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Kimberly Eyers

Queen's University

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Queen's University
Faculty of Education



Heather Braund, Britney Lester, Stephen MacGregor, and Jen McConnel
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Motivating disengaged and disenchanting adolescents: A literature review

Kimberly Eyers
Queen's University

Abstract: *Self-determination theory, which focuses on autonomy, competence, and relatedness, needs to be modified to include a fourth essential psychological need: aesthetic experience. The following literature review uses a practical frame, in the form of the profiles of two adolescents, to review the literature which supports this notion. The goal of this work is to provide informed examples of how to support disengaged and disenchanting adolescents. Supported by the literature, the author outlines the rationality and benefits of modifying the current framework, and areas of future research are identified.*

Keywords: self-determination theory, disengaged, adolescent(s), secondary school, aesthetic experience

The following literature review begins to address the issues of motivation and engagement in research literature on education, as well as the high school classroom. Engagement is generally understood as behaviors in academic activities, including learning, instruction, homework, and assignments. Motivation is the psychological phenomenon which elicits those behaviors. Two types of students will be discussed in this paper; disengaged and disenchanting adolescents. Disengaged adolescents generally and consistently lack motivation to perform academic tasks. Their behaviour reflects this lack of motivation. Many studies have been conducted to understand and support this group more effectively. Disenchanting adolescents have not been studied as widely.

As a practicing teacher, I encounter students who behave as though they are motivated, completing assignments regularly, often listening and responding during instruction. However, the way they perform these behaviors, as well as the conversations I have with these students, often lead me to believe their primary goal is not to learn. I group these students based on their self-reported lack of intrinsic motivation, coupled with their ability to maintain acceptable, if not commendable, grades. For the purposes of this paper, I will describe them as disenchanting. Disenchanting students have not

appeared in the literature searches I have conducted. Their absence in the extant literature, and a desire to better support these students, as well as those who outwardly display their lack of motivation, is the impetus behind this review.

I would like to offer the profiles of two students. These profiles are based on actual students I have taught, but they are a composite, a literary device- not to be confused with rigorous individual case studies. Carey is a sixteen-year-old girl. She has a relatively stable, if poor home. Carey is not sure what she wants to do for a living yet, but she is sure she is bored at school. She does the minimum necessary to pass, with one or two exceptions. Like most teens her age, she is much more focused on her social life, especially what happens on the Internet. Carey is an example of the disenchanted high school student. Her education is not meaningful to her, but it is a necessary task to avoid criticism from parents, teachers and peers. She is extrinsically motivated, engaging with school work in a reactionary, strategic manner. She does not feel connected to most of what she is learning.

Samuel's background is different. He is only 14 years old but has experienced a great deal of pain. His mother abandoned him, and although his grandmother, who cares for him, would love him to go to school, she struggles to provide consequences for when he does not. He has a very fragile ego, often feeling school activities are too difficult, and when he does not perform to his own high standards, he feels ashamed and quits. Like Carey, he is very concerned with his social life, only his revolves around marijuana. Samuel is present for about 8 days in the entire semester, guaranteeing that he will not attain a single credit. Samuel is an example of the disengaged student.

This review will attempt to outline what these two students could be provided with to ensure their educational experiences are meaningful to them. I will provide a more thorough description of disengagement and disenchantment. Then, I will explore Deci and Ryan's (1987) basic psychological needs—autonomy, competence, and relatedness as a means of supporting motivation. Finally, after discussing the benefits of arts programming, I propose a fourth essential psychological need for sustained, sincere engagement; aesthetic experience.

Disengagement and Disenchantment

Disengagement is a withdrawal (Lessard et al., 2008). Many learners experience various levels of disengagement throughout their school careers, for all kinds of reasons. Leaving school completely is often the culmination of disengagement. There are many factors which potentially lead to early leaving, including but not limited to; low school bonding, sexual involvement, parent's lack of education or engagement, ethnicity, low socio-economic status (SES), resources, demographics, and student mobility (Battin-

Pearson et al., 2000; Rumberger, 2011). These factors affect students' motivation to engage in school. Motivation is a key issue for all early school leavers. Two early school leavers may not share a single predictive factor, but they will share a lack of motivation to complete high school. While testing a motivational model of early school leaving, three Canadian researchers, Vallerand, Guay and Fortier (1997) found that early school leavers have consistently lower intrinsic motivation toward school activities. They also found early school leavers "perceived themselves as being less competent and autonomous at school activities" (Vallerand et al., 1997, p. 1169).

Leaving school early is a complex process, resulting from environmental, personal, and relational factors that interplay in an individual's life (Alexander, Entwisle, & Horsey, 1997.) To prevent students from disengaging completely it is useful to understand what predicts the choice to leave. This is a multifarious business depending on definitions of "at-risk" and "drop out." Different studies produce different results based on these definitions (Rumberger, 2011). Battin-Pearson et al. (2000) tested five theories of early (before or in Grade 10) drop out. They used latent variable structural equation modelling to test whether poor academic achievement mediates the effects of several indicators of risk, such as low parental educational expectation and low school bonding. The highest correlate to drop out was poor academic performance. General deviance, bonding to antisocial peers, and low SES were also found to correlate significantly and directly with leaving school early. All other factors were found to be mediated by poor academic performance (Battin-Pearson, et al., 2000, p. 574)

This study indicates that something problematic is going on in the research. Students drop out mainly because they perform poorly academically. This does not indicate why those students are performing poorly. Assessment biases, inappropriate curriculum, and punitive measures like suspension (Losen, 2011) all play a role in pushing students out. Drop-out is a misnomer. All students can learn, but some are pushed to disengage by influences in and outside of school. There needs to be a balance in professionals' conceptions of these early school leavers. While individual choice is a huge factor, the influences acting on that individual, both within academic practices and culturally, should be taken into account.

To discuss disenchantment, it is useful to define some terms. In the motivation literature, there are two main types of engagement: *intrinsic* and *extrinsic*. *Extrinsic* motivation means the actor sees the rewards for performing a task as outside the task itself. An example would be candy prizes for a spelling competition. The learner wants to spell things correctly, but only because they know that correct spelling will get them a candy. *Intrinsic* motivation means the actor is moved to do something for rewards internal to the task itself. An example for this might be wanting to compete in that same spelling

competition as a means of feeling the satisfaction of having accurate spelling. In other words, intrinsically motivated people see the rewards inherent in the work (Deci & Ryan, 2000). While the goal that all students will be intrinsically motivated to do all their schoolwork is noble, it is unobtainable, and not always necessary.

Some external motivations are healthy, since they indicate the environment is conducive to learning. For the disenchanted student, however, external motivations are all there is. These students lack an affective understanding that what they are doing is good for them. Disenchanted students may cognitively understand that others have indicated it is a healthy choice to learn to spell, but do not feel that to be true. Students' intrinsic motivation generally tends to decrease between Grades 3 and 9 (Harter, 1981), making the further study of adolescent motivation especially necessary.

Self-Determination

Relatedness

It is significant that general deviance and bonding to anti-social peers were found to correlate directly to drop out (Battin-Pearson et al., 2000). Meaningful relationships are essential for learning (Zaff et al., 2016). Students need positive relationships with adults, peers and family as well as the wider community, and positive relationships with parents and teachers promote graduation (Zaff et al., 2016). In one Ontario study, researchers found that school disconnectedness was correlated to poorer health as well as poor academic performance (Faulkner, Adlaf, Irving, Allison, & Dwyer, 2009). Clearly, the issue is complex; how can schools promote connectedness and prosocial bonding?

One noteworthy American report, *The Silent Epidemic* (2005), recommends ensuring students have at least one strong relationship with a caring adult at school, citing that few drop outs reported having such a relationship during high school. Of the drop outs the researchers interviewed, 7 out of 10 "favored more parental involvement" (Bridgeland, DiLulio, & Morison, 2005, p. 7). Forty-two percent of the drop outs they interviewed reported spending time with others who were not interested in school. These findings indicate that to prevent students from leaving school early positive relationships need to be fostered with adults at school, between students, and parent-school communication needs to be improved. Support for relatedness encompasses teaching the skills required to make all these relationships healthy. It also means providing events where relationships can grow, like sports, games, and community arts.

Autonomy

Autonomy is complementary to relatedness in many ways. If people need to feel connected to others in a positive, meaningful way to be motivated, they also need to feel capable of achieving things themselves. Adolescents need to be relatively independent, and they should ideally feel free of external controls. One factor that promotes high school graduation is having an internal locus of control (Zaff et al. 2016). This means the individual holds the opinion that they are the one who controls their academic performance, as opposed to it simply being dependent on the teacher's assumptions or other circumstances.

Another way of thinking about internal/external locus of control is Dweck's concept of fixed and growth mindsets (2008). A growth mindset indicates that the person feels they are the author of their own destiny, and when these individuals encounter difficulty, they attribute failure to a lack of effort, preparedness, or some other internal cause, and try again with greater effort or a new strategy. Individuals with a fixed mindset believe people have attributes that do not change, like intelligence level. When these individuals encounter difficulty, they attribute it to luck, fate, or an unchangeable trait. It follows that although fixed mindset individuals can be successful, growth mindset people are more resilient (Dweck, 2008), an essential attribute for individuals who strive in difficult circumstances.

Growth mindset is an indication of a strong sense of autonomy, something students need to be academically successful. Autonomy is the sense that you can make your own decisions, and that those decisions are meaningful for your life. Some researchers have found that autonomy supportive teachers are a mediating factor for the decrease in motivation that happens with early adolescence (Gillet, Vallerand, & Lafreniere, 2012). Supporting autonomy, then, becomes essential for supporting academic achievement, the most significant indicator of risk for drop out (Battin-Pearson et. al., 2000).

How can autonomy be supported? I identify this as an area for further research because there was very little information about how teachers and parents can behave in an autonomy-supportive way. According to Eccles et al. (1993) adolescence is a time where autonomy gains greater importance for development, and participation in decision making both at school and at home can support this increasingly important need, contributing to better well-being. This relates to general deviance, one of the predictors of drop out that is not only significant, but unmediated by academic success (Battin-Pearson

et al., 2000). Co-constructing rules may curb some deviance, although it should be acknowledged how complex deviance can be; it includes everything from law-breaking to teen pregnancy in some models (Rumberger, 2011).

Reeve, Bolt and Cai (1999) offer a different view on how autonomy can be supported. They found that student motivation depends on the teacher's motivating style. They used three studies to suggest, based on correlations, what teacher behaviors are autonomy supportive. They found that empathetic statements, and time asking questions, among other behaviors, support student autonomy during instruction and application. Supporting autonomy encourages academic motivation, but it also benefits self-confidence. For students who experience indicators that they are "not good/smart enough" like poor marks and discipline, this is an essential component for their success.

Competence

Autonomy and competence are closely linked. Autonomy has to do with feeling in control of what and how you do, and competence is feeling capable of doing those things well. The following will discuss why disengaged students need special support for competence.

Educators have been put between a rock and a hard place. Failing students increases their risk of dropping out. Yet passing students who are not achieving at grade level exposes them to the risk of not receiving the proper level of instruction. In the 2014-2015 school year, 18% of first time test takers did not pass the Ontario Secondary School Literacy Test (OSSLT) (EQAQ, 2015). This statistic suggests there are students who are led to feel incompetent because they are given tasks, like the OSSLT, which they cannot adequately complete. This routine failure is one of the ubiquitous reasons why disengaged youth need special support for competence; it is not guaranteed they are receiving it adequately in the regular classroom. A second ubiquitous reason why adolescents disengage is the impact of their socio-economic status.

Low SES correlates directly with drop out (Battin-Pearson et al. 2000), even though public secondary education is free in Ontario. SES and drop out are correlated partly because poverty leads to feelings of incompetence (DeRidder, 1997). Children and adolescents internalize their status, generating negative beliefs about their competence, or low self-efficacy, which partially mediates their academic performance (Wiederkehr, et al., 2015) and directly affects their likelihood of dropping out. These students need support for their self-efficacy to overcome this barrier to success. In other words, for many disengaged youth, they need extra help to believe that they can graduate before we can convince them that they should.

Enabling Aesthetic Experience: Benefits of Arts-Based Programs

Dewey (1934/ 2005) is the author of the seminal work on aesthetic experience and education, and thoroughly describes the feelings associated with it. He also describes in detail what he calls the act of expression, also known as productive arts experiences, which come from impulsion. Dissanayake (1992) holds that art-making and artistic experiences are a bio-evolutionary need, present long before the proliferation of cultures. Dissanayake (1992) defines the aesthetic as “making special” (p. 42): the processes that involve the non-utilitarian attention to elements that make something pleasurable to the senses. By identifying aesthetic experiences as a bio-evolutionary need, Dissanayake (1992) is indicating that aesthetic behaviour is key to survival, or “selectively valuable” (p. 96). From this perspective, the need for aesthetic experience is as essential as the needs outlined in SDT. It helps explain what Dewey described as the impulse to express; we make things special because it improves our lives. Aesthetic experience is to fully feel the meaning, beauty, and connectedness of the thing being made or appreciated. I propose that aesthetic experiences, often (but not exclusively) engendered through interactions with the arts, are a necessary component for supporting sustained motivation and sincere engagement. The following explores several studies surrounding participatory arts, as they relate to supporting motivation.

In an action research study, Baumann (2006) inquired into whether learning a creative skill in studio art class improved intrinsic motivation. Based on her findings from student work and reflections, she suggests that the development of skills in visual art leads to increases in intrinsic motivation for secondary students. There is academic value in asking students to produce artwork, both in its ability to engender intrinsic motivation in school, and for itself as a cognitive exercise: it often induces aesthetic experience.

A modern interpretation of aesthetic education will be helpful to review here. According to Anderson (2016), “aesthetic education [is] a basic mode of intelligence enhanced and developed through the symbolic forms of the arts” (p. 4), enriched by the ability of the teacher to notice, both aesthetic opportunities, and student’s reactions. Heid (2005) suggests that the aesthetic moment elevates our cognitive functioning, that learning is bodily, and our attunement to our senses in an aesthetic moment leads to deeper knowledge. Heid (2005) recommends that teachers encourage students to attend closely to their senses to encourage aesthetic experience. This phenomenon of elevated learning has something to do with how memory works; we remember intense experiences better, and aesthetic experience is intense. In a study done with several Finnish Grade 9 students,

Finnis, (2012) found that their experiences of producing art were stronger than receptive experiences. He also found there was a higher correlation to improvement with self-esteem in productive activities. I suggest that some of the benefits which I will discuss here are from the aesthetic experiences that making art engender.

Several studies outline the psychological benefits of doing visual arts. An increase in self-esteem for the participants was reported in a multiple case study of at-risk youth doing community arts work (O'Brien, 2004). O'Brien (2004), in a study entitled *Risky Business*, conducted a "three year cross-disciplinary investigation into the use of creative arts as an intervention for young people in urban and rural Victoria" (p.75). The Australian study spans five projects under the umbrella of *Risky Business* that used film, dance, painting, and theatre as arts-based interventions. The study focused on both the participant responses and the roles of the artist/teachers as mentors and role models. O'Brien (2004) used an ethnographic framework to discover best practices for arts interventions with at risk youth. O'Brien found that a low artist-to-participant ratio was essential for success, recommending approximately four to one. The study suggests producing a quality product was important for the at-risk youth's feelings of success.

In a review of the extant research, Van Lith, Fenner, and Schofield (2013), demonstrate that the current evidence base shows art making benefits adults with mental health issues both psychologically and socially. The areas that showed the most improvement were "self-discovery, self-expression, relationships and social identity" (Van Lith et al., 2013, p. 1309). This study connects art-making and psychosocial improvement, it suggests that producing art can improve mental health. Considering the review concerns adults, it is difficult to apply these findings directly to youth, but it is probable that adolescents, who are in the midst of defining their new identities as autonomous people, may reap similar benefits.

Coholic (2011) explores whether combining arts-based and mindfulness-based group therapy is suitable for children aged eight to fifteen. The three-year-long qualitative study conducted in Sudbury, Ontario involved participants referred from the Children's Aid Society in small group therapy sessions which utilized arts-based methods to teach mindfulness. The study judged the program to be suitable for at-risk youth. It found that "children/parents reported changes that could be connected with growth in self-esteem and self-awareness, and feeling more confident and/or greater comfort with oneself" (Coholic, 2011, p. 311). This study makes a strong case for visual arts as a meaningful, useful tool to use with disengaged youth to improve their psychosocial functioning.

Avarett and her colleagues (2015) conducted a mixed method study evaluating the Youth Public Arts Program. The researchers employed the use of four focus groups and

telephone surveys with the program's stakeholders. There were 38 participants, a large sample for a qualitative study. The researchers also collected data from multiple perspectives, adding to the reliability of the results. They suggest that the visual arts program improved the confidence and self-regulation of the at-risk North Carolina participants, who were referred by school counselors and other mental health professionals. This study demonstrates that community art can improve the intrapersonal skills of at-risk youth, thus supporting not only their need for aesthetic experience, but also for relatedness.

A longitudinal study of an arts program with youth from low-income communities across Canada found "a significant reduction in emotional problems for the intervention group" (Ellenbogen et al., 2006, p. 186). Matched groups were selected from five locations of a community-based youth arts program implemented over three years. The researchers found statistically significant improvements in both social skills development and self-esteem, suggesting that visual art making can mitigate the negative emotional effects of living in a low SES environment, one of the directly correlated factors that predict drop out. When taken together, these studies support the notion that the productive arts, especially when done in a community setting, benefit the functioning of youth both inter- and intra-personally. I argue that these benefits are at least partially due to the facilitation of aesthetic experience. Aesthetic experience feels good, it is separate from usual experience, and provides a spiritual satisfaction that completing a task from extrinsic motivation simply cannot provide. Aesthetic experience can offer disengaged and disenchanting youth an opportunity to feel intrinsically motivated, and the satisfaction of accomplishing what they really want to do. This experience can inform other situations in their lives. A disenchanting adolescent, having had an aesthetic experience, may now see an academic assignment as an opportunity for a similar aesthetic experience, instead of a task required to satisfy authority. Aesthetic experience may foster a capacity for intrinsic motivation, and nurture students' desire to learn.

Discussion

I wish to return to the two profiles I began with, and using the literature, make recommendations for each. Carey, a disenchanting sixteen-year-old girl, needs aesthetic experience to pull her into the learning. She also needs support for her autonomy by receiving more choice throughout her school day, as well as to be reminded of the choices she is making unconsciously. Samuel, on the other hand, needs a lot of support for competence. He needs to be given tasks which he can be reasonably successful with, in addition to a steady supply of productive arts, which can improve self-efficacy. He also

needs support with relatedness, where his grandmother and his teachers set meaningful expectations and consequences for his behavior.

There is a lot more work to be done to discover how to sincerely engage every disenchanted and disengaged adolescent, and even more to prevent disengagement and disenchantment. I propose, based on the literature reviewed here, that aesthetic experience is the missing piece in the dominant theoretical framework of motivation. By including aesthetic experience as a basic psychological need which must be satisfied to allow for a healthy balance of extrinsic and intrinsic motivation, I am bringing together rival theories; namely SDT and flow theory (Nakamura & Csikszentmihalyi, 2011). This new framework has more explanatory power. It is possible to imagine a person whose needs for relatedness, autonomy and competence are satisfied, but who never has that powerful feeling of being completely immersed in a task; that moment where motivation is at its purest. This indicates a problem; a theory of motivation should adequately explain that moment, one of the greatest strengths of flow theory. This scenario also accounts for the disenchanted adolescent; their psychological needs are being met according to SDT, but because they never have aesthetic experience, their intrinsic motivation diminishes, and they become exclusively extrinsically motivated, doing the bare minimum to obtain the credit, and missing out on meaningful, deep learning. By proposing a modified framework for SDT, I account for a wider range of motivational states.

This modified framework, which includes aesthetic experience as a basic psychological need, indicates several areas for future research, including but not limited to; best practices for integrating productive arts experience with other subject areas, best practices for facilitating aesthetic experience in a variety of subject areas independent of the arts, replicating previous studies on motivation and SDT accounting for the need for aesthetic experience, and incorporating aesthetic experience into metacognitive strategies for students. Improving the framework used to understand motivation will improve the methods educators use to inspire all students to authentically and effectively learn, reducing the prevalence of disengagement and disenchantment. By fostering aesthetic experience for disenchanted and disengaged adolescents, educators can encourage adolescents to stay in school, preventing early school leaving, and consequently improving society as a whole.

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