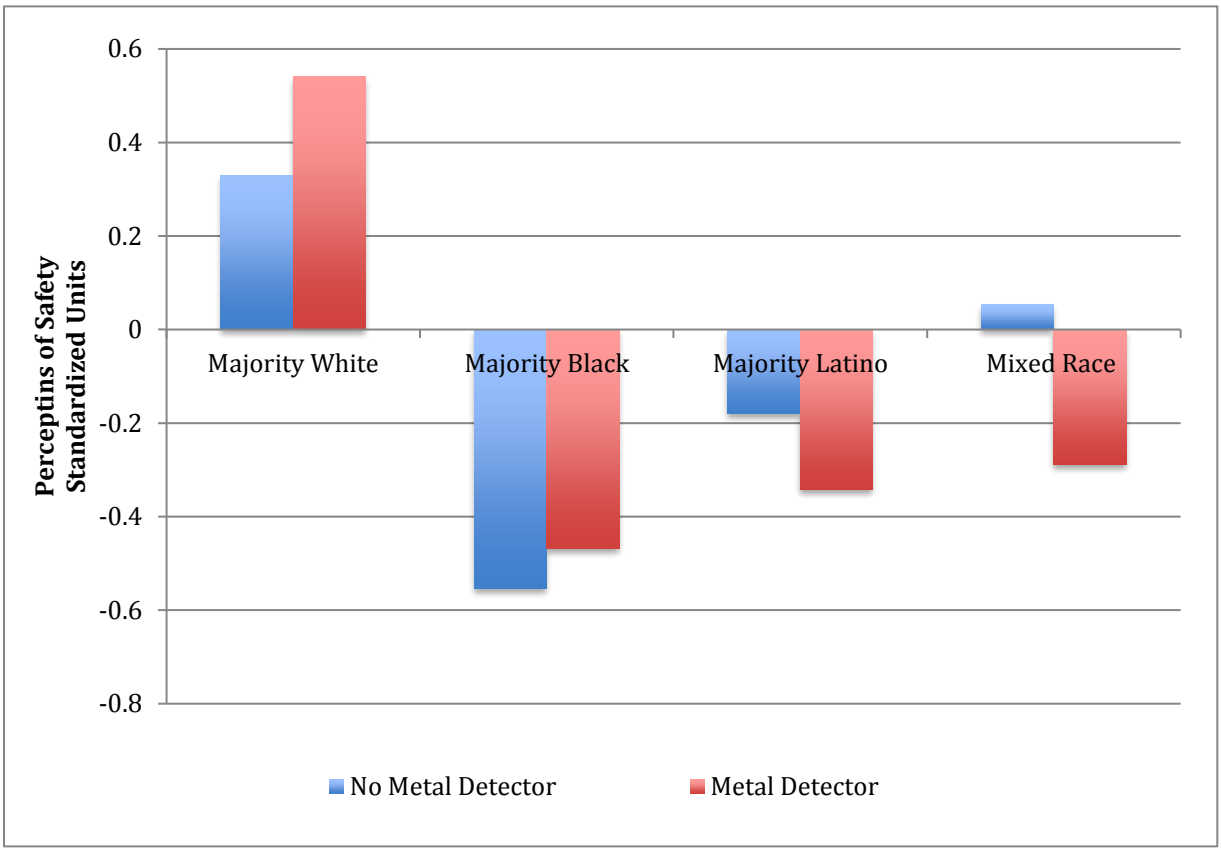


Table 1. Factorial Design Experiment –NYC Based Sample

Factor	# of Levels	Dimensions			
1. Students' Racial Demographics	4	Mostly White	Mostly Black	Mostly Latino	Mixed Race
Asian		*15%*	*3%*	*5%*	*10%*
Black		*7%*	*74%*	*25%*	*36%*
Latino		*15%*	*18%*	*63%*	*44%*
White		*58%*	*2%*	*4%*	*8%*
2. Metal Detector	2	Yes		No	
3. School Safety	2	Low		High	
Percent of students who feel safe in the hallways, bathrooms, locker room, and cafeteria		*79%*		*91%*	
4. Graduation Rate	2	Low		High	
Percent of students who graduate in four years		*75%*		*89%*	
5. Neighborhood Safety	2	Low		High	
Percent of students who feel safe in the school's neighborhood		*70%*		*87%*	

Table 2. Factorial Design Experiment –National Parent Sample

Factor	# of Levels	Dimensions			
1. Students' Racial Demographics	4	Mostly White	Mostly Black	Mostly Latino	Mixed Race
Number of Asian Students		*2*	*1*	*1*	*1*
Number of Black Students		*1*	*8*	*3*	*5*
Number of Latino Students		*2*	*2*	*7*	*5*
Number of White Students		*7*	*1*	*1*	*1*
2. Metal Detector Pictured	2	Yes		No	
3. School Safety	2	Low		High	
Percent of students who feel safe in the hallways, bathrooms, locker room, and cafeteria		*79%*		*91%*	
4. Graduation Rate	2	Low		High	
Percent of students who graduate in four years		*75%*		*89%*	
5. Neighborhood Advantage Pictured	2	Disadvantaged		Advantaged	

Table 3. Correlation between Factors in Factorial Design with 60 Vignettes Separated into 12 Decks

	Students' Race	Metal Detector	School Safety	Graduation Rate	Neighborhood Advantage
Students' Race	1	0.03	0.05	0.05	0.08
Metal Detector	0.03	1	0.04	0.03	0
School Safety	0.05	0.04	1	0	0.04
Graduation Rate	0.05	0.03	0	1	0.03
Neighborhood Advantage /Safety	0.08	0	0.04	0.03	1

Table 4. Expected Sample Completing NYC Experiment

		Total Surveys	Percent of Total Participants	Number per Deck	Number of Vignettes
Total		1500	100	125	7500
Gender	Male	472	42	39	2362
	Female	651	58	54	3255
Race/ Ethnicity	Latino	609	41	51	3045
	Black	380	25	32	1900
	White	273	18	23	1366
	Asian	219	15	18	1093
	Other or Multiple Race	19	1	1	97
Immigrant		186	12	6	16
English Spoken at Home		791	53	26	66

Note. Figures calculated by author and rounded to nearest number. Projected sample based on the eighth grade student population who applied to NYC high school in 2015/16. Calculations account for the proportion of student groups across the city to determine the projected citywide fair survey participants and the proportion of student groups who reside within each borough to determine the projected borough fair survey participants.

Table 5. Pretest Respondent Demographics

		N	Percent
Gender			
	Male	26	46.43
	Female	30	53.57
Education Level			
	High School Graduate/ GED	2	3.64
	Some College	15	27.27
	Associates Degree	16	29.09
	Bachelors Degree	19	34.55
	Masters Degree	3	5.45
Employment Status			
	Working (paid employee)	41	73.21
	Working (self employed)	5	8.93
	Not working (looking for work)	1	1.79
	Not working (retired)	2	3.57
	Not working (disabled)	1	1.79
	Not working (other)	6	10.71
Race/Ethnicity			
	White	46	82.14
	Black or African American	4	7.14
	Asian	2	3.57
	Latino	3	5.36

Table 6. Ratings of Schools by All Pretest Respondents

	How safe do you think this school would be?		How likely is it that you would choose to attend this school?	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Profile-Level Effects				
School Racial Demographics				
Majority White (comparison)				.
Majority Black	-0.880***	-0.822***	-1.053***	-0.492***
	(0.112)	(0.162)	(0.118)	(0.103)
Majority Latino	-0.551***	-0.338*	-0.847***	-0.494***
	(0.111)	(0.154)	(0.117)	(0.0968)
Mixed Race School	-0.441***	-0.188	-0.783***	-0.501***
	(0.110)	(0.155)	(0.116)	(0.0947)
Metal Detector Present	-0.115	0.187	-0.00391	0.0707
	(0.0790)	(0.166)	(0.0837)	(0.0664)
High Graduation Rate (89% v 75%)	-0.0567	-0.0435	0.0982	0.119
	(0.0788)	(0.0788)	(0.0835)	(0.0662)
Safe School (91% v. 79%)	0.417***	0.410***	0.313***	0.0439
	(0.0783)	(0.0779)	(0.0828)	(0.0688)
Safe Neighborhood (87% v 70%)	0.314***	0.326***	0.368***	0.167*
	(0.0786)	(0.0782)	(0.0833)	(0.0677)
Majority Black* Metal Detector		-0.158		
		(0.239)		
Majority Latino * Metal Detector		-0.477*		
		(0.238)		
Mixed Race School * Metal Detector		-0.539*		
		(0.237)		
Respondent-Level Effects				
Perceptions of School Safety				0.659***
				(0.0484)
Female	-0.103	-0.0742	0.0235	0.0116
	(0.143)	(0.143)	(0.140)	(0.0940)
White (comparison)				.
Black/African American	-0.0402	0.107	0.203	0.338
	(0.317)	(0.321)	(0.323)	(0.229)
Asian	-0.904	-0.796	-1.959**	-0.997*
	(0.699)	(0.695)	(0.639)	(0.398)
Latino	0.133	0.0988	0.948***	0.881***
	(0.290)	(0.289)	(0.281)	(0.185)
Other/ Multiple	0.531	0.526	0.295	-0.0664
	(0.696)	(0.690)	(0.594)	(0.335)
Employment Status				
Working (paid employee)				
Working (self employed)	-0.530	-0.567*	-0.628*	-0.352*
	(0.285)	(0.283)	(0.271)	(0.170)
Not working (looking for work)	-0.0408	0.0351	0.220	0.454
	(0.444)	(0.443)	(0.449)	(0.314)
Not working (retired)	0.565*	0.552	0.816**	0.520*
	(0.287)	(0.287)	(0.294)	(0.214)
Not working(disabled)	-0.601	-0.615	-0.864	-0.969*
	(0.591)	(0.586)	(0.663)	(0.487)
Not working(other)	0.249	0.168	0.205	0.000214

	(0.219)	(0.220)	(0.212)	(0.140)
Education Level				
High School Grad/ GED				
Some College but no Degree	1.857***	1.799***	1.118***	-0.225
	(0.321)	(0.323)	(0.328)	(0.251)
Associates Degree	1.669***	1.652***	1.020**	-0.214
	(0.317)	(0.317)	(0.323)	(0.244)
Bachelors Degree	1.097**	1.030**	0.436	-0.468
	(0.347)	(0.350)	(0.348)	(0.247)
Masters Degree	1.156*	1.019	2.160***	0.889*
	(0.581)	(0.580)	(0.571)	(0.389)
Constant	-1.096**	-0.107	-0.752	0.411
	(0.425)	(0.105)	(0.416)	(0.282)
lns1_1_1				
Constant	-0.487**	-1.242**	-0.711***	-1.533***
	(0.163)	(0.433)	(0.194)	(0.300)
lnsig_e				
Constant	-0.468***	-0.497**	-0.411***	-0.644***
	(0.0486)	(0.164)	(0.0491)	(0.0493)
Observations	266	266	266	266

Standard errors in parentheses. Random effects models with school profiles nested within respondents.
* p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001

Appendix A.

Example High School Directory Page, 2017

Bronx Academy of Health Careers | 11X290

SCHOOL OVERVIEW

We prepare students for a variety of health professions including medicine, medical technology, nursing, pharmacology, and physical therapy. We familiarize our students with the habits, practices, and educational requirements needed to become a health professional, and provide them with opportunities to volunteer and intern in local healthcare institutions. Students study four years of science and math and become well prepared to meet the challenges of a college education in healthcare. We collaborate with colleges to offer our students an opportunity to take college-level, credit-bearing courses at no cost. Our staff works with parents to ensure students receive the support they need to succeed.

❿ 10th Grade Seats Also Offered

ACADEMICS

- Strong Emphasis on Science; College Courses, including CUNY College Now, Cardio-Pulmonary Resuscitation (CPR)
- First Aid, Bronx Community College Medical Billing and Coding Certification, Extended Periods, Tutoring, Assemblies
- Monthly Town Hall Meetings featuring Guest Speakers and Student Presentations; Annual Health Fair, Awards Ceremonies, Student Teaching Program

English Language Learner Programs: English as a New Language

Language Courses: Spanish

ACTIVITIES

Anime, Art, Book, Chess, Cooking, Dance, Robotics, Theatre, Global Girls, Attendance Achievers, RISE, CPR and First Aid Certification, Step Team, National Honor Society, Regents and SAT Preparation, Tutoring, Volunteering, Today's Students Tomorrow's Teachers, Talent Shows, Peer Mediation Program/Certification, Student Council

PSAL Sports—Boys: Baseball, Basketball, Cross Country, Football, Indoor Track, Outdoor Track, Soccer, Swimming

PSAL Sports—Girls: Basketball, Cross Country, Indoor Track, Outdoor Track, Softball, Swimming, Volleyball

School Sports: Baseball, Basketball & JV Basketball, Cross Country, Football & JV Football, Indoor Track, Outdoor Track, Soccer, Softball, Swimming, Volleyball

PERFORMANCE

70% of students graduate in four years

53% of students enroll in college or career programs

89% student attendance

70% of students feel safe in the hallways, bathrooms, locker room, and cafeteria

68% of students feel that this school offers a wide enough variety of programs, classes, and activities to keep them interested in school

Search 11X290 at schools.nyc.gov/accountability for more about this school's performance.

SCHOOL INFORMATION

Neighborhood: Williamsbridge-Olinville
Address: 800 East Gun Hill Road, Bronx NY 10467
Shared Space: Yes (Campus: Evander Childs Educational Campus)
Site Accessibility: Accessible
Phone: 718-696-3340 ▪ **Fax:** 718-696-3380
Email: DSantiago3@schools.nyc.gov
Website: schools.nyc.gov/SchoolPortals/11/X290
Subway: 2, 5 to Gun Hill Rd
Bus: Bx28, Bx30, Bx38, Bx39, Bx41, Bx41-SBS, Bx8, BxM11

SCHOOL LIFE

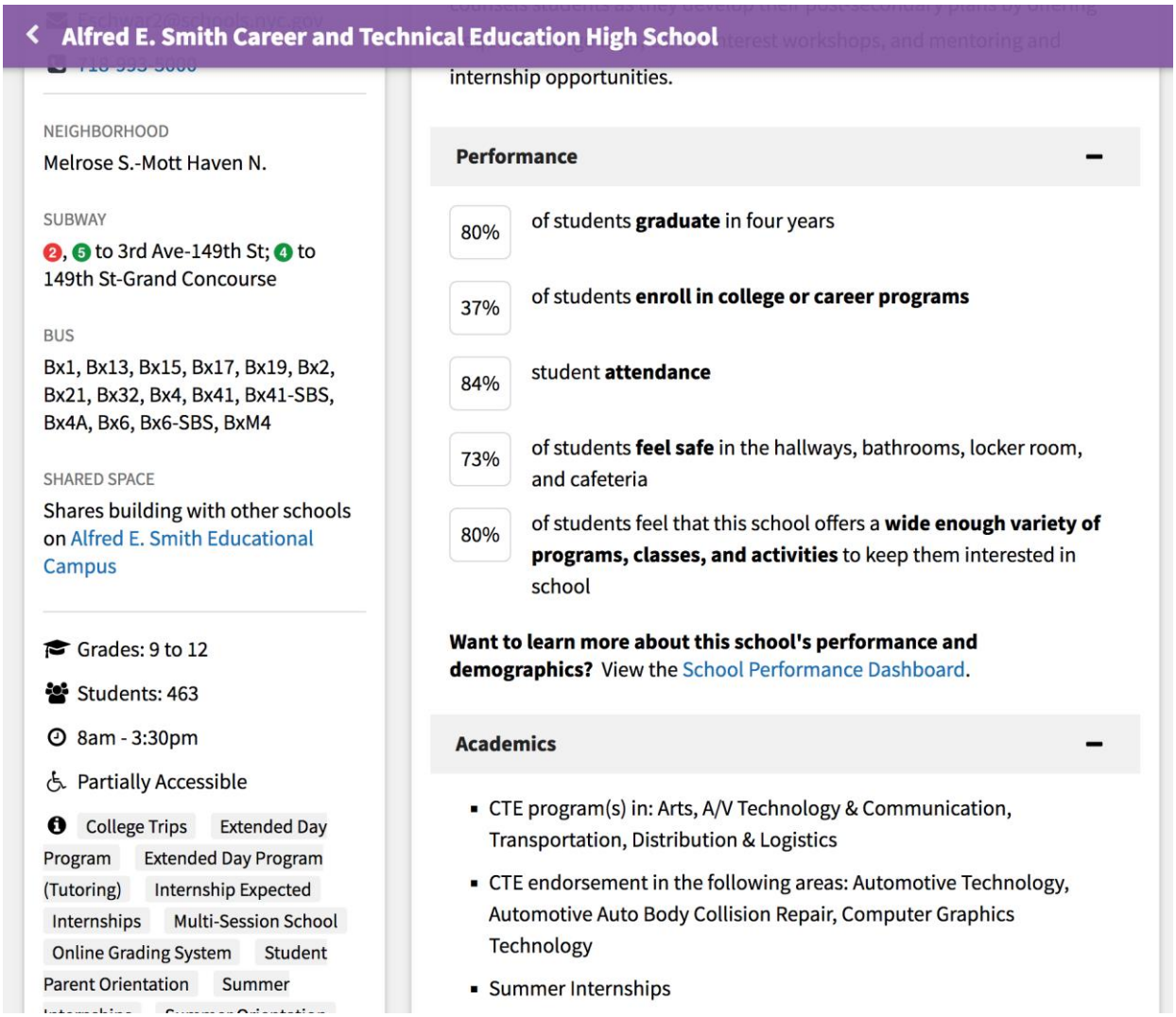
Grade Span: 9-12
Total Students: 457
Typical 9th Grade Schedule: 8:15am-3:15pm Uniform

PROGRAM ADMISSIONS

				Prior Year Admissions					
Program Name	Code	Interest Area	Admissions Method	Type	Seats	Filled	Applicants	Applicants Per Seat	10th Grade Seats Offered
Bronx Academy of Health Careers	**X22A**	Health Professions	Limited Unscreened	GE SWD	86 22	Y Y	803 141	9 6	Yes – 5

Admissions Priorities: ❶ Priority to Bronx students or residents who attend an information session—27% of offers went to this group ❷ Then to New York City residents who attend an information session ❸ Then to Bronx students or residents ❹ Then to New York City residents

Online High School Directory Page, 2018



Alfred E. Smith Career and Technical Education High School

internship opportunities.

NEIGHBORHOOD
Melrose S.-Mott Haven N.

SUBWAY
2, 5 to 3rd Ave-149th St; 4 to 149th St-Grand Concourse

BUS
Bx1, Bx13, Bx15, Bx17, Bx19, Bx2, Bx21, Bx32, Bx4, Bx41, Bx41-SBS, Bx4A, Bx6, Bx6-SBS, BxM4

SHARED SPACE
Shares building with other schools on Alfred E. Smith Educational Campus

Grades: 9 to 12
Students: 463
8am - 3:30pm
Partially Accessible

College Trips | Extended Day Program | Extended Day Program (Tutoring) | Internship Expected | Internships | Multi-Session School | Online Grading System | Student Parent Orientation | Summer

Performance

80% of students **graduate** in four years

37% of students **enroll in college or career programs**

84% student **attendance**

73% of students **feel safe** in the hallways, bathrooms, locker room, and cafeteria

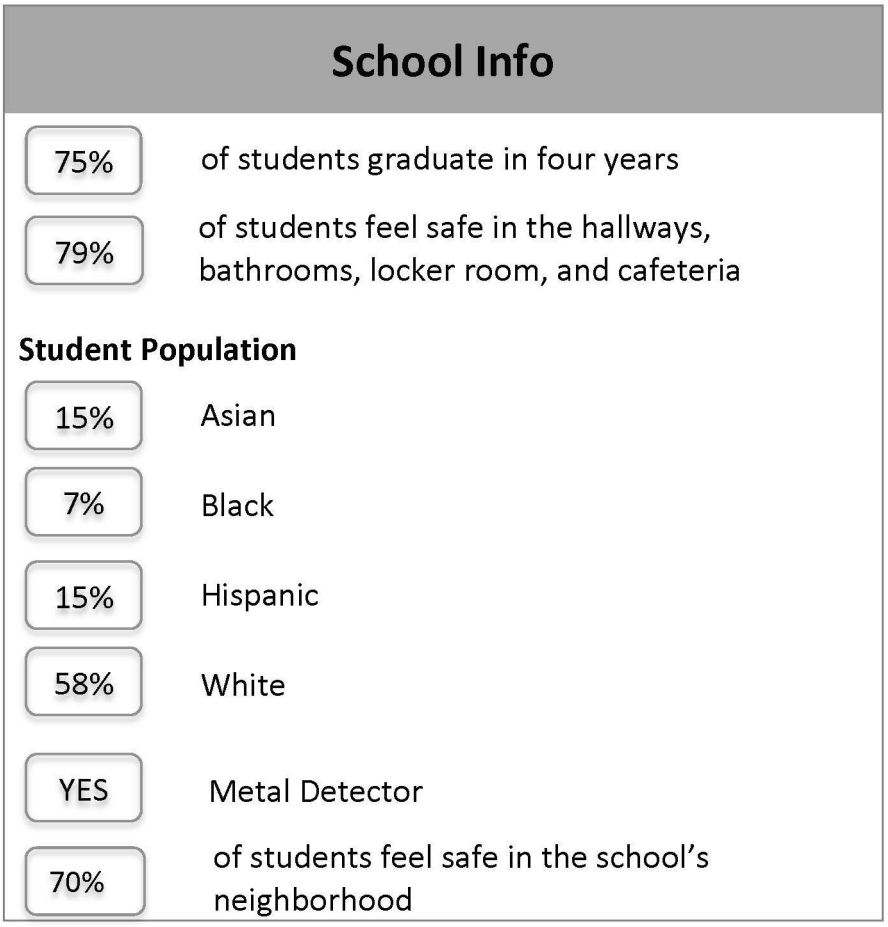
80% of students feel that this school offers a **wide enough variety of programs, classes, and activities** to keep them interested in school

Want to learn more about this school's performance and demographics? View the School Performance Dashboard.

Academics

- CTE program(s) in: Arts, A/V Technology & Communication, Transportation, Distribution & Logistics
- CTE endorsement in the following areas: Automotive Technology, Automotive Auto Body Collision Repair, Computer Graphics Technology
- Summer Internships

Experiment High School Profile –NYC Sample



Experiment High School Profile—National Sample

School Building

School Info

75%	of students graduate in four years
79%	of students feel safe in the hallways, bathrooms, locker room, and cafeteria

School Neighborhood

Appendix B

Parent School Choice

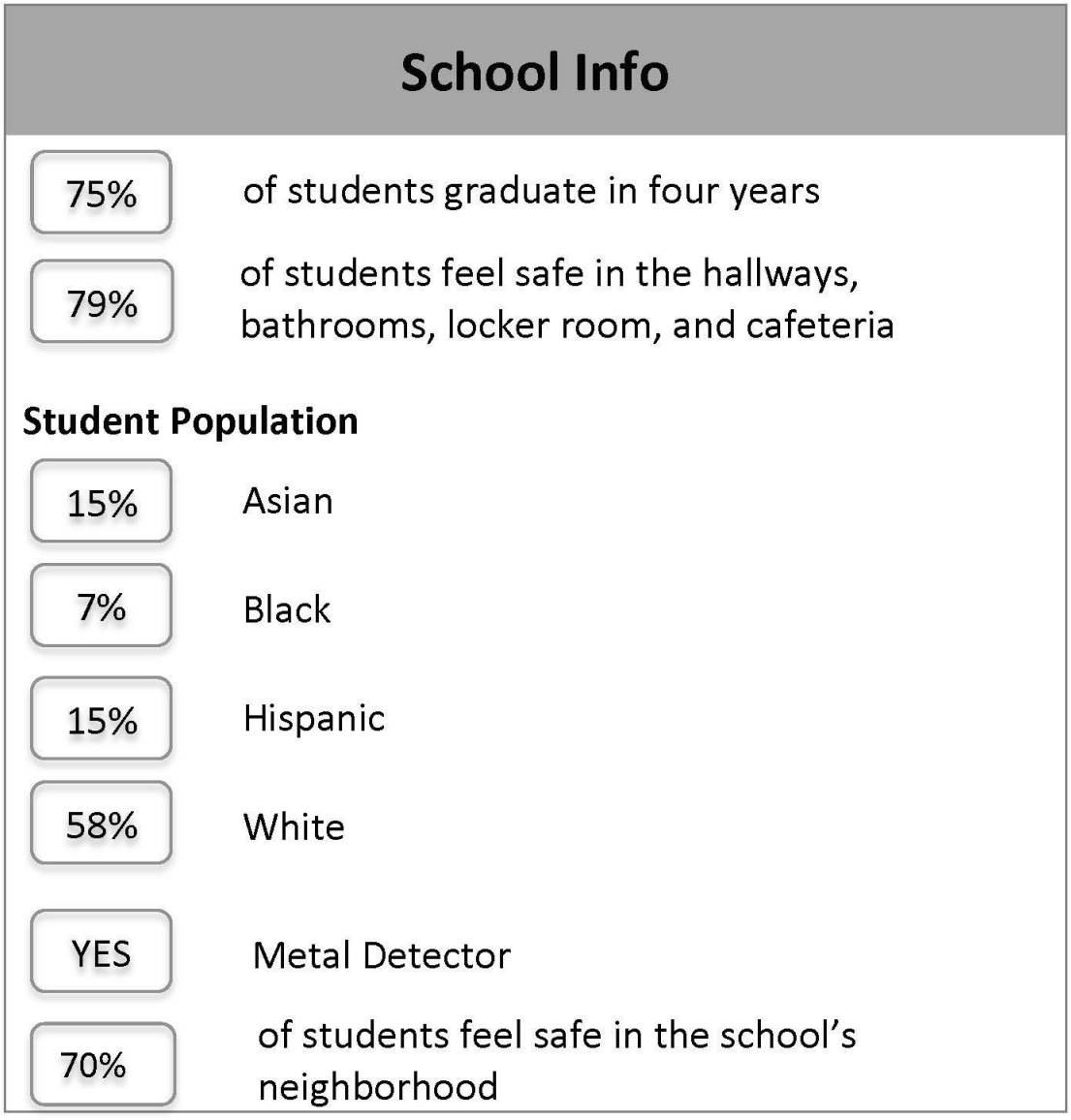
Q700 Please imagine that you set up a meeting to discuss your student's NYC high school options with their guidance counselor. Their guidance counselor shows you this list of five NYC high schools. Their counselor would like to know how you feel about each of these NYC high schools. All schools on the list are within a 20-minute bus ride from your home and are midsized with about 450 students. Students do not wear uniforms. School meets from 8:00 to 3:00. The schools have many after school programs and sports teams. Your student qualifies for admission to attend the school based on their grades and attendance record. Can you please give your opinion of each potential NYC high school option? These are your opinions and there are no right or wrong answers. Please do not consult your student when giving your opinion.

Note: The schools depicted in this survey are not real schools and survey responses will not impact selection or acceptance at NYC DOE schools.

End of Block: Instructions

Start of Block: B1S1

Q582


School Info
75%
of students graduate in four years
79%
of students feel safe in the hallways, bathrooms, locker room, and cafeteria
Student Population
15%
Asian
7%
Black
15%
Hispanic
58%
White
YES
Metal Detector
70%
of students feel safe in the school's neighborhood

Q9.2 In general, how welcome do you think your student would feel in this school?

	Very Unwelcome 1 (1)	2 (2)	3 (3)	4 (4)	5 (5)	6 (6)	Very Welcome 7 (7)	Don't Know (8)
(1)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q9.4 How safe do you think this school would be?

	Very Unsafe 1 (1)	2 (2)	3 (3)	4 (4)	5 (5)	6 (6)	Very Safe 7 (7)	Don't Know (8)
(3)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q722 Overall, how likely is it that you would choose for your student to attend this school?

	Very Unlikely 1 (1)	2 (2)	3 (3)	4 (4)	5 (5)	6 (6)	Very Likely 7 (7)	Don't Know (8)
1 (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

End of Block: B1S1

Start of Block: B1S2

Q583

Q13.2 In general, how welcome do you think your student would feel in this school?

	Very Unwelcome 1 (1)	2 (2)	3 (3)	4 (4)	5 (5)	6 (6)	Very Welcome 7 (7)	Don't Know (8)
1 (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q13.4 How safe do you think this school would be?

	Very Unsafe 1 (1)	2 (2)	3 (3)	4 (4)	5 (5)	6 (6)	Very Safe 7 (7)	Don't Know (8)
1 (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q13.3 Overall, how likely is it that you would choose for your student to attend this school?

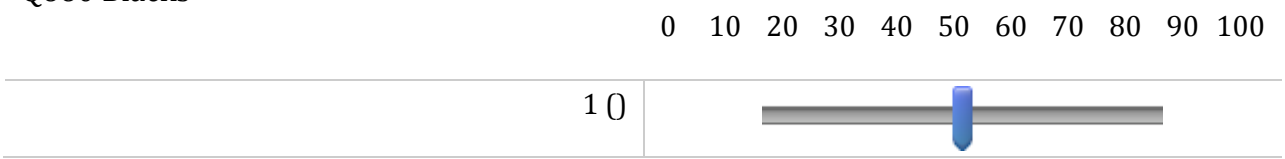
	Very Unlikely 1 (1)	2 (2)	3 (3)	4 (4)	5 (5)	6 (6)	Very Likely 7 (7)	Don't Know (8)
1 (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

End of Block: B1S5

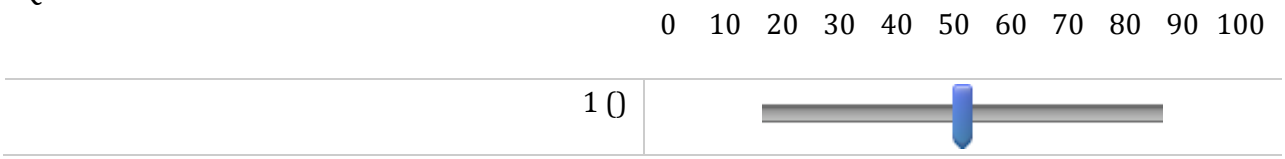
Start of Block: feeling white

Q723 Now I'd like to get your feelings TOWARD groups of people. I will use something we call the feeling thermometer and here is how it works: You'll read the name of a group or individual, and I'd like you to rate that group or person on a scale of 0-100. Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward them. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you feel cool or don't care much for that person or group. And a 50 degree rating means you don’t feel either warm or cold; you are in the middle. Don’t forget, you are free to pick any number between 0 and 100.

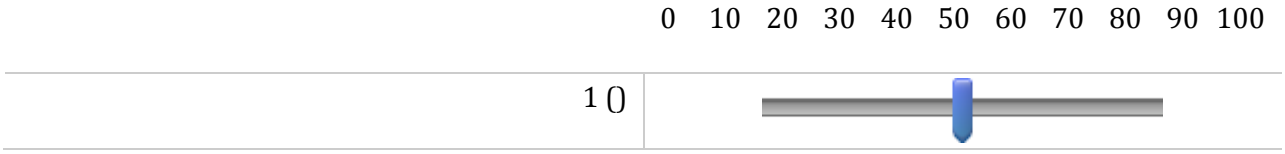
Q660 Blacks



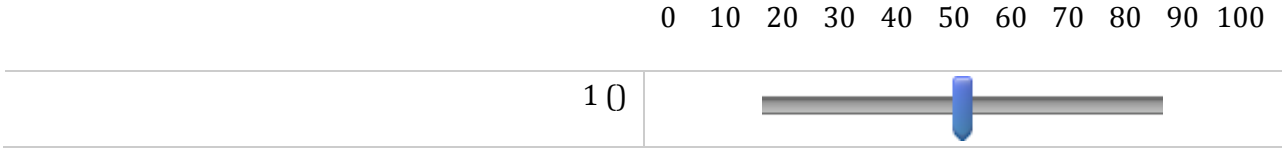
Q661 Latinos



Q662 Whites



Q663 Asians



End of Block: feeling white

Start of Block: stereotypes intro

Q68.1 Now I have some questions about different groups in our society. I'm going to show a line on which the characteristics of people in a group can be rated. You may choose any place on the line that comes closest to where YOU think people in the group stand. A rating in the middle means YOU think that the group is not towards one end or another.

End of Block: stereotypes intro

Start of Block: hardworking

Q69.1 This set of characteristics asks if people in the group tend to be hardworking or if they tend to be lazy. Do people in this group tend to be hardworking or tend to be lazy?

Q69.2 Where would YOU rate BLACKS in general on this scale?

	Hardworking	Lazy
1		

Q69.3 Where would YOU rate WHITES in general on this scale?

	Hardworking	Lazy
1		

Q69.4 Where would YOU rate ASIANS in general on this scale?

	Hardworking	Lazy
1		

Q69.5 Where would YOU rate LATINOS in general on this scale?

	Hardworking	Lazy

1 0	

End of Block: hardworking

Start of Block: Intelligent

Q70.1 This set of characteristics asks if people in the group tend to be intelligent or if they tend to be unintelligent. Do people in this group tend to be intelligent or tend to be unintelligent?

Q70.2 Where would YOU rate WHITES in general on this scale?

	Intelligent	Unintelligent
1 0		

Q70.3 Where would YOU rate BLACKS in general on this scale?

	Intelligent	Unintelligent
1 0		

Q70.4 Where would YOU rate ASIANS in general on this scale?

	Intelligent	Unintelligent
1 0		

Q70.5 Where would YOU rate LATINOS in general on this scale?

	Intelligent	Unintelligent
1 0		

End of Block: Intelligent

Start of Block: violent

Q71.1 This set of characteristics asks if people in the group tend to be peaceful or if they tend to be violent. Do people in this group tend to be peaceful or tend to be violent?

Q71.2 Where would YOU rate BLACKS in general on this scale?

	Peaceful	Violent
1 0		

Q71.3 Where would YOU rate WHITES in general on this scale?

	Peaceful	Violent
1 0		

Q71.4 Where would YOU rate ASIANS in general on this scale?

	Peaceful	Violent
1 0		

Q71.5 Where would YOU rate LATINOS in general on this scale?

	Peaceful	Violent
1 0		

End of Block: violent

Start of Block: Niceness

Q72.1 This set of characteristics asks if people in the group tend to be easy or hard to get along with. Do people in this group tend to be easy to get along with or tend to be hard to get along with?

Q72.2 Where would YOU rate BLACKS in general on this scale?

	Easy to get along with	Hard to get along with
1 0		

Q72.3 Where would YOU rate WHITES in general on this scale?

	Easy to get along with	Hard to get along with
1 0		

Q72.4 Where would YOU rate ASIANS in general on this scale?

	Easy to get along with	Hard to get along with
1 0		

Q72.5 Where would YOU rate LATINOS in general on this scale?

	Easy to get along with Hard to get along with
1 ()	

End of Block: Niceness

Start of Block: Perceptions of Social Injustice

Q724 How much do you agree with the following?

Q725 People from my racial group are more likely to be unfairly stopped and questioned by the police than people from other racial groups.

- Strongly disagree (9)
- Somewhat disagree (10)
- Neither agree nor disagree (11)
- Somewhat agree (12)
- Strongly agree (13)

Q726 Discrimination makes it harder for people from my racial group to find a good job.

- Strongly disagree (18)
- Somewhat disagree (19)
- Neither agree nor disagree (20)
- Somewhat agree (21)
- Strongly agree (22)

Q727 Discrimination makes it harder for people from my racial group to find a good place to live.

- ○ Strongly disagree (6)
- ○ Somewhat disagree (7)
- ○ Neither agree nor disagree (8)
- ○ Somewhat agree (9)
- ○ Strongly agree (10)

Q728 Discrimination makes it harder for people from my racial group to get good grades in school.

- ○ Strongly disagree (25)
- ○ Somewhat disagree (26)
- ○ Neither agree nor disagree (27)
- ○ Somewhat agree (28)
- ○ Strongly agree (29)

End of Block: Perceptions of Social Injustice

Start of Block: Parent Demographics

Q397 What is your sex?

- ○ Male (1)
- ○ Female (2)
- ○ Other (3) _____

Q399 What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?

▼ Less than high school degree (1) ... Professional degree (JD, MD) (8)

Q401 Which statement best describes your current employment status?

- Working (paid employee) (1)
- Working (self-employed) (2)
- Not working (temporary layoff from a job) (3)
- Not working (looking for work) (4)
- Not working (retired) (5)
- Not working (disabled) (6)
- Not working (other) (7) _____
- Prefer not to answer (8)

Q403 Choose one or more races that you consider yourself to be:

- ☐ White (1)
- ☐ Black or African American (2)
- ☐ American Indian or Alaska Native (3)
- ☐ Asian (4)
- ☐ Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander (5)
- ☐ Other (6) _____

Q405 Are you Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino or none of these?

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ None of these (2)

Q407 What is your Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino background?

- ○ Mexican/ Mexican American (1)
- ○ Puerto Rican (4)
- ○ Central/South American (6)
- ○ Dominican Republic (7)
- ○ Other Latino (8) _____

Q409 What is your Asian background?

- ○ Chinese (1)
- ○ Korean (5)
- ○ South Asian (7)
- ○ Other (9) _____

Q411 What is your Black background?

- ○ African American (1)
- ○ Afro-Latino (2)
- ○ African Country (8)
- ○ Caribbean Country (16)
- ○ Other Black (17) _____

Q415 What language do you use most with your family and close relatives?

- ○ English (1)
- ○ Spanish (2)
- ○ Chinese (3)
- ○ Russian (4)
- ○ Bengali (5)
- ○ Korean (6)
- ○ Haitian Creole (7)
- ○ Other (10) _____

Q417 What is your ZIP code?

_____

Q685 What is the sex of your student?

- ○ Male (1)
- ○ Female (2)
- ○ Other (3) _____

Q687 What school does your student currently attend?
Borough (1)
School Name (2)

▼ Borough (1) ... Does Not Attend School in NYC ~ Other (701)

Q689 What is the name of your student's school?

_____

Q733 Last school year, did your student receive a F in any of their classes?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)
- Don't Know (3)

End of Block: Parent Demographics