

DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION IN A WHITE SUBURBAN HIGH SCHOOL:
AN ETHNOGRAPHY

By

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND FOCUS OF THE STUDY

This dissertation investigates teacher and administrator practices and communications that may affect their students' civic character. The project is ethnographic and was performed in a predominantly white suburban middle class high school in Greenhurst, Tennessee. Information on the messages students receive about democratic ethics was gathered by: a) observing classroom practices related to democracy and citizenship; b) conducting formal interviews with participants about their understandings of the practices; c) shadowing students through school days; and d) collecting artifacts such as student assignment sheets, class offerings and schedules, and pamphlets on extra-curricular activities.

Statement of Problem

Scholars from the political left and right have recently expressed concern that American families and institutions are not adequately transmitting democratic values to the next generation. For example, Jean Elshtain (1995) is concerned that young Americans are cynical about and mistrustful of government and about the predominance of an ethic of individualism and a lack of responsibility to our civic and family duties. Robert Putnam (2000) is concerned that fewer citizens belong to voluntary and civic organizations than in the past. Benjamin Barber (1993) laments that "the real world" teaches children commercialism but not the competencies necessary to participate in democratic communities. This list of complaints could go on indefinitely and may seem

to address unrelated elements of contemporary U.S. society. However, all the arguments reflect a similar fear, a fear that the democratic society of the U.S. is in decline, and that citizens do not have the will nor the disposition to reverse the trend.

Though there are many forces that foster or discourage the formation of what is variously called a democratic disposition, a democratic ethic, or a civic disposition, it is clear that educators of all political orientations fear that we are failing to remember the public purpose of education. They hope that education in civic virtues is one avenue by which our society can become more democratic (for example see Barber, 1998; Carlson & Apple, 1998; Damon, 2001; Darling-Hammond, 1996; Goodlad, 1996; Hartoonian, 1999; Ravitch, 2001; Westbrook, 1996).

The definition of an ideal civic disposition is in dispute in part because the nature of democratic citizenship itself is contested. In this dissertation, citizenship is conceived as a legal, social, and cultural construction. As Dekker (1996, p. 387) notes, the legal component of citizenship includes the rights and duties of individuals as they are coded in constitutions and laws and interpreted in courts. Dekker also explains that the psychological components of citizenship consist of the affections, beliefs, habits, and behaviors of individuals with respect to their roles as citizens. While Dekker discusses the legal and psychological elements of citizenship, anthropologists hold that psychology cannot be divorced from culture (Spindler & Spindler, 2000). Children and adults learn to possess affections, beliefs, habits, and behaviors in manners appropriate to their culture. They also participate in culturally patterned dialogues and debates about value constellations specific to nations and smaller political entities (p. 318). The debate

currently raging in educational circles about how to best conceptualize and practice democratic citizenship is just such a cultural debate.

The most widely referenced sides in the debate are between participatory and representative forms of democracy. Briefly, participatory democracy looks at citizen participation in broadly defined public life as the defining feature of democratic government. The central focus in participatory democracy is the group, rather than the individual. In contrast, representative views of democracy focus strongly on individual rights and de-emphasize citizens' roles in public life. The contrast between these two views will be more fully explicated in Chapter II.

While there is research on specific schools that promote a participatory democratic ethic and atmosphere (see, for instance, Apple & Beane, 1995; Sehr, 1997), many of the schools that are the focus of such study are located in the inner cities of this country and are alternative, charter, magnet, or other schools of choice. The practices that might impact the formation of democratic dispositions are rarely studied at public schools that serve students traditionally at the racial and socioeconomic center of society, that is to say, white students of "the new middle class." This class consists largely of salaried intellectual workers and is determined less by income range than it is by employment type.¹ I use the terms middle to upper-middle class and new middle class interchangeably in this text.

The lack of critical attention to white middle class schools points to several gaps in the research literature. The first is that there have been no inquiries in these schools that center on the types of everyday teacher and administrator practices that relate to the production of students with democratic or undemocratic ethics. A second gap in the

research literature is data on whether school personnel in these schools are engaging in practices consistent with a coherent democratic ethic, or whether their practices convey contradictory messages about the ethics students should internalize. This dissertation project addresses these two gaps in the research literature.

Research Questions

The study conducted here addresses the gaps discussed above through a research question meant to uncover where and how the school locates its socialization for democracy, both formally and informally. It is: what practices do teachers and administrators engage in at white middle to upper-middle class schools that might impact students' development of a democratic disposition? To tease out answers to the question above, I needed to examine several issues with students and faculty to determine factors that mediate or are involved in the processes of the practices noted above. The next two sections address processes and mediating factors respectively.

Process Related Questions

The first question related to developing a democratic character in students is, what do teachers and administrators think a democratic character is? A second set of questions concerns which practices students, teachers, and administrators believe are impacting democratic character development, why they feel these practices impact this development, and how these practices achieve their intended effects.

In addition to seeking information on the practices teachers and students believe impact the formation of a democratic character, this project examines what teachers and administrators actually do and whether their practices are in line with their beliefs. That is

to say, there may be elements of schooling that impact the formation of a democratic character of which research participants are unaware.

In a related manner, the informal or hidden curriculum of the school warrants examination (Apple, 1990). This refers to the curricular context in which school practices (classes and extracurricular activities) are enacted, including the governance of the school community and the relationships among those within it. These relationships may serve students with models or standards for social behavior that may or may not be in line with a democratic ethic. Questions related to the informal curriculum center on: a) how conflict is resolved among and/or between students, teachers, and administrators; b) how the school is structured (its administration, rules and regulations); and c) how student programs are structured (i.e. tracks, required and elective courses, and extracurricular options). It should be noted that I studied school practices that may affect the acquisition of civic dispositions, and not the dispositions themselves.

Mediating Factors

Because communication involves not only the conscious and background intents of the communicator, but the prior understandings of the receiver, it is important to place school practices and their embedded communications in context. For this reason, this research project sought data on students' and teachers views on citizenship and whether there were continuities between the views of citizenship promoted and practiced at home and at school. Likewise, practices at previous schools may have impacted student understandings of what it means to be a citizen and so warrant attention. The influence of students' religious practices and instruction and the influence of practices at previous

schools are also important contextual factors that were considered when investigating students' understandings of citizenship.

Why are White Suburban Schools Important as Research Sites?

Whites have remained invisible as a social category, at least to the academy, until the 1990s. In that decade studies emerged that treat whites as people belonging to a racial category complete with meaning systems and practices that provide members with their worldviews and with privileges not necessarily accorded to other racial and ethnic groups. For examples of this recent work, see Fine, Weis, Powell, and Wong (1997), Frankenberg (1993, 1997), McIntyre (1997), McLaren (1995) and Perrin (1998). There is also a rich ethnographic literature on school experiences of many different racial and ethnic groups in both private and public schools. Traditionally, however, white middle or upper-middle class students have been ignored or taken as an unstated reference category compared to which all else is "other."

The recent trend toward problematizing the whites' practices and views is especially important because, as the most recent census data show, most members of this racial category still live in areas that are not populated by minority groups. Indeed, most children are living in neighborhoods more segregated than they were in 1990, especially in major metropolitan areas in the Midwest and Northeast (Frankenberg & Lee, 2002; Schmidt, 2001). This is true even though overall segregation levels dropped slightly during the last decade of the millennium.

Furthermore, there is a trend toward resegregation of public schools by race in metropolitan areas, especially as school districts are declared unitary and are freed from court-ordered busing as a means of desegregation (Frankenberg & Lee, 2002; Orfield,

1997). This is happening most often in the South, where most desegregation plans had been court ordered. These two trends suggest that white public school students will interact less and less often with their peers of other racial and ethnic groups in many parts of the U.S.

These trends may be problematic because when white citizens flee the cities or vote to allocate vast sums of money to build local public schools and pay for the best teachers, they are not simply performing isolated actions in order to help their own children, they are consciously or unconsciously participating in a social praxis that helps to reproduce society.

In addition, these citizens have a good deal of knowledge about how to influence the distribution of educational resources in ways favorable to themselves. Often they are successful in having schools superior to those found in poorer areas in large part because of the resources they have available. The first and most obvious resource they have available is money and the social connections needed to raise money to fund schools, get the most qualified teachers, and the like. For instance, as the percentage of minority students has risen in the Milwaukee Public Schools, funding per pupil has plunged compared to funding in predominantly white suburban districts. The Milwaukee Public School system had \$1,254 (or 20%) per student less to spend than its suburban counterparts in 2001 (Barndt & McNally, 2001). While the desire of white suburban parents to provide resources so that their children have excellent educations is understandable and commendable, when they succeed in obtaining a well-funded and resource-rich education for their own but not for all children, they help reproduce one of

the elements of our society's structure — a racially and ethnically segregated class system.

While the parents may not intend this consequence, indeed, the reproduction of these systems is likely abhorrent to many of the individuals concerned — the reality of such things as differential funding of schools may help produce it. Children whose parents do not have access to financial and social resources to help them are less likely to grow up and acquire the economic, social, and cultural capital required to get high paying jobs and move to neighborhoods with better schools. They will also lack access to what Delpit (1995, pp. 24-26) calls “the culture of power.” That is to say these students access linguistic, communicative, and self presentation strategies that differ from those of the white middle and upper-middle classes. These alternate cultural modes of dressing, eating, speaking, interacting, tastes in the arts, and enthusiasms in sports are rich and complex. However, the rules of the culture of power are the rules of the group *in power*. In order to succeed in schools, workplaces, and in the political arena, understanding the culture of those in power is often a prerequisite to success. Understanding and being able to subvert or participate in the culture of power when necessary makes it easier to work and negotiate with those already in power.

However, middle and upper-middle class white students already are well versed in the culture of power, as they learn it both at home and in school. If they follow in their parents' footsteps, they will grow up to have much political influence and work in positions with power over people, capital, and information. Therefore, it is important that we gain some sense of what ethics are being taught, modeled and practiced at the schools that educate white middle class students.

It should be noted that though it is not often discussed in the sociological, anthropological, or educational literature, there are individuals of this class who choose to exercise their power to produce a new form of society, and some of them work for social justice at the public level, despite their relatively privileged positions. In order to begin to understand how these citizens come into existence and how American schools can nurture these qualities in students, it is necessary to build a corpus of knowledge on what practices impact the development of citizens with and without a democratic ethic in white middle to upper-middle class public schools. Hopefully, doing so will shed light on one arena for social change that is often neglected.

Conceptual Framework

Before discussing how to address questions related to teacher and administrator practices and the communications they encode, I discuss the perspectives that generate my interest in these questions. Critical theorists have informed this interest, and I attempt to synthesize elements from several authors to frame this research project. In addition to informing my interests, critical theory as it is laid out here provides a methodological warrant for the techniques used in this study.

The differences in the viewpoints of theorists writing under the rubric of critical theory could fill several volumes. However, most critical researchers share a concern with social theory especially as it relates to the spheres of social structure, human agency, culture, and power. They believe that reality is mediated by power relations and is socially constructed (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000, p. 293).

Critical researchers also share value orientations. Most are concerned, for instance, that certain groups are more privileged than others and that oppression is often

internalized by those with less power. Critical researchers hold that their work should include social critique and be supportive of social change (Carspecken, 1996, p. 3). Indeed, many critical theorists engage with the world through their research precisely because they believe that the existing state of social affairs is not inevitable or unchangeable (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 35). They have a strong interest in producing emancipatory knowledge—that is knowledge that problematizes relations of domination and critiques aspects of contemporary society in order that they may be changed.

I follow the critical theorists that disagree with constructivist arguments that all criticalists need do is to "bias" their work in the direction of social justice. While the researchers' choices of *questions* are guided by their value orientations, it does not follow that they should intentionally bias their *findings* in the direction of these orientations (Carspecken, 1996, p. 16). I also follow critical theorists that reject the nihilism of many post-modern theorists. While critical researchers should appropriate the important insights of post-modernists, such as the notion that signifiers and signifieds do not hold universal meanings but depend on their contexts, it does not necessarily follow that this in turn implies that all interpretations of social reality are equally valid or invalid. Indeed, critical researchers must employ a rigorous methodology and take many steps to ensure that their reconstructions are valid. For a discussion of the methodology used in this dissertation and how it ensures validity, see Chapter III.

Why Focus on Practices?

This study focuses on practices because they are fundamentally meaningful and communicative acts (i.e. they involve the production and exchange of understandings).

Practices may only be understood against a backdrop of shared assumptions about how people in first, second or third person positions may experience them.

The easiest way to clarify this proposition is by giving a simple example from Greenhurst High School. Shortly after I gained permission to begin preliminary data collection for this project, I accompanied the principal during his habitual hallway monitoring between classes. While the principal and I chatted and watched the students walk by, he spotted one young man just about to enter a classroom. The principal made an almost imperceptible gesture to the student, and the student promptly removed his baseball hat. While this gesture referenced an instrumental goal—to have the student remove his hat—it also contained communicative elements. Obviously, the signal indicated a specific action desired, but it also encoded information that the two actors both understood.

Since I was new to the school and could not be expected to understand why the principal was asking a student to remove his hat, the principal explained that there was a dress code at the school. He felt that most times if someone were coming into the school to make trouble he or she would be wearing a hat, and the hat would signal to school personnel that something was awry. The implicit inference in the practice of banning hats from school had to do, among other things, with the fact that people from outside the school were not welcome in the hallways.

Social identity is intimately linked to practices such as the one described above because, as Holland and Skinner (1996, p. 197) note, “identities (or selves) are psychocultural or psychosocial formations that develop as individuals and groups engage in activity in lived worlds.” In other words, identity is practiced, and is not static. It is not

merely taken in, for instance, by listening to a teacher, but by acting. As noted above, when the student removed his hat, he practiced his identity as a member of an organization (a school) that had cultural models of behavior (and misbehavior).

It is worthwhile to note, as do Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999, pp. 21-22) that the word ‘practice’ is ambiguous. Practices may refer to social actions taking place in only one specific instance (such as the particular gesture the principal made to the student), or they may refer to recurring behaviors that arise from a shared cultural abstraction or model. Practices have the character of both definitions, since agents may improvise on or deliberately refuse to act in line with the models that influence beliefs about how things should be done. In other words, they may act completely in line with such models, act in virtually novel manners, or anything in-between.

It is also important to note that practices are not value-neutral but are associated with a host of cultural values (Miller & Goodnow, 1995; Scribner & Cole, 1981). For example, when the principal told me about the no hat policy, he also explained other rules of the school dress code. Students were not to wear pants that exceeded a certain length, skirts that fell above a certain length, have “extreme” hair colors, or wear rings in their tongues. The values embedded in this code are many, but the ones he explained and that were outlined in *The Greenhurst High School Student and Parent Guide* are those related to teen sexuality and what was considered to be “distracting to other students,” or anything outside of community norms. As practices are carried out or ignored, people develop a sense of identity with and against the community of practice and differentially take in and reflect on the values associated with the practices.

Practices are also productive (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 23). This is not to say that all practices are productive in the economic sense of the term, but that actors use practices to produce both physical and social effects. Just as a practice might be aimed at production of a product, say a photograph or an auto part, so can a practice be aimed at production of a cultural, political, and/or economic effect. In addition, just as the production of auto parts or photographs may produce unintended effects (chemical pollution, trash that needs to be disposed of, and so on), so may the production of cultural, economic, and political effects produce unintended results. In this dissertation, I am interested in school practices' intended and unintended effects on democratic character formation.

Social Action and System Reproduction

My interest in studying the messages that white students at middle to upper middle class schools receive is informed by two assumptions. The first is that the messages students hear and practice help shape their identity. The second is that identity impacts social structure via social action. Though questions centered on *how and whether* students are internalizing the messages communicated via the practices of administrators and teachers are left for future research, the reason that these messages are a concern is that they may impact students' ethics. Ethics, which are intimately linked to identity, are by no means static over the lifetime. However, ethical systems are in a critical phase of development during the high school years. Personal ethics, in turn, impact social structure via social action. A brief sketch of how this is theorized to happen follows.

Pierre Bourdieu holds that each individual internalizes social structure. The structure is taken in differently by each person, and is known as *habitus* (Bourdieu,

1973/1977). Habitus, or a predilection for viewing the world in a given way, largely influences each actor's social behavior. However, Bourdieu fails to adequately consider agency; individuals' actions are not wholly determined by the dictates of habitus. They are also influenced by the specific needs, wishes, desires, and psychology of individuals, as well as by situational variables. Habitus might be seen as a scheme for generating the behaviors which produce the observable system.

This observable system is here defined as the norms recognized by most members of society about how resources should be allocated, what constitutes proper ways of acting, and which meanings symbols encode (Giddens, 1979). It is important to note here that social practices are highly conditioned but not completely determined by social systems. For instance, the legal systems society has in place make it easier to engage in broadly sanctioned actions, but do not completely ensure that actors will do so. In this way, law abiding behavior is encouraged to a great degree and law breaking behavior is constrained. Similarly, it is easier to act in accordance with the cultural themes familiar to social systems than to act against them.

Any social action a person takes affirms certain ethics and social identities and disregards others. When actions are consonant with existing cultural, political, and economic systems, they reproduce system relations (Carspecken, 1996, p. 37). Of course, if large numbers of people acted against the existing relations, the system would be transformed. Specific social systems exist only through continuous practice.

As noted above, every social action an individual takes both produces and reproduces the social, economic and cultural dimensions of structure. This form of action cannot be extracted from the structure in which it is embedded and is known as agency.

Agency and structure forever inform and construct the other. Giddens (1979, pp. 120, 215) coined the term “duality of structure” for this process, and it is in large part intended to overcome such dualisms as “individual versus social”. To meld Giddens and Bourdieu, it might be said that agents’ behaviors are highly influenced and partly determined by their habitus, so structure is reproduced over time. However, every person’s actions define and reshape social structure. Society is thus produced as well as reproduced. The agent is simultaneously molded by, constructs, and reforms social rules.

The resources that new middle class agents have at their command make it imperative to gain detailed understandings of how these agents come into being. Documenting teacher and administrator practices and the communications embedded in them is a first step in gaining such an understanding because these communications are not simply informed by the existing social structure but impact student habitus and thus have implications for future social structure.

Setting

Because no research has been done on the nature of the messages students at white middle class high schools receive regarding democratic ethics, an intensive rather than extensive study is necessary to generate baseline data. This qualitative research project focuses on one setting, Greenhurst High School. The town of Greenhurst is located in Close County, just outside of Metro County. The population of Greenhurst is mainly white (93%, according to 2000 census data), and the average household income is far above average for the state, and \$8,000 above average for the United States as a whole.³ Most Greenhursters work in executive, administrative, and managerial occupations, in sales, or in administrative support positions, though there are some

manufacturing jobs in the area. The city of Greenhurst was incorporated in the late 1960s and experienced much growth after Metropolitan County was forced to bus students for the purpose of racial desegregation. Greenhurst, like much of Middle Tennessee, also grew at a very fast pace during the 1990s, increasing its population by over 25%. Greenhurst High School has demographics similar to those of the city as a whole. These demographics contrast sharply with those of its neighbors, the major metropolitan area and a town down the road from Greenhurst.

Metropolitan County's population is majority white (65-70%), but also consists of large African American (25%) and Latino (at least 5%) communities. The public schools in Metro County as a whole enroll almost equal numbers of white and black students and have approximately 4% Latino and 3% Asian populations. In addition, approximately half of Metropolitan area's public school students qualify for free or reduced price lunches, compared to Greenhurst's 4%.

Graymont, Greenhurst's nearest neighbor in Close County, was established approximately 200 years ago, and is slightly farther away from Metro Area than Greenhurst. It has a racial and ethnic mix in between Metro Area's and Greenhurst's in terms of heterogeneity. It is 78% white, 18% black, 3% Hispanic, and 1% other. Racial and ethnic diversity in Graymont increased from 1990 to 2000, while that in Greenhurst was static. Graymont also has a much smaller median household income than Greenhurst. Approximately 18% of Graymont High School students receive free or reduced price lunches. The comparisons provided in these paragraphs illustrate the segregation by race/ethnicity and class that exists in this part of the state, even in areas only minutes apart from one another by car.

Importance

If the trend toward residential and school resegregation by class and race continues, more and more schools like Greenhurst High will appear, and students of the white middle to upper-middle classes will have ever less contact with students from different racial and economic backgrounds. Therefore, it is crucial that an understanding be gained of how the ethics related to democratic citizenship are taught in such schools. Furthermore, students from this social class are likely to end up in positions of authority. Theirs may not necessarily be the types of authority associated with positions typically held by the most affluent classes (such as top executive positions, judgeships, high political offices, and so on), though it is possible that some students may go on to these positions. However, if the students follow in their parents' footsteps, they are likely to hold the power that middle managers and small business owners hold over employees, and the type that local politicians (such as school board members, state senators and representatives) hold over the local population. These positions are more numerous than the highest positions, and those that hold them have great social impact. An examination of the messages that this future group of citizens receive at school may aid in understanding this group's relationships with the rest of society, and may also help educators modify their schooling practices in the future.

End Notes for Chapter I

1. As Fussell (1983, p. 24) states “nobody knows for sure what the word *class* means.” Some theorists simply mean the amount of money a person earns, while other theorists also include what sorts of tastes and manners a person has in their definition, while still others include political power, prestige, and social standing in their definitions. For the purposes of this project, the new middle class is defined after Burris (1995, p. 15) and Mills (1951, p. 63). The new middle class is linked to the rise in big business and big government in the last century. It is composed mainly of salaried white-collar workers.

They are alternately called “new petit bourgeoisie,” the “new working class” or “white collar workers” (Burris, 1995, p. 15). In Fussell’s (1983) scheme, Greenhursters would be mainly upper-middle class and middle class. In this scheme, those of the upper-middle class have earned their money, as opposed to the upper and the super-rich classes. They are lawyers, real-estate brokers, computer programmers, and the like. People in the middle class, according to Fussell, are the salesmen and geologists that need to move for work, the dentists, the teachers, and so on. People in this class are often anxious about falling into a lower class position and/or losing their jobs.

As 2000 census data show, Greenhursters had more jobs in the managerial and office sectors and fewer in the service and productions sectors than the nation as a whole. Though not all are invested with great power in business and government, many have the power to hire and fire others and determine others’ salaries. The following list shows 2000 census professions data for Greenhurst and the U.S. as a whole.

Occupation	Greenhurst	U.S.
Managerial and professional specialty occupations	36.6%	33.6%
Sales and office occupations	33.7%	14.9%
Service occupations	11.6%	26.7%
Farming, forestry, and fishing occupations	0.1%	0.7%
Construction, extraction, and maintenance occupations	8.3%	9.4%
Production, transportation, and material moving occupations	9.7%	14.6%

Census income data for zip code areas show that in 2000 Greenhurst’s median household income was \$50,108 in 2000, while the national average was \$41,994 (1999 dollars). According to census data, the 2000 state average was considerably lower at \$36,360 and may have dropped since then (Wadhvani & Heffter, 2002). Metropolitan Area’s average household income was \$39,797. The citizens of Graymont, which borders Greenhurst, averaged just \$34,696 in 2000.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to understand the messages that Greenhurst High School teachers and administrators are conveying via their practices it is necessary to possess an initial framework with which to analyze these messages. Before presenting the framework, it should be noted that normative and empirical democratic theorists often differently define democracy and the civic character suitable to upholding it. Simply stated, normative political theorists theorize democratic citizenship, however imperfectly implemented, while empirical political scientists study how citizens of societies named democracies actually operate. Of course, the two fields overlap considerably. Because my focus here is on values, I restrict my discussion to normative theories of democracy and citizenship.

Democracy and Citizenship

Democracy is a legendarily elusive concept and has been embodied in quite different forms. Its theorists span thousands of years and miles. The framework laid out below consists of the tensions between values implicit in two dominant models of democratic citizenship that may be thought of as poles of a continuum. Representative and participatory theories (though often differently labeled) have been debated from the time of Socrates. In the U.S. the tensions between representative and participatory democracy ideals date to the founding of the country. Robert Hoffert (1992) argues that tensions similar to those present between participatory and representative theories can be seen in the Constitution versus the Articles of Confederation and the Declaration of

Independence. Similarly, David Sehr (1997) holds that competing conceptions of human nature and good government inform the Constitution and the later writings of Thomas Jefferson. There are, of course, positions both to the right and left of the representative to participatory continuum.

Table 1, below, outlines major differences between the two models and is a modified form of Farnen’s (1996) and Dekker’s (1996) tables. It will be used to help gauge the nature of teacher and administrator practices.

Table 1. Two Models of Democracy

	Concepts	Values	Representative democracy	Participatory democracy
	<i>Political Concepts</i>			
		Primary value	individual pursuit of happiness, freedom	individual and collective action, interdependence
		The nature of human beings is	autonomous, acquisitive.	autonomous, social.
		Society is tied together through	laws, law enforcement, social contracts (legal concepts).	norms, values, democratic habits of the heart (psychological concepts), and laws.
		Political interest flows from	self interest and desire for freedom from state interference in pursuits, plus duties to lead or serve, desire for protection against tyranny of the majority.	notion that citizenship rights and responsibilities coexist, and individuals improve themselves via public work.

	Concepts	Values	Representative democracy	Participatory democracy
		Political participation involves	choosing leaders to protect individual and state interests.	voting plus political decision making at home, work, school, community, etc.
		Choice of political leaders is based on	leadership qualifications of candidates, independent judgment, party.	stands on issues, citizen involvement, class and/or racial ethnic interests, party.
		Ideal citizens engage in	voting, maintaining independence, obedience to laws	decision making on ongoing basis.
		Politics includes	the public sector and formal offices.	all social and economic life.
		Democracy is	a method.	a theory of society.
		Equality means	formally equal eligibility to run for office, vote, join the civic structure.	citizens sharing power and influence at social, economic and political levels.
		System is most stable through	elite decision making.	citizens participating in decision making.
		System is most unstable when	mass rule takes hold.	elitism, authoritarianism, or discrimination occurs.
		National defense is for	protection of society from threats of coercion.	?

	Concepts	Values	Representative democracy	Participatory democracy
	<i>Economic Concepts*</i>			
		Government's role in the economy should be	minimal, it determines rules of game, acts as umpire (Friedman).	regulatory, at minimum.
		Control of economic institutions should be by	owners, managers (with input by laborers in more centrist views).	labor and management (in more leftist views, workers should have primary control).
	<i>Educational Concepts</i>			
		Citizens need to learn	how to choose best qualified leaders.	dispositions, skills, and knowledge necessary to participate politically.
		The purpose of schooling is	to create human capital among labor force,* to promote an appreciation for American culture, usually defined in mainstream terms, and to teach value neutral knowledge of the basics.	to learn the knowledge and the critical thinking skills, and to acquire the dispositions necessary to participating in a democracy, to promote an appreciation for a multiplicity of cultures and views.*

* A star indicates either a concept not addressed in either Farnen's or Dekker's tables, or a concept substantially modified from their perspectives.

Political Concepts

The two models of democracy exhibit their greatest differences in their emphases on liberty versus equality and on the individual versus society. A strong concern for individual liberties can be traced back at least as far as the writings of John Locke, who influenced the framers of the Constitution to a considerable extent. Locke held that in the original condition of nature, people were in a "...State of perfect Freedom to order their Actions, and dispose of their Possessions and Persons as they think fit, within the bounds of the Law of Nature, without asking leave, or depending on the will of any other man" (as quoted by Held, 1996, p. 79). Collective behavior arose because individual interests in preserving life, liberty, and estates, (together discussed as "property") are often advanced by cooperation, hence the wish to form governments. The purpose of government, according to Locke, is to protect individuals in the pursuit of their natural rights and to secure individuals and their properties against violation.

Following such reasoning the founding fathers of the U.S., and most notably James Madison, felt the majority who held little or no property posed a threat to the propertied minority. Therefore, they assured that the Constitution and Bill of Rights included checks and balances that lessened the likelihood that the majority's needs and wishes would be gratified at the expense of the minority. The founders also provided legal means to protect individual liberties, such as the freedoms of speech, religion, and the press from either the government or the tyranny of the majority.

While agreeing with the framers of the Constitution that power should not be concentrated in one arm of the government and that property rights merited protection, Thomas Jefferson also felt that universal (white male) suffrage and "the peoples"

extensive community involvement in government were the best safeguards against individual and governmental abuses of power. Indeed, toward the end of his life Jefferson promoted his ward system—a system in which every white male individual became “an acting member of a common government”—in order to save the republic from the dangers of private interests (Arendt, 1963/1993, pp. 215-216).¹ In the ward system, as in other forms of participatory democracy, society is tied together through its involvement in civic affairs and people rise above their self-interests via this association. Citizens are believed to be interested in problem-solving and policy (Farnen, 1996).

In contrast, representative theory holds that the average citizen is and possibly should be apathetic about politics. This general apathy may be positive because only those truly interested in politics are involved and it lessens the likelihood of extreme partisanship among the citizenry (Berelson, Lazarus, & McPhee, 1954). In this view, the elite are in the best positions to take care of governmental business. As Held (1996) notes, proponents of this view, often called competitive elitism, have been influenced by the models of such authors as Joseph Schumpeter. The latter argued that citizens are not capable of reasoned action in the political field, simply because without the initiative generated by the immediate responsibilities of governing, they are unable to effectively reason. Indeed “...the typical citizen drops down to a lower level of mental performance as soon as he enters the political field....He becomes a primitive again” (Schumpeter, 1942/1993, p. 85).

According to the representative view, self-government means voting. However, in this view citizens must possess the capacity and interest to choose among elites. At the personal level, it is not unreasonable to delegate responsibility for public decision to

political authorities, as most people have limited time, money, interest, and/or cognitive ability with which to gather the complex information necessary to make judgments on many issues (see Lupia & McCubbins, 1998, for further discussion).

Such claims would draw sharp criticism from Prewitt and Stone (1973/1993), who liken the argument that elite political experts are most effective governors to the Platonic notion that philosopher-kings should rule undemocratically but justly. These scholars hold that the record of the elite shows anything but just government. Indeed, they often use their resources to stifle groups whose views they disagree with (as in McCarthyism), and tend to associate only with other members of the political and economic elite. The fact that economic class membership is highly correlated with membership in the political elite also makes competitive elitism undemocratic.

In addition to holding competing views on the roles of citizens versus elites, participatory and representative theories view the nature of the politics associated with democracy differently. In representative theory, the political realm includes formal government and the legal system. When too many citizens are involved in government, and especially when the involvement is in the form of direct action such as protests, security and stability are threatened. Representative democrats also hold that the general public is more authoritarian and less rights-minded than the governing elite. This elite can ensure that the whims of the people are not carried out in haste (Farnen, 1996, p. 54). The private realms of home, family, and work are not political and thus should not be interfered with by the government.²

In contrast participatory theory construes politics as relating to all human interactions. Democracy should be implemented in workplaces, schools, churches and

other establishments because in many cases decisions are made in these institutions that impact people's lives more powerfully than governmental decisions. Non-governmental decisions often are made without input from stakeholders and in hierarchically ordered authoritarian environments (Hudson, 2001). The absence of democratic processes in these institutions is held to be undermining to citizens' abilities to function in other arenas, and is thus injurious to democratic society as a whole.

Scholars of race and ethnic movements and feminists have added much to this area of participatory democratic theory since the 1950s. There is no single feminist view as to which arenas democracy should apply, nor is there a viewpoint that characterizes all Black, Hispanic, Native American, or Asian scholars over this fifty year period.

However, minority and feminist scholars and activists recognize that there are economic, social, and cultural conditions that contribute to discrimination. The latter point out that widespread domestic inequality and violence, once considered private matters, leave women with less than equal freedom to pursue happiness. They argue that representative theories do not take into account people's interdependence in the home, community, and at work (Dietz, 1992, p. 67). Therefore, democratic decision making must be extended into the traditionally private as well as the traditionally political realms (Gould, 1993/1981).

Minority theorists and activists often argue that equality between groups is not achieved when there is formal legal equality (and a case can be made that formal legal equality has yet to be achieved) because it can and does coexist with systemic oppression. Thus, there also may be a need for legal safeguards to ensure that resources are distributed equitably and that the racial caste system is dismantled (West, 1994, pp. 91-

97). Furthermore, the material conditions of racial and ethnic groups are not a private issue traceable to private and individual decisions about work, school, and ethics, but a political issue. Cultural, economic, and social systems contribute to inequality and must be addressed in political theory and practice.³ Direct action is seen as useful in the political arena.

It was impossible to predict how or whether the political concepts related above would be explicitly addressed in class discussions or in extracurricular activities. However, in the initial research phase of the current study, an American Government teacher explicitly brought up Madisonian versus Jeffersonian views of human nature and the political precepts that flowed from each view. He also discussed the founding fathers' fear of mass rule and Jefferson's advocacy of education for democracy. However, even when such topics are not explicitly addressed, representative and participatory views of human nature may emerge as the backgrounded or implicit theories that inform school rules and teachers' and administrators' actions and language. The same is true regarding emphases on self versus group interests, notions of how leaders are best chosen, how what falls in the political realm is discussed, and the nature of equality.

Economic Concepts

Those who espouse a representative view of democracy hold that the state should exist to safeguard the rights and liberties of citizens so as to free them to pursue their own individual interests. All citizens are best off in this system, as it provides maximal choice about where to work, what to purchase, and with whom to associate. The rights of the government to tax and actively promote the general welfare of the state are questioned. A market equilibrium theory, that of Adam Smith's invisible hand, is believed to ensure that

wealth is distributed fairly, though not equally to all. Capitalism and free markets are seen as inextricably bound. Freedom of exchange, broadly writ, guarantees political freedoms because "...the consumer is protected from coercion by the seller because of the presence of other sellers with whom he can deal," and vice versa (Friedman, 1962, p. 15). This is accomplished without the need for a centralized authority, as the market is impersonal and therefore fair. Furthermore, some theorists hold that the triumph of the Western combination of liberal democracy and market-orientation over socialism and other political-economic systems is near complete. This victory is then interpreted as an indication that liberal democracy and capitalism are the only feasible options for modern nations (Fukuyama, 1992).

Participatory theorists would argue that the conflation of markets with democracy is a cause for concern. For instance, Engel (2000) sees the tenets of market ideology as a form of secular religion. As Kelsey (1995) points out, there is no evidence backing assertions that economic order emerges as a consequence of the actions of individuals bent on fulfilling their own interests. Indeed, the government has had to take many steps to regulate the economy. However, even if the market did possess teleological qualities, a bigger problem participatory theorists have with market ideology is that differing interest groups can not compete equally for lawmaker's time. Thus, political interests in society are not equally represented. Business groups contribute more campaign money than labor groups, ideologically based groups, and all other groups combined (Hudson, 2001, p. 166). Though theoretically this only buys access to lawmakers, there is suspicion that it often buys more. (In a recent example, environmental groups and the General Accounting Office unsuccessfully sued for the records of the meetings between Vice President Dick

Cheney and energy company executives, alleging that the money these executives contributed to campaigns bought them access that directly affected policy.)

Furthermore, individuals begin life with radically different material and social resources, and thus “...the good life of consumer choice is not universally available” (Walzer, 1992, p. 95). It is not simply that individuals are born with unequal resources with which to compete; rather, race, ethnicity, class, and gender correlate strongly with possession of economic and social capital.

The authoritarian structure of many businesses is also seen as antithetical to democracy. Workplace practices that require obedience undermine citizens’ ability to be effective outside of work and in the political arena. Furthermore, if citizens voice dissent about business practices that affect their lives, they face economic consequences from losing their incomes (for individuals) to losing a plant or a company (for communities).

Theorists who lean toward the participatory pole of the continuum fear that a small undemocratic elite govern many large corporations. They note that 15-20% of corporate directors sit on two or more boards (Domhoff, 1998, p. 43) and that board members tend to be overwhelmingly male (90-95%), and white (95%). These membership statistics suggest that elite positions are not accessible on a meritocratic basis alone.

As is the case for political concepts, the economic concepts related above may or may not be explicitly addressed in class discussions or in extracurricular activities. However, the manner in which administrators and teachers address (or fail to address) such issues as the workplace, general market choices, the equality of students from

different socioeconomic backgrounds, and similar issues may reveal implicit theories related to the topics above.

Educational Concepts

Representative and participatory theory's divergent views on human nature, citizens' roles in society, and the economy have correlates in the realm of education. While there is some overlap, the skills to be learned in order to choose effective leaders and successfully compete in the marketplace are substantively different than the skills needed to debate policy, create a consensus among peers at work and in the community, and make complex decisions. Therefore, the two theories conceptualize the purposes for schooling differently.

As Engel (2000, pp. 26-27) notes, much school reform from Sputnik into the 1990s relied on assumptions from human capital theory. In this theory, school is seen as yielding a high return on investment because it increases the stock of knowledge and skills the labor force possesses. For instance, the 1960s era investment in education for the poor was seen as a means to break the cycle of poverty. The investment in higher education after Sputnik was a means for achieving and maintaining military superiority over the Soviets, and the post *Nation-at-Risk* report reforms were aimed at ensuring that the U.S. economy would remain dominant. In all cases, the arguments for reform are made with the assumption that economic concerns should guide school policy.

School Choice

Some public and private school choice proponents also use the economic arguments of representative democratic theory. Chubb and Moe (1990) argue that if schools must compete for the tuition dollars of parents and students and government

interference in the schools is minimized, more autonomous and thus effective organizations will result. Democratic control of schools does not work, but the invisible hand of the market can give parents what they want in their children's schools. Since what parents want is schools that benefit their individual children, there should be a wide supply of schools available. The market will eliminate the bad schools more effectively than elected officials can (Bast & Walberg, 1994).

Against school choice are those that feel it will take money away from already failing schools, and in the case of private school voucher programs, those who want to keep the wall between church and state intact. However, many educators also take issue with the assertion that market ideology should drive school reform. For instance, Engel (2000, p. 7) makes the case that schools have a responsibility to the whole polity and that this responsibility makes them a public concern. Decisions about the public concerns over school structure and reform should be made democratically through deliberation and debate, and not by parents who may or may not be informed about the choices available to them or have the means (such as transportation and information) to access true choices. Indeed, in Britain, there is empirical evidence that emphasis on parental choice further disadvantages those least able to compete in the market (Smith & Noble, 1995, as cited by Whitty, 1998). Such evidence leads some authors to prefer the model of a common school with political-democratic forms of control to the model of education as a consumer good (Lubienski, 2001).

Social Cohesion

An area of inquiry germane to any discussion of democracy and education is that of social cohesion. Much of this inquiry is focused on international or national contexts

(see, for instance, Heyneman, 2000, 2003). As Stanley (2003) notes, there are a great number of definitions of social cohesion. However, there appear to be at least two common concepts underlying a useful definition of social cohesion.

The first is the willingness of people to freely cooperate with and trust one another at all levels of society (Heyneman, 2003, p. 174; Stanley, 2003, p. 8). This trust and cooperation should extend to everyone from neighbors to employers and to the government. Such cooperation must not be coerced in order for it to be indicative of social cohesion (Stanley, 2003, pp. 8-9).

The second concept underlying social cohesion is that of shared values. This does not mean that all communities must share belief systems. In fact, the only values that must be shared in order for social cohesion to exist in a pluralistic society relate to compromise, accommodation, respect for or at least tolerance of others, and not necessarily shared religious or cultural values (Heyneman, 2000, p. 176; Heyneman, 2003, p. 31; Stanley, 2003, pp. 9-10). Indeed, widely shared values may be negative in many contexts. Widespread values of hatred or mistrust of those from different faiths, from different ethnic backgrounds, or of different sexual orientations, tend to be found in totalitarian regimes.

Social cohesion is intimately linked to social capital as defined by Coleman (1988). While Bourdieu's discussion of social capital emphasizes what social ties (and especially social ties with the economic elite) can bring the individual, Coleman's concern with social capital centers on the informal norms that promote cooperation between individuals and thus facilitate the smooth functioning of the government and economy (Heyneman, 2000, p. 175). Individuals participating in social networks build

social capital (Putnam, 2000). In other words, such participation engenders the tendency to trust and cooperate with people in these networks.

Social capital comes in two forms, bonding social capital and bridging social capital. The former accumulates between more or less homogeneous groups of people, while the latter accumulates in more heterogeneous groups. It may be that the accumulation of bridging social capital is more important to social cohesion, at least in a pluralistic society, because of its ability to foster a greater willingness to compromise with, accommodate, and be respectful towards diverse others.

Heyneman (2003, pp. 29-30) notes that education is one of four pillars that promote social cohesion, along with political organizations, social organizations (such as churches and voluntary organizations), and economic organizations. Education can contribute to social cohesion in five ways. The first is by teaching the behaviors and principles underpinning good citizenship, the consequences of adhering to them versus not adhering to them, the obligations of political leaders, and the obligations of citizens. These are what Heyneman terms “the rules of the game.” The second means by which schools can foster social cohesion is by providing an experience roughly consonant with these “rules of the game.” A third means is by providing (ideally) an equality of opportunity for all students. If the school system does not do this, then parents and others are less likely themselves to “play by the rules” including agreeing to fund the school through taxation. A fourth means for schools to promote social cohesion is by maintaining a delicate balance between providing a common underpinning for citizenship and incorporating the interests of many different groups. A fifth means arises when there are disagreements about the balance between these objectives. In such cases the school

must fairly adjudicate these disagreements, either through school boards, councils, parent-teacher associations, or other mechanisms.

Of course, the “rules of the game” may be defined in different contexts as representative, participatory, or a mixture of both. However, Heyneman’s (2003) discussion of the latter three means by which schools foster social cohesion fit the framework above mainly in the ‘participatory’ column. Equality of opportunity is often a major goal for researchers who could be classified on the participatory side since they argue that different groups of students are currently educated for different rungs on the social ladder (see Oakes, 1985, for instance). Those concerned with social cohesion would advocate a balance between providing a common underpinning for citizenship and incorporating the interests of many different groups. Such advocacy belies a belief that standards for schooling are not timeless and universal, a belief with which many representative theorists might disagree. Similarly, the fact that schools should adjudicate between these interests with the help of various constituents is more in line with a participatory than a representative democratic ethic.

Deweyan Formulations of the Purpose of Education

Another area of inquiry related to democracy and education has been pursued by scholars such as Benjamin Barber and Amy Gutmann over the last decade and a half. Some of these authors’ works have reformulated Dewey’s (1916/1966) calls that education be for and in democracy. That is to say, education should have the dual purpose of promoting individual development and teaching students to function and thrive in a participatory democracy. In practice, this means that schools are responsible for promoting democratic discourse and ensuring that children have not only the skills

and knowledge but the dispositions to make a voluntary commitment to a democratic way of life, involving manners and interactions between people (Gutmann, 1990; Barber, 1993).

Gutmann (1990) and Barber (1993) also share Dewey's conviction that out of democratic dialogues, shared interests will be forged, and connections will be made between the various domains of knowledge. Dialogues with others also offer students a chance to understand their own experiences by forcing them to focus on similarities and differences between themselves and others, and to take others' standpoints into consideration when formulating arguments. Dewey also felt that groups could learn from one another in much the same way, and that this sharing may lead to a means of reducing social stratification.

Dispositions

In order to wish to engage in such dialogues, citizens must have democratic or civic dispositions. These civic dispositions are ingrained attitudes and corresponding ways of being in the world. As Elshain (1995, p. 2) defines them, democratic dispositions include the following:

a preparedness to work with others different from oneself toward shared ends; a combination of strong convictions with a readiness to compromise in the recognition that one can't always get everything one wants; and a sense of individuality and a commitment to civic goods that are not the possession of one person or one small group alone.

Citizens who possess democratic dispositions are likely to participate not only in voting and other formal democratic processes, but also in civil society. The latter is defined as the organizations that promote social capital in Coleman's sense. These include everything from neighborhood organizations and church groups, to labor unions,

to large voluntary organizations such as the Red Cross, and so on. Thus disposition and participation are intimately linked to one another.

Central to Gutmann's (1990, p. 10) conception of a democratic disposition is her interest in the tensions between freedom and virtue. She describes a strand of thinking dating back at least to John Stuart Mill and continuing up to Bruce Ackerman. Such authors hold that educational institutions have no place in promoting virtues (beyond those that promote cultural cohesion), and schools should educate children so that they may be free to pursue their own conceptions of the private good. On the other side are those who urge educators to educate children to identify their own interests with that of the social good as prescribed by some higher authority—a Platonic philosopher king. In this view, ultimate social good can be promoted using one system that is best for everyone.

According to Gutmann (1990), the problem with the former strand of thinking is that educators must limit choice on some grounds (schools cannot teach everything that each individual prefers). These grounds should be moral, since parents, teachers, and other adults, do, in fact, have a mature moral sense of right and wrong, better and worse. Furthermore, every understanding of education is tied to an understanding of what constitutes a good society. Educators should choose morals on which to focus and help youngsters understand these concepts both to promote both better personal and social lives.

One problem Gutmann has with the latter strand of thinking is that it can lead to repression of reasonable ideas, as all ideas that do not fit with the one best moral system are tossed aside. Furthermore, this strand of thinking denies one of the insights of

individualism, that a good life must be “one that a person recognizes as such, lived from the inside, according to one’s own best lights” (Gutmann, 1990, p. 9).

Gutmann (1990) argues that it is necessary to combine individual freedom with civic virtue and not choose between the two. Her prescription is for a democratic alternative that 1) recognizes the tension between individual good and civic virtue and does not ignore either of these elements, 2) offers criticism to educational authorities when they repress challenges to popular ideas or deny anyone an education adequate to the responsibilities of citizenship, and 3) supports educational institutions that encourage democratic deliberation. This alternative would also necessarily limit repressive actions designed to prevent unpopular ideas from being taught, even if the majority were in favor of such suppression. In Gutmann’s view, the central point of education is to teach future citizens so that they may come together to deliberate how to collectively shape society and choose and enforce laws. The will and desire to take on this task is one of the foundations of a democratic disposition. That students gain the skills to deliberate thusly is the central responsibility of educational systems.

Barber (1992) also holds that each true citizen must participate in decision-making for the state and must recognize his or her fellows as equal, even when different. Since Barber argues that democracy is anything but a natural state of affairs, citizens must be created—that is to say, educated. Education is, according to Barber, an apprenticeship in liberty. He argues that in school future citizens must experience a community that creates a common sense of each citizen’s responsibility for creating liberty. Education should be for equalizing opportunity, but in such a way that it offers the least privileged citizens the same excellent education it offers its most privileged.

Though Barber (1992) does not discuss a conception of a democratic or civic disposition, per se, his focus on responsibilities as well as rights, on the collective as well as the individual implies that he shares Gutmann's belief that the central point of education is to teach the skills and dispositions necessary for future citizens to effectively deliberate. He would also hold that a sense of responsibility to one's fellows is a large part of a democratic disposition.

The etiquette of civility. Another element central to the civic disposition is the possession of civility. The concept of civility includes manners as well attitudes appropriate to the tasks of working with others different from oneself, acting on convictions while being willing to compromise, deliberating how to collectively shape society, and choosing and enforcing the laws that govern society. Though Barber (1992), Gutmann (1990), and Elshtain (1995) do not write extensively about civility or the manners necessary to a democratic disposition, Stephen Carter (1998) articulates the nature of civility in detail from a spiritual/moral perspective. His book calls for civility in order to save democratic society from the radical individualism he sees at all levels, from the household to the government. Like Gutmann, he argues that we must have a shared moral understanding of how to live our lives together in order to foster democracy.

Unlike Gutmann (1990), however, Carter (1998, p. 230) argues that civility should be learned at home, and that school should not interfere with parent's obligations and rights to educate their children in morals they think are appropriate. Wherever civility is to be learned, however, the etiquette he suggests should flow from civic dispositions. Carter's work calls for 15 rules of etiquette. All 15 rules deal with attitudes of respect

towards others when in disagreement, being willing to sacrifice for others and for the common good, valuing diversity, and being trustful and generous.

He illustrates the rule of trust and generosity with a hypothetical example from the political realm. If the educational system in the U.S. is widely perceived as problematic, political conservatives might be a little more financially generous in attempting to solve the problem, while political liberals might be more trusting when evaluating alternatives such as charter schools and the like. Such an impulse to trust is not only necessary to a civic disposition, it is necessary to social cohesion, as trust is likely to lead to cooperation (Heyneman, 2003, p. 174).

Critical thinking skills. In addition to sharing Dewey's belief that education should be in and for democracy, these thinkers share Dewey's notion that the curriculum must be active in order to foster the skills, knowledge and dispositions necessary to the mode of associated living he envisioned democracy to be. Students should solve real-life problems to build their critical thinking skills. That is to say, future citizens must learn how to investigate what they need to know to complete academic, community, and socially based projects, evaluate arguments, and create solutions to problems of all kinds.

Such critical thinking skills are critical to the deliberative democracy that Gutmann (1999, p. 52) advocates. Deliberative citizens must possess the critical thinking skills necessary to "set morally serious people apart from both sophists, who use clever argument to elevate their own interests into self-righteous causes, and traditionalists, who invoke established authority to subordinate their own reason to unjust causes." Citizens must be able to give careful consideration to the morality of laws, uphold even those that

are not in an individual's own interest, and oppose laws that violate democratic principles.

Critical thinking, according to Ennis (1996), is, at its most simple, rational reflective thinking focused primarily on deciding what to believe. Critical thinkers are open-minded, they attempt to be well-informed; they have the skills to judge the credibility of sources; they can identify the reasons and assumptions behind claims; they are good judges of arguments; they can effectively develop and defend viewpoints; they know how to ask appropriate questions; they can draw conclusions cautiously; and finally, they make judgments about what to believe and how to act using all these skills.

Multiculturalism

Related to this discussion of critical thinking, etiquette, dispositions, and differences, and the need for citizens to embrace a democratic way of life lies another debate among educators. This argument is not strictly along representative/participatory lines because it is the nature of *how* to best promote a critical thinking and a democratic disposition that is in question, and not whether citizens should be active or passive regarding politics and government. This debate centers on a tension between unity and difference and whether the curriculum should reflect a commitment to a common set of traditionalist American values or whether schools should embrace difference wholeheartedly.

On the one side are those who argue that an overexposure to a multiplicity of values cannot generate the civic assimilation necessary for people from diverse backgrounds to understand each other and engage in productive debate. Multiculturalism is seen as akin to tribalism in that it asks for society to recognize the rights and histories

of diverse and distinctive interest groups and to construct the curriculum in accordance to these particularities (Schlesinger, 1998). Citizens should adopt a colorblind ideology in this view, but society itself is to be based in Euro-American conceptions of civic virtue.

On the other side, there are those who argue that a curriculum advocating a single set of values based on European-American preferences excludes the experiences and beliefs of many Americans and often excludes ugly chapters from our nation's history. Colorblind ideology, these educators and theorists argue, is a covert form of racism and is often combined with cultural racism. Jim Crow and other obvious racist language and beliefs that the human races are on different rungs of the evolutionary ladder are disallowed in color-blind ideology. However, whites can still view the culture or other perceived attributes of a minority group as flawed and thus be prejudiced against the group. Often, concealed means of voicing racial views are used to critique minority groups (see Bonilla-Silva, 2002 for a discussion of rhetorical tactics whites use to avoid direct racial discourse and still express highly prejudiced views).

Multicultural educators agree that schools need to embrace a superordinate set of values related to promoting democracy (Banks, 1997). However, to them a primary democratic value is creating spaces for educational *border crossing*. The term border crossing was coined by Gloria Anzaldua (1987) to describe the movement across the borders of race, gender, and/or geography. Border studies arises from the broader field of cultural studies and examines the exchanges occurring along the U.S. and Mexican border (Anzaldua, 1987, p. 3; Grant & Ladson-Billings, 1997, p. 34). This theory has expanded to examine the cultural intersections and discourses of groups from what McLaren (1995, p. 57) calls *border cultures*, which encompass physical or conceptual

spaces where groups with different ethnic, racial, linguistic, ideological or cultural backgrounds meet and dialogue with one another. These border cultures may be present in neighborhoods in Los Angeles as well as in communities on regional boundaries. A person with a *border identity* understands and wrestles with multiple and sometimes opposing knowledge systems, cultures, and ideologies and blends elements of each into his or her identity skillfully and selectively. Advocates of this form of multiculturalism hold that only by actively exploring difference and developing something akin to border identities (though not always named such) can individuals and communities create democracy and democratic conditions (Banks, 1997; Parker, 1996) and raise academic achievement for all children in the U.S. (Gay, 2000).

Educational Concepts Summary

Unlike political and economic concepts, the educational concepts related above are likely to be addressed directly in classes and/or in the design, mission, and governance of the school. Though public school teachers and administrators are not expected to advocate private school choice, they may attempt to emulate or steer away from the market as a metaphor in terms of curricular offerings. School administrators and teachers also may adhere to a market or a citizen-building model of the purpose of education. Furthermore, the school may or may not create multiple arenas for discussion and debate inside and outside the classroom as Gutmann (1990) would advocate. Class and extracurricular opportunities may or may not offer many avenues for the students to build bridging and/or bonding social capital. The school may or may not be organized in a manner consistent with the “rules of the game,” even as the school defines these rules. Students may or may not be encouraged to practice the dispositions that Gutmann,

Barber, and Carter discuss. The related civic skills and manners these authors argue schools should teach may or may not be modeled by teachers, administrators, and staff. Finally, teachers and administrators may or may not portray themselves as purveyors of value neutral knowledge in school handbooks, administrator speeches, and disciplinary codes, as Gutmann (1990) would discourage.

The manner in which teachers and administrators promote what they consider to be “good citizenship” may also reveal explicit or implicit theories of the goals they have for the future citizens it educates. For instance, the school might invite civic versus business speakers to graduation or promote service to the community and service in student governmental bodies more vigorously than they promote work-based education. Finally, the school may strive to incorporate different worldviews, emphasize the histories and experiences of minority groups, and promote discussion or it may subscribe to a curriculum that reflects a commitment to a putatively neutral core of Euro-American values and knowledge.

Summary of the Framework

Opinions on democracy, citizenship, and education extend beyond the range of those presented above. The framework is meant simply as an orienting tool with which to analyze teacher and administrator messages about the nature of human beings, social cohesion, political interest, political participation, the ideal behavior of citizens, the nature of politics and the political system, national defense, patriotism, the government’s role in the economy, the purpose of schooling, and the knowledge and skills necessary to be an effective citizen. However, as always happens in ethnography, other categories emerged from the data. These were examined as they emerged for their congruence with

the framework above, and the framework was modified as necessary to accommodate the data. These modifications are detailed in Chapter IV.

Research on Education and Democracy

Much of the literature related to democracy and education cited above contains arguments that are not backed up with research. However, there are two major bodies of literature that do reflect researched links between democratic citizenship and education. The first body originates from the field of political socialization, and the second body of research assesses whether specific courses or interventions, such as the “We the People...” program, service-learning courses, or particular civics curricula enhance civic learning, skills, or dispositions.

Political Socialization

Political socialization is a field that was trendy in the 1960s and early 1970s and has been receiving renewed attention since the mid-1990s. Scholars working in this field study what students do and are expected to know about democratic practices and institutions, how societies experience national identity and patriotism, how and what young people are taught about diversity and social cohesion, the role schools and other civic organizations play in the civic development of adolescents, and other areas related to the development of civic skills and attitudes. The studies of the 1950s and 1960s were especially interested in the how skills and attitudes learned very early related to later attitudes (Sears, 1990). Interest in political socialization studies declined because political socialization researchers seemed to be wrong in assuming that people’s political positions and levels of trust in government were unchanged once formed in childhood and adolescence. For instance, Searing (1973) demonstrated that there were very weak

connections between basic orientations learned in childhood and later learning relating to specific issue beliefs (Niemi & Hepburn, 1995).

However, since 1990 scholars have been reexamining the links between general values and adult attitudes and behaviors. For instance, Elizabeth Theiss-Morse (1993) showed that there are indeed strong relationships between individual views of citizenship and later political participation. However, as Niemi and Hepburn (1995) point out, there is a great difference between relating childhood experiences to adult attitudes and beliefs and stating that childhood experiences are determinative of these beliefs and behaviors.

In Niemi and Hepburn's (1995) view, assessing children's political beliefs before age 14 is fraught with difficulty because young children do not yet have the cognitive abilities to reason about their beliefs in the same way adults do, and politics may not be a topic in which they display much interest. Therefore, they call for political socialization studies to be carried out with people from the ages of 14 to 25, which is a period of rapid change in people's worldviews.

Many research projects performed in the 1990s focus on just this age group, and on high school age students in particular. For instance, in 1998, Carole Hahn published a report of her cross-cultural examination of citizenship education in five countries with varying forms of democratic rule. Among other things, this study explores political attitudes and behaviors, gender and political attitudes, support for civic tolerance and freedom of expression, classroom climates, and political attitudes among adolescents. Hahn uses both qualitative and quantitative measures to provide useful sketches of citizenship education, levels of political efficacy, trust, and interest, and differing expectations about women's future roles in society in the representative countries. She

also demonstrates that open classroom climates have small but significant effects on political attitudes that have the potential to foster later political participation.

Another ambitious research project, the 1999 International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) Civic Education Study was carried out by research institutes and agencies in more than fifty countries. IEA is active in evaluating learning in many educational subjects, but the 1999 Civic Education Study was the first IEA study in this subject area since 1971. Phase one of the study consisted of case studies of civic education in 24 countries to gather background information on the varied contexts and meanings of civic education (Torney-Purta, Schwille, & Amadeo, 1999). These results were used to design instruments for phase two of the study. In this phase 90,000 14 year-old students from 28 countries answered surveys and tests that gauged their levels of civic knowledge and measured their attitudes about citizenship, government, human rights, their willingness to participate in civic activities, and the impact of their home environment on political attitudes and skills.

In addition to measuring student knowledge and skills, this research project's findings echo Hahn's conclusion that democratic classrooms, or classrooms that provide opportunities for open and respectful discussion of opinions, foster attitudes and knowledge consistent with responsible and effective engagement in a democracy (Torney-Purta, Amadeo, & Lehmann, 2001). These authors also note that teaching practices are often not in line with recommendations for education in democratic societies. While teachers of social studies and history are key to effective civic education, teachers of all subjects, administrators, curriculum developers, and after-school program workers can play an important role in students' civic development.

The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) in Civics Study, a large scale project undertaken in the U.S. with samples of students at grades four, eight, and twelve, focuses not only on knowledge and skills, but also on the dispositions citizens should possess. The traits that the National Assessment Governing Board listed as constitutive of a civic disposition were: moral responsibility, self-discipline, respect for human worth and dignity, and thoughtful and informed participation (NAEP Civics Consensus Project 1996, pp. 31-32). These virtues reflect a mix of representative and participatory priorities. While data on what students know and can do has been made available, NAEP data on students' possession of these virtues has not yet been published.

Literature on Specific Courses and Interventions

Research on specific courses and interventions intended to increase civic knowledge, skills, or dispositions forms a second body of literature on the links between education and democracy. For example, the Center for Civic Education has published research on a program it runs entitled "We the People..." which features simulated congressional debates and a series of texts and is intended to increase students' knowledge of Constitutional Democracy in the U.S. This program is most interested in fostering learning of democratic processes and institutions, though it views democratic attitudes as important as well. In 1994 Richard Brody published a report of research finding that students using the "We the People..." curriculum were more tolerant than those students who did not use this curriculum. That is to say, they reported a greater acceptance of a diversity of opinions, and greater loyalty to freedom of speech, religion, and assembly than did students of other high school civics classes. Another study of students who made it into national finals that test student knowledge of U.S. Democracy

found that “We the People...” students outperformed other students (Soule, 2001). The study also determined that students in high school civics classes tend to be more tolerant than Americans as a whole.

A few educators also have researched the effects of service-learning on high school students’ civic learning, skills, or dispositions, though such research is common at the college level. For example, Christopher Koliba (2000) presents preliminary evidence from research performed in nine Vermont High Schools that service-learning, though difficult to implement, can enhance school-community bonds and promote a sense of civic responsibility among students. Yates and Youniss (1997) examined students’ written reflections and discovered that service-learning impacts students’ sense of social responsibility and empathy toward others, and these impacts last into adulthood.

Even though the studies discussed above implicitly or explicitly recognize the importance of the civic disposition, these studies and most other political socialization and civic education research does not fully address the whole picture of students’ at-school learning. Teachers of all subjects, administrators, and after school workers influence students’ development of civic dispositions. However, there is no literature discussing the messages students actually encounter that are relevant to citizenship education throughout the entire school day, and not just in social science, politics, and history classes or in special projects. Furthermore, while studies such as those undertaken by the IEA and NAEP break down scores by race and socioeconomic status, their large scope makes it impossible to document how schools enrolling racially and socioeconomically homogenous or heterogeneous populations teach civics or convey messages related to citizenship.

Qualitative Research

The small body of qualitative research literature that focuses on schools and their influence on civic character tends to describe efforts to incorporate experiential democratic citizenship into classrooms. For instance, Michael Apple and James Beane (1995) edited a book with four descriptive case studies of elementary and secondary schools, the structure of their learning environments, their connections with their communities, and their thematic curricula. David Sehr (1997) describes the structures, curricula, and pedagogies of two urban alternative high schools that he identifies as subscribing to a “public view” of democracy. This view is similar to the participatory theory of democracy and citizenship as described above. These schools feature student-centered teaching, student ownership of schoolwork, community service requirements, and high levels of discussion and debate.

Critical Ethnography, Influences and Literature

The works of both the authors described above are highly influenced by the tenets of critical pedagogy. Briefly, critical pedagogy is the act of teaching in a manner consistent with critical theory. Critical pedagogy embraces the view that all educational theory and practice is intimately linked to ideologies shaped by power, politics, history, and culture. Schools are viewed as sites of ongoing struggle over what will be accepted as legitimate knowledge and culture (Darder, 1995). Educators are encouraged to expose the relations between power and knowledge and help generate the means for students to alter the social and cultural conditions that perpetuate injustice (McLaren, 1998). Critical pedagogy is aimed at creating a participatory democratic society.

While critical pedagogy concerns how teachers enact the art, craft, and practice of critical theory, critical ethnography describes a means for researchers to investigate educational practices. It hopes to promote democracy by examining how power operates in society with a clear focus on groups from different genders and classes, races, and ethnicities (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000).

Modern critical ethnographic studies flow from what was known as the new sociology of education, a theoretical and research tradition begun in the 1970s, first in the U.K. and soon after in the U.S. (Wexler, 2002). Unlike the structural functionalist studies popular in the 1960s and 1970s, new sociology of education researchers viewed knowledge as a social product and studied and interpreted the context and meanings of school curricula and everyday classroom interactions (for example, see Apple, 1990). In the mid-1970s a new sociology of education adopted a Marxist interest in the interplays between culture, class, schooling, and social reproduction. More recently, critical ethnographers have expanded their focus to include race and gender as well as class (what is now discussed as “the Holy Trinity”). A brief outline of the major developments in critical theory and ethnography follows in the next section.

Economic reproduction. Critical ethnographers are influenced by Marxist structuralist theories of how schools and other institutions function to reproduce social relations in capitalist societies, such as that of Bowles and Gintis (1976). These authors argue that the hierarchical structure of social relations in American schools mirrors those in society and thus prepares students for their future roles in the capitalist economy. Competition, fragmented work, subservience, and an emphasis on extrinsic rewards dominate schooling and prefigure later workplace conditions. Like the lower levels of

organizational hierarchies, in the early grades and in vocational and general high school tracks, schools emphasize rule-following. As students move up the educational ladder and especially into the most exclusive colleges, schools emphasize the independent thought, social relationships and internalization of social norms necessary to those situated higher in the production hierarchy.

In a similar vein, Anyon (1980, 1981) emphasized between-school differences in her argument that U.S. schools reproduce class relations. She conducted her research with fifth graders from five New Jersey area schools enrolling students from different economic backgrounds. She found that school curricula, while emphasizing similar topics, were different at each of the schools. Schools educated the lower socioeconomic classes in basic skills and procedural knowledge. Rule-following was stressed heavily in the curriculum and in school disciplinary practices. The middle classes were educated in understanding concepts, though not in creating knowledge themselves. Teachers' and students' language was imbued with a sense of future possibility. The upper-middle and upper classes were educated in critical thinking and reasoning. Individualism and excellence were key themes at these schools. Though there were elements in the schooling of each social class that were nonreproductive, overall the school system served the capitalist system well by educating (or failing to educate) students in such a manner as to fill distinct niches in the work-world.

According to economic reproductionist views, class is the strongest determinant of who attends which schools and who is in college preparatory tracks within schools, and these stratified class relationships are reproduced in the workplace. It is not simply that schools teach the skills necessary to occupy a position in a given social stratum, they

also teach dispositions required by a capitalist economic system, such as subservience, orientation to extrinsic rewards (grades or pay), and competition.

Cultural reproduction. Cultural reproduction theorists argue that it is the dispositions generated in capitalist society that work to ensure social reproduction. Pierre Bourdieu, the most famous name associated with this theoretical framework, asserted that children in the dominant classes are implicitly or explicitly taught to have a taste for and knowledge of practices associated with the upper class, such as reading certain forms of literature, and attending museums, theater, operas, and symphonies (Bourdieu, 1973/1977; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). They acquire high status parlance and accents, and generally absorb the value and belief systems of their parents. These linguistic patterns, values, beliefs, tastes, and knowledge make up a form of cultural capital that is embodied in habitus, or a durable generative scheme for behavior.

Acquiring high status cultural capital at home in turn helps ensure academic success, because that which schools encourage and see as value neutral “intelligence,” is an arbitrary preference for the tastes and language of the elite. One such taste is for symbolic mastery versus other competencies. High status families have time to devote to symbolic mastery since they spend a relatively small amount of time satisfying material needs. In addition, since the dominant parlance is usually used at home and absorbed in everyday speech practices, high status children do not need to work hard to acquire it at school. Working class children are subjected to demands that they acquire high status cultural capital at school, and some do. However, since they are not exposed to it at home at the same level, they must work harder to obtain it. Furthermore, what Bourdieu calls *symbolic violence* is enacted upon these nonelite students in that the tastes, values, and

competencies valued by the elite are falsely presented as knowledge that is objective, universal, and equally accessible to all.

Economic classes are reproduced in this scheme because cultural capital is convertible to economic capital. For example, students with high status linguistic patterns are more likely than others to take and do well on exams necessary to be admitted into the best universities and gain high status academic credentials (another form of cultural capital) that are then translated into economic capital at work. In addition, because high status cultural capital is embodied in dispositions and tastes, the elite are most likely to befriend each other (at the opera, for instance) thus strengthening the social networks between them. These networks form what Bourdieu calls social capital. Social capital is in turn convertible to economic capital because it can be drawn on for employment, business deals, loans, and so on.

Cultural production. Like Anyon and Bowles and Gintis, critical ethnographers recognize the important role the economic base plays in the classroom. However, they reject economic determinism and maintain that culture (and other elements of the “superstructure”) cannot be reduced to material relations (Quantz, 1992). In addition, though they recognize that culture is important to the reproduction of privilege, it does not wholly determine the social structure (Weis, 1996). Rather, critical ethnographers today mine cultural and economic reproduction theories for their valuable insights, but treat the economic system, power relations, the agency of students and teachers, and culture as deeply intertwined and implicated in the processes of social production and reproduction.

Quantz (1992) contends that the first true critical ethnography was Sharp and Green's (1975) study of three classrooms in a primary school that served a working class neighborhood. This work blended a case study research method popularized by sociologists working in the symbolic interactionist framework with an emphasis on power and the wider social structure. The major finding of the study was that despite teachers' child-centered and progressive approaches to education, they contributed to a system of social stratification among students much like that produced by more traditional educators. The places these children fell in the classroom hierarchy had implications for their identities as successful or deviant students.

Another work cited as a seminal work in the critical ethnography of education (Carspecken, 1996; Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000; Levinson, Foley, & Holland, 1996; Quantz 1992) is *Learning to Labor*, an account of how British school-aged "lads" actively produced a tough masculinist shopfloor culture (Willis, 1977/1981). In Willis's account, the lads' counter-culture was the means by which they rebelled against social inequality and stratification. The working class boys challenged the culture that the dominant group, represented by teachers and administrators, attempted to impose. Willis argued that as a group the lads and their working-class adult counterparts partially penetrated the ideologies of the capitalist class system. Paradoxically, the manner in which lads acted on this penetration, disrupting the school environment and refusing to perform well academically, helped ensure that they took their fathers' places in the factory. This work exemplifies resistance theory, which refers to some contradictions of cultural life similar to that which Willis explicated. These contradictions include how agents may resist and accede to dominant cultural forms at the same time, and how

schools can simultaneously purvey multiple and contradictory messages to their students and other stakeholders.

Willis is affiliated with the British Centre of Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) at the University of Birmingham, an important site in the history of critical educational research (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000). Originally founded in 1964 to study popular culture, the media, and class relationships via interdisciplinary methods, by the 1970s the center adopted ethnography as a method to meld studies of lived experience with theory and observation (Quantz, 1992).

Since the 1970s, the center has produced many critical ethnographies centered on youth and education, including Robins and Cohen (1978) and Corrigan (1979). In 1985, Christine Griffin published a critical ethnography centered on working class girls. This ethnography grew out of the Women to Work project at the CCCS, which was set up to study the lives of young women in a manner that complemented (and formed a critique of) Willis's (1981) work with the lads. This was the CCCS's first published book-length examination of how gender roles are maintained and occasionally challenged in the mostly patriarchal school and work worlds of young women. It marks a move away from an exclusive focus on class, to examinations of how gender and race interact with class in social production and reproduction.

As Quantz (1992) notes, scholars influenced by the works of the CCCS introduced critical pedagogic and theoretical texts to North American audiences beginning in the late 1970s (Apple, 1990; Giroux, 1983). Shortly thereafter, a group of educators at the University of Wisconsin at Madison produced an edited volume of critical ethnographic works (Apple & Weis, 1983) and book-length ethnographies (Valli,

1986; Weis, 1985). The latter works investigated how gender and race influence educational practices at schools and the educational choices of students in capitalist societies.

During the same period, the Ontario Institute for the Study of Education (OISE) was promoting critical ethnography. In 1986 Simon and Dippo published an article that outlined critical ethnography's organizing problematic, orientation toward emancipation, and emphasis on reflexivity. While Peter McLaren was a doctoral student at the OISE, he conducted an influential ethnography at a Catholic school in Toronto that served mainly Italians and Portuguese immigrants. This work was later published as a book. In it McLaren (1986) viewed schooling through a theoretical lens borrowed from ritual studies in religion and anthropology to examine the everyday rites of instruction, prayer, and student management and discipline. At the school McLaren studied, these practices were performed in such a manner as to reaffirm ethnic stereotypes and class division.

Since the 1990s and in the early part of the new millennium, North American critical ethnographers' output has grown exponentially. Most of the most recent North American works continue to emphasize race, ethnicity, and gender in addition to class, though the focus and style of each ethnography is different. Some good examples of it follow. Douglas Foley (1990) blends Goffman's (1959) performance theory with Habermas's theory of communicative action to make sense of how an ethnically and racially homogenous group of students in small-town Texas differently navigate, internalize, and contest capitalist culture. Lois Weis (1990) looks at identity formation processes among white working class male and female high school students in a post-industrial northeastern city. Levinson, Foley, and Holland (1996) showcase ethnographies

of schooling and other educational practices in Western and non-Western contexts to illustrate how a cross-cultural perspective can generate insight into all educational systems. Dei, Mazzuca, McIsaac, and Zine (1997) expand upon resistance theory to discuss the structural factors involved in how and why black male and female students drop out of or choose to graduate from their Toronto high school. Proweller (1998) investigates how female and racial identities are formed in an upper-middle class private girl's school in the Northeast. Yon (2000) researches students' identity production and negotiation in a racially and ethnically diverse Toronto high school.

What these ethnographies have in common is that they investigate production and reproduction of inequality at the social level and the production of subjectivities at the individual level. All the critical ethnographers in the previous paragraphs have attempted to promote democracy by examining how power operates in schools and by suggesting multiple avenues by which schools might change to become more socially just. My research deviates from most critical studies in that it does not examine the formation of student subjectivities directly. However, school practices have obvious implications for students' identities as citizens. This work on teacher/administrator practices in traditional schools serving white populations fills a gap in the critical educational literature by studying the practices in an institution serving one subgroup of people in an "actually existing" democracy.

Summary

In this chapter, I have outlined a preliminary framework with which to view messages teachers transmit in their words and practices and have reviewed research from several fields that is relevant to the questions posed in Chapter I. The framework is meant

as an orienting tool and is not intended as a checklist for all practices observed. It must be stressed that the outline of the themes presented above cannot predict themes that emerge from the data. These new themes may or may not fit the in the schema presented above. The next chapter presents the methods I used to collect data and the manner in which the data are analyzed.

End Notes for Chapter II

1. I do not intend here to portray Jefferson's legacy as unproblematic. His ideas on equality and mass participation strongly conflicted with his ownership of slaves and his exclusion of women, Native peoples, and African Americans from the vote. However, as Hoffert (2001, p. 29) states "...modern democracy's propositional assertion of human value has never prevented the systematic and cruel denial of it...By claiming the fundamental value of every human being, modern democracy does not exempt itself from the attitudes and practices that undermine that claim. Rather it exposes itself to a high and demanding challenge by which it can be legitimately challenged..." So, though Jefferson himself did not value every human being in practice, the spirit of his words may still be used as a measure for democratic practice.
2. The fact that these two theories are highly idealized is very evident here. Anti-abortion and anti-right-to-die movements are peopled by those who may lean toward the representative notions of citizenship and rights. The opposite is also true. Those who would hold that the private is political argue vociferously that women's reproductive privacy and choice be inviolable.
3. Many scholars also note that participatory, representative, and even radical democracy are inextricably linked to racism, sexism, and nationalist discourse and are thus structurally flawed (see Dhaliwal, 1996, for one discussion of this view).

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This project is ethnographic and was performed in a predominantly white suburban middle class high school in Greenhurst, Tennessee (place name changed). I collected information on the messages students received about citizenship in a democracy using four methods: a) observing classroom practices related to democracy and citizenship; b) conducting formal interviews with students, teachers, and administrators about their understandings of the practices; c) shadowing selected students through their school days; and d) collecting such artifacts as student assignment sheets, class offerings and schedules, and pamphlets on extra-curricular activities.

The goal of this study was to create and analyze an inventory of the practices that promote or discourage the formation of democratic dispositions at public schools serving white middle class students. The project was carried out in a school that ranked high in the state for academic achievement and educated students of the middle to upper-middle class. Neither the school system nor the school was engaged in any systemic reforms.

Rationale for Methods

The methods used in this study are consistent with those prescribed by critical theorists. As McLaren and Giarelli (1995, p. 2) note, critical theory is an attempt to join empirical investigation, the task of interpretation, and a critique of reality. In the case of this research project, the empirical investigation is of school practices, which I interpret and critique in a manner described in the following sections.

This study uses naturalistic methods because they are better suited to studies of practice for two reasons. Practice theorists recognize demands that people's actions are profoundly affected by the environments in which they occur, and thus are best understood in context. Furthermore, practices do not exist in isolation from one another. Rather, practices are interconnected and nested. For instance, a principal's practice of patrolling the hallways may be connected to the practices relating to maintaining teacher/administrator contact and of assigning student detentions. In order to make sense of how practices such as these interact, it is useful to study them together and in-context.

A second reason for this choice of methodology is that practices change over time and in different contexts. For example, the morning practice of administrator broadcast announcements was changed slightly after September 11, 2001, when the pledge of allegiance was adopted as a morning ritual. This change was accepted by most students, but some refused to participate in the pledge. In order to document variation in practice and resistance to changes in practices, the study period needed to be long in duration and provide multiple situations in which to view behavior.

As Clifford Geertz (1983, pps. 5, 24, and 182) maintains, the objective of ethnographic study is to gain access to the conceptual world in which subjects live and to produce a "thick description" of the "structures of meaning. . . and systems of symbols" in that conceptual world. According to this view, the ethnographer's task is the following (p. 57):

...to produce an interpretation of the way a people lives which is neither imprisoned within their mental horizons, an ethnography of witchcraft as written by a witch, nor systematically deaf to the distinctive tonalities of their existence, an ethnography of witchcraft as written by a geometer.

As interesting as such thick description is, critical theorists add to it by linking these descriptions to agendas for change and/or to the broader questions of power and social structure that concern social theorists. Interpretations are critical in nature, not because critical theorists want to condemn their subjects, but simply to imply that society could change if certain practices, discourses, and/or ideologies change. In their view, culture is dynamic and cultural workers can do much to spur change.

Site and Informant Selection

In order to ensure that I would be able to document the nature of the messages high-school students of the white middle-class receive about democratic ethics, I completed preliminary research. First, I researched appropriate sites by examining census data and Tennessee's School System Report Cards. I found two schools in the greater metropolitan area with under 5% of the students receiving free lunch, an enrollment of over 90% white students, and well above average incomes for the state (though only slightly above average for the U.S. as a whole). Once schools were identified, I made appointments with district-level administrators in these two counties. After communicating with these officials it became clear that one school system was in a period of flux, making it less desirable as a research site, and I chose a school in the other county. While the principal at the school I chose initially appeared hesitant to allow a researcher in his school, he turned out to be accommodating and recommended I begin my work with a specific teacher, Mr. Dupree, and in a specific class, American Government.

In this class Mr. Dupree encouraged discussion of topics related to democracy and politics, and showed a continued willingness for me to be in his classroom as an observer

and occasional participant. In addition to serving as a rich source of data in itself, the time spent in this classroom provided students an opportunity to get to know and trust me enough to be open during later phases of the research project. In the course of attending and participating in over 50 sessions of Mr. Dupree's senior level American Government class, having informal discussions with him, students in his classes, several other teachers, and the principal, it became clear that the research site was indeed appropriate to the research question. In the next section, I outline the rationale for the site selection process used here.

As Erlandson (1993) and Babbie (2001) note, it is sometimes wise for researchers to select sites and samples because they are known to be populated by those central to the topic of study. Since Greenhurst High School educated the population of interest, the choice of this site maximized my opportunity to engage with the research questions. Furthermore, as Marshall and Russman (1999) note, it must be possible for the researcher to gain entré to the site and have an appropriate role to maintain continuity of presence for the duration of the research project.

I chose to focus on students in their senior years of high school and currently attending Mr. Dupree's class for two reasons. The first is that seniors are mature enough to reflect on their experiences at the school over the three plus years they have been in high school. Mr. Dupree's students were also likely to make good informants because they were exposed in his class to extended discussions of democracy and citizenship and were challenged to reflect on their own thoughts and experiences relating to these topics.

Data Collection

The research project collected data in three overlapping phases: a) non-participant observation in an American government class; b) observations across students' school days (shadowing); and c) interviewing. I also collected artifacts during all three phases of data collection. Because the nature of each phase was different, and because different people were involved in each of these segments, I used different sampling strategies for each phase. Sampling strategies as well as the methods associated with each phase are outlined in the sections that follow.

Classroom Observation Phase

The preliminary observation of classroom practices took place during American Government classes that lasted approximately 90 minutes apiece. Before beginning data collection, I gave students a brief description of the research project, handed out consent forms for students to take home, and had a short question and answer session about the project.

This stage of the research project was aimed at assembling a primary record through the collection of classroom observations. In this stage I was an unobtrusive (usually) observer recording interactions from a third person standpoint in field notes and/or on tape.

There are two justifications for this minimally-participant form of observation. The reason Carspecken (1996) advocates starting a project in this manner is that repeated exposure allows participants to become used to the presence of an outsider. They are then more likely to act naturally with the researcher present.

A second reason for the choice of nonparticipant observation was that there was not a natural role available as a true participant in classrooms at Greenhurst High. The school did not use or need volunteers, such as teacher's aides, and the creation of such a role simply for my research purposes would have placed an undue burden on the school's principal.

For this portion of the study, all students who returned permission slips were included in the sample. Approximately one fourth of the students agreed to participate. The vocabulary used in these (and other) field notes was low inference. However, it was often impossible to describe something without using subjective claims, so I used "as-if" statements, such as "he said no as if he were angry" to mark off the more inferential portions of the notes. Though my primary focus was on the practices and messages of teachers and administrators, observing the students helped generate questions about teacher and administrator practices to explore in student and teacher interviews.

Field notes from outside of the classroom varied in thickness (captured varying amounts of detail), depending on when and where they were taken. For instance, when capturing impressions from informal observations, such as how crowded the hallways were, how students and teachers dressed for school, and the general behavior seen in the cafeteria, I used journalistic descriptions. However, when I observed a participating student in the hallway, I took thicker notes. For instance, I recorded what these students said, recorded their gestures, their style of dress, and other details.

Shadowing Phase

Six students from the American Government classes were chosen to complete two interviews and for three days each of shadowing. I performed purposive and directed

sampling of students for shadowing and interview (Babbie, 2001). That is to say, I worked with students who were able to provide rich information on the topic of study, rather than attempting to select students and teachers at random. Students were drawn from two sections of the American Government class. One of these sections was an honors level course and one was the standard course. Because educational practices can vary widely for students in different tracks (Oakes, 1985), it was necessary to determine whether students received different messages on the nature of democratic citizenship based on tracking status. Therefore, three students were chosen to interview and shadow from each of these classes. I ensured that both male and female students were included in the sample. Of volunteers from the standard (non-honors) section, I chose two male and one female student, and from the honors section I chose two females and one male.

In addition, I sought out a volunteer from an ethnic and racial minority group. Because Greenhurst High School had very small percentages of students identified as minorities (approximately six percent), and the intensive nature of this research project made it impossible to sample large numbers of students, it was necessary to choose a student based on minority status alone. This student provided an opportunity for me to gain a non-majority perspective on how race and ethnicity affect school practice and discourse. She was one of the non-honors students chosen.

Shadowing is the practice of following students and recording their experiences throughout school days. In this case, the purpose for shadowing students was to capture the nature of the messages teachers and administrators transmit about democratic citizenship over school days. These messages may be embedded in everything from student/teacher interactions, to course materials, to seating arrangements. Therefore, I

recorded basic information about the layouts of classrooms, where individual students sat, instructor characteristics (age, race/ethnicity, gender), the general topics of lessons, materials in use (videos, worksheets, textbooks, newspapers, and so on) and how students were taught (via lecture, group work, discussion, individual reading, or other methods).

Because it is difficult to capture every detail of what happened during a class period or an extracurricular activity, I audiotaped shadow days for later transcription and analysis after teachers gave me permission to do so. I also wrote field notes at the end of each day. The focus of observations in the classrooms I attended while shadowing students only included teacher practices and the interactions between the teacher and the students, as I did not have permission to gather extensive data on students in every classroom.

Interview Phase (Students)

I interviewed the six student volunteers once before I shadowed them through three school days, and once as soon after the shadowing sessions as possible. Questions for the first interview centered on issues of civic character, democracy, and diversity. Interviews were semi-structured; guides for interviews one and two are in Appendix A. The second interview focused on student perceptions of the practices we encountered on the shadow days. I had them explicate the meanings they took from various lessons learned in and out of class. I also asked them to reflect on how the messages they received and the practices they engaged in impacted their views of their own duties as citizens and members of society.

Two focus groups also were conducted after the six students had been shadowed and interviewed twice. These focus groups served as member checks on the themes that emerged from the student interviews.

Interview Phase (Teacher and Administrator)

I also chose eight teachers and two counselors to interview. Directly before starting the shadowing phase, all GHS teachers received a request to be interviewed.

Though I had originally sought to obtain permissions for all teachers via placing permission slips in the faculty mailboxes, the response rate using this method was extremely low. Therefore, six of the eight teachers I interviewed were chosen by alphabetizing the names of the teachers, assigning each a number, using a random number generator to select numbers, and then requesting participation of the selected teachers face to face. Only one teacher refused to participate in the project when approached in this manner. The seventh teacher I chose to interview was based on the fact that she taught business law. Because either American government or business law was required as one of three social science credits required for graduation (more elements of the formal structure of the school are discussed in a following section), the practices she discussed and the attitudes she held were of particular interest. The eighth teacher I chose to interview was the only teacher from a minority group in the school. See Chapter IV for a description of the teachers and student participants in this study.

Originally, I had hoped to choose among potential volunteers to have a diverse sample of teachers. However, the random sampling I performed for six of the eight teacher interviews had the same effect. This method yielded both male and female teachers for the sample, and the interviewed teachers' years of experience ranged greatly.

Teacher interviews were semi-structured and centered on their visions of “ideal citizenship,” how they incorporated this vision into their teaching and other classroom practices, and how they thought the school handled teaching citizenship. A short list of questions for this interview is included in Appendix A.

Data Analysis

In this project, data analysis was partially concurrent with data collection. As soon as data from classroom observations were collected and transcribed, selected segments were coded using the constant comparative method originated by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and discussed extensively in Lincoln and Guba’s (1985) authoritative work on qualitative research. The stages of data analysis are described below.

However, I should first note that segments of classroom data were chosen for analysis because the volume of data I collected made it impossible to subject every action and utterance to the same level of scrutiny. The first reason for choosing a segment for close analysis was that the speech or practice was explicitly related to democracy and citizenship. An example of this would be a teacher urging students to vote for student council members or discussing today’s political situations. A second reason a segment was chosen was that it was illustrative of an emerging theme in the data. For instance, during my preliminary data collection, at least four students stated that “schools are for learning.” Therefore, I chose segments of data in which this occurred for close attention. A third reason for choosing a data segment for close scrutiny was that it addressed issues of diversity, for instance when teachers discussed affirmative action, sexual preferences, class, race, ethnicity, immigration, or urban/suburban distinctions.

The first step of data analysis was unitizing data derived from observations and interviews using the QSR*NUDIST N6 qualitative data analysis program. Unitization refers to coding the data so that single pieces of information that stand by themselves were marked off and identified. These were as small as a sentence or as large as several paragraphs. Each unit was of such a size that every word of it was essential to understanding the concept embodied in the unit, and very little else was included. Of course, contextual information occasionally was added to the unit, such as a reference to the unit temporally preceding the one under study.

The second phase, categorization, involved taking the unitized data and placing them into provisional categories. This also was performed using the N6 product. The rules for placing some units of data in a category are likely to be immediately obvious, such as a category created to hold units of a teacher listing the classes he or she teaches. The rules for placing units in other categories are far from obvious. In such cases the units were placed into a miscellaneous category. If and when a good number of units similar to those in a miscellaneous category accumulated, a rule was created for placing these data into one or more related categories.

The third phase was review and revision of categories. When categories overlapped or other categories really were a subset of a larger category, data from one category were placed into another, or a subcategory was created.

The unitization and categorization phases took place both during the fieldwork phase and after the fieldwork had concluded. The reason these phases were partially concurrent is that as data were unitized and themes emerged from the data, these themes were checked in future interviews and observations. As themes could not be known *a*

priori, it was impossible to predict how the interview schedule presented in Appendix A would change. An outline of the final categories is placed in Appendix B.

As this description of the data analysis method makes clear, the categories emerged from the data and were not forced into the schema presented above representing participatory versus representative views of democracy and citizenship. As noted in the literature review, the schema merely served as a starting point for thinking about what *may* have emerged from the data.

Though Lincoln and Guba (1985, p. 339) note that the originators of this method (the constant comparative method) had theory-generation in mind, the end result in this project is a thick description (or summative analysis) of teacher and administrator practices. In addition to this description is what the critical theorists would call a critique of these practices and what the naturalists would call a formative analysis. A formative analysis is directed toward improving or adapting practices and is thus a form of critique.

Quality Criteria

To help ensure that I accurately represented the realities of students and teachers at Greenhurst High, I adhered to the trustworthiness criteria set out by Erlandson et al. (1993, pp. 29-35) for credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability.

Credibility

One measure of the truth of an inquiry for positivist researchers is its internal validity. Positivist researchers must remove or control for extraneous variables. However, because naturalistic studies assume that meaning is contested terrain and examine phenomena in a real world context, the analog of internal validity for such studies is credibility. In other words, naturalistic studies must determine whether the descriptions

generated by the researcher resonate with the persons who have supplied data to the researcher. I determined that my interpretations were credible to informants in six ways. These were through: a) member checking (verification by those who provided data); b) peer debriefing (asking peers and professors to help review perceptions and analyses); c) obtaining referential materials, such as school related documents, newspapers, and photographs; d) prolonged engagement (approximately one school year, though intensive data collection only took place over two months); e) combining persistent observation and discussion of practices with a process of steady and cautious analysis; and f) triangulating data by collecting information about different practices and events from people with different viewpoints and by observing behavior directly.

Transferability

Just as credibility is the analog of internal validity in positivist studies, so is transferability the analog to external validity and generalizability. While external validity is achieved through such methods as random sampling and attempting to control for context, transferability is established as an empirical matter by determining the similarities between the sending and receiving contexts (D. Rowe, personal communication, April 3, 2002). In order to determine whether a naturalistic study has applicability for future research, other researchers must look at the interrelationships and intricacies of a study and determine for themselves whether the study is relevant to new contexts and questions. In order to provide these future researchers with enough data to determine this relevancy or transferability, documents emanating from the research must contain thick descriptions of the site, the participants, the research questions, and other contextual factors. Furthermore, because the basis of transferability is adequate

description, purposive sampling of the type I performed is necessary to maximize the range of information about the context and practices under study.

Dependability

The consistency of a study is tied to whether or not it would produce similar results with a similar group of informants. This consistency is discussed in terms of reliability in positivist research, and studies are assumed to be replicable. However, naturalistic researchers assume that culture varies across time and space and that researchers may view reality through different lenses, making exact replication unlikely. Therefore, a means must be supplied for future researchers to track and evaluate such variance to ensure that results are dependable. This has been done by constructing an audit trail by keeping daily field notes and a diary of notes on theory, method, and critical incidents in the field.

Confirmability

The fourth criterion for quality in naturalistic studies is confirmability. While the positivist researcher seeks to ensure objectivity in his or her research, naturalistic researchers assume that subjective views color all research, be it quantitative or qualitative. However, they are concerned that their conclusions are not reifications of their own views. Therefore, they must provide a means by which data can be tracked to their sources, and that the logic used to make interpretations is clear. The audit trail discussed in the previous section enables others to confirm that my findings flow from the data and not from me alone. In addition, the peer debriefing I engaged in allowed others to challenge my views or suggest that issues merit further attention, and forced me to consider alternate interpretations of the data.

Addressing these quality criteria have allowed me to execute this study in such a way that I have made a valuable contribution to the continuing discussion about diversity and democracy as they are lived and experienced in our country's school systems.

Limitations

Despite adhering to the quality criteria outlined above, there are limitations to this study. It focuses attention on teachers, students and administrators from one historical and geographic site, and thus findings are specific to it. However, the findings from this study may generate other researchers' interest in performing similar studies in diverse school sites.

Another limitation relates to my role as an observer. Teachers and administrators may have censored their words and practices in my presence for a number of reasons, including being unsure of my role in the school. While my extended presence at the school may have minimized the likelihood of this occurring, I cannot ensure that such censorship did not occur.

A third limitation relates to my sampling strategy. Teachers and administrators had the right to refuse to participate in this research. Therefore, my ability to observe and record all the practices students were exposed to and participated in was incomplete.

In addition, my decision to concentrate on teacher and administrator practices meant that I was not examining how the messages the practices encoded were taken in, adopted, modified or rejected by the students. The research project would have been unmanageable by one person if it included both uncovering and analyzing the practices and then analyzing how students interpreted and internalized these practices. The

question of how and whether students receive the messages teachers transmit will be interesting future research.

A fourth imitation lies in the fact that I was not immersed in Greenhurst culture as a whole. In particular, I did not attend the Greenhurst churches that were so important to many students' and teachers' lives. It is quite possible, even likely, that the prevalent religious culture had a bearing on how GHS was run and on community norms and standards. In addition, students may have been socialized for citizenship in these churches and in church-related activities.

Protection of Participants

I shall not identify the school by name, nor will the county be identified. All student, teacher, and administrator names are changed in this document and will be changed in any resulting publications. I will not publish descriptions of features that specifically identify volunteers (i.e. tattoos, "extreme" hair color, idiosyncratic habits, patterns of speech, and the like).

In addition, raw data will not be shown to anyone else at the school without the participant's permission. This would only have occurred under extreme circumstances. Such circumstances would have existed if a student had threatened to harm him or herself physically (i.e. threatened suicide or self-mutilation), intended to physically harm another person, or was being physically abused by an adult. Students, parents, and teachers were and remain able to access their own raw data at any time, but were not and will not be permitted to view any other person's data. All students, parents, and teachers will have access to this report when it is bound as a dissertation.

CHAPTER IV

REVISED THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND DESCRIPTIONS

As often happens in naturalistic inquiries, the initial framework set up for study changes over the course of the study. In this case, it became apparent quickly that the school administration had no formal view of how education for democracy should take place. There was no program of civic education across the curriculum, there was no mention of democracy or citizenship in the school's mission, there was only one course related to civic education necessary to graduate from the high school, and no teacher or administrator could describe a program for civic education. There was, therefore, no formal school-wide adherence to one or the other views of democracy outlined in the framework of Chapter II. As shall become apparent in the following two chapters, different teachers and administrators espoused differing views of what it meant to be a citizen, and they held views and participated in practices related to both participatory and representative models of democracy and citizenship.

Revised Theoretical Framework

Therefore, before discussing research findings, it is necessary to present a revised theoretical framework consistent with the manner in which the answers to the research question about GHS fit together. This question centered on the nature of school practices, both formal and informal, for socializing students in the acquisition of civic dispositions. However, socialization, or learning to adopt culturally patterned thoughts and behaviors as one's own, requires that individuals learn skill-sets related to the thoughts and

behaviors. Though the skills sets are distinct from dispositions they support, I discovered it was difficult to focus on one without evoking the other when reviewing the interview transcripts and field notes. Before deciding that civic skills and civic dispositions were both elements of one key concept—socialization—I struggled with how to answer the following question. How can practices touch on habits of the heart (dispositions) without equally involving the habits of the mind (skills)? Hearts and minds appeared to be inextricably bound, except theoretically.

Furthermore, though the acquisition of formal civic knowledge (as opposed to socialization) was not the object of this study, it is clearly necessary to becoming a functioning citizen, however citizenship is conceived. The possession of civic knowledge could also inform the dispositions that were the initial object of this study. Therefore, all three competencies needed to be incorporated into the theoretical construct. As I read further in political socialization research, I found a framework for understanding these competencies prepared by Professional Judgment Groups (PJGs) convened by the National Center for Learning and Citizenship (NCLC) in 2003 and early 2004. The PJs consisted of policymakers; school leaders, teachers, and community partners. These thinkers conceptualized the three competencies as a braided rope. In their construct, each strand was equal in importance and contributed the strength of the whole (Torney-Purta & Vermeer, 2004)

Though their conceptualization was quite useful, as mentioned above, in the data collected for this project it was difficult to delineate where skills ended and dispositions began. Therefore, the revised construct needed to place them together. Also, the PJC's construct was based strictly on participatory views of citizenship, and the framework to

fit the data collected for this project needed to reflect the fact that there are competing notions of what democratic citizenship entails. The diagram below illustrates my operating theoretical construct as it emerged after the data collection phase of the project.

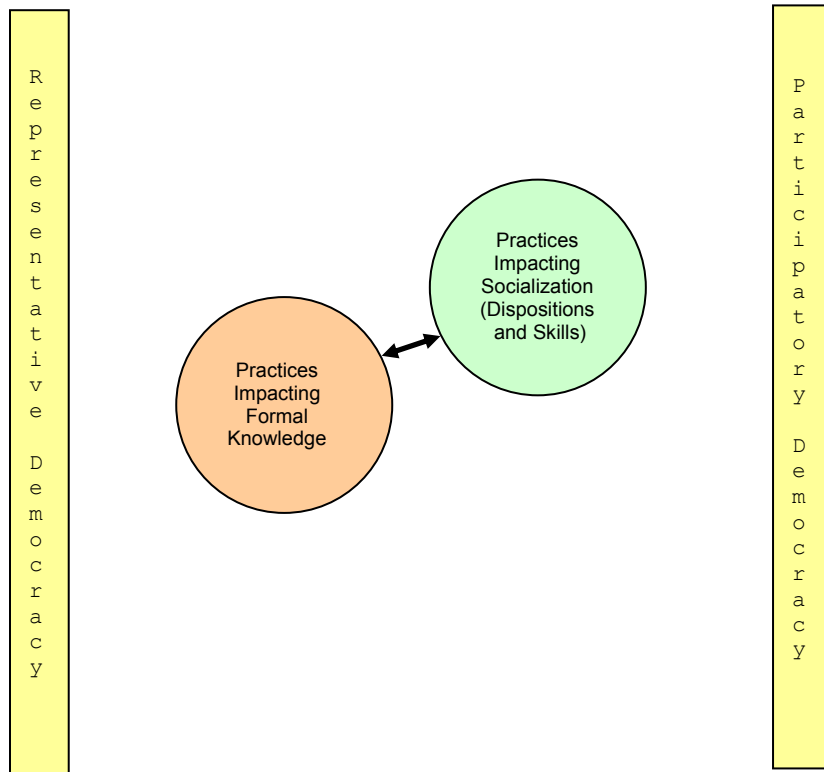


Figure 1. Revised Theoretical Framework

The diagram illustrates two spheres, civic socialization and civic knowledge. These spheres mutually influence each other but are separate. For example, a school or its teachers could teach much about government, its functions, and civic organizations but not promote the disposition or the skill set to act on this knowledge. The reverse is also true. A student might be exposed to practices aimed at developing skills and the disposition to function as a citizen but not be instructed in the fundamentals of civic

knowledge. As noted above, in this construct socialization encompasses both skills and dispositions.

The spheres are shown in the center of the diagram, but in this construct they can move between two poles representing participatory or representative models. To take a hypothetical example, a practice might aim at teaching the role of the president vis-à-vis the other branches of government (civic knowledge) in manner that emphasized or advocated for a strong role versus the checks and balances on the role. This would be an example of a practice aimed at teaching civic knowledge performed in a manner tending toward the representative pole. In contrast, students being asked to debate how to structure a group assignment would be an example of a practice aimed at teaching citizenship skills aligned closely with participatory views of democracy.

At GHS there was no programmatic concern with helping students develop into citizens, and therefore the students were exposed to different practices depending on which teachers were instructing them at the moment. Therefore, each of the various school practices that might impact socialization for democracy or the acquisition of civic knowledge was located in different relation to the participatory and representative poles.

Given this revised theoretical framework, the layout of the next chapters will not categorize practices in line with the schema from Chapter II. Rather, the following two chapters outline the school, teacher, and administrator practices that related to the formation of democratic dispositions and the skill set to support/encourage the dispositions. The last chapter contains an analysis of whether these practices correspond to a representative or a participatory model of democracy.

The chapters are organized with a modified version of a “promising practices” schema from a report detailing the findings of a large group of civic researchers and scholars. In 2002 the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE) convened a series of meetings between a group of over 50 respected scholars to determine the components of effective and feasible civic education programs that were grounded firmly in empirical evidence (Carnegie Corporation, 2003).

These scholars wrote and/or endorsed a report that outlined these experience-tested approaches for encouraging various competencies of interest to civic educators. Their outline is excerpted in Table 2, below.

Table 2. Excerpt from Carnegie Corporation’s (2003) *Civic Mission of Schools*

Approach	Civic and Political Knowledge	Civic and Political Skills	Civic Attitudes	Political Participation	Community Participation
Classroom instruction in social studies	X	X		X	
Discussion of current events	X	X	X	X	
Service Learning		X	X		
Extracurricular activities		X			X
Student voice in school government		X	X		
Simulations	X	X	X		

Unlike the Carnegie project, this dissertation project was centered on school practices that *may* lead to the acquisition of civic dispositions and the skills to support

them, rather than evidence that students were in fact gaining these competencies. Therefore, the table above was modified to fit other practices that teachers and students described as affecting these competencies. For example, the column entitled “Civic and Political Knowledge” corresponds very closely to the competency Torney-Purta and Vermeer (2004) call civic related knowledge and that was adopted in the revised theoretical framework for this research project. Likewise, “Civic Attitudes” corresponds to the category called dispositions. The three columns entitled “Civic and Political Skills,” “Political Participation,” and “Community Participation” are collapsed into the competencies Torney-Purta and Vermeer recognize as cognitive and participatory skills.

Furthermore, there are approaches or practices that are closely allied with those listed above that were discussed in *The Civic Mission of Schools* and that were explored in this research project. Some of these were listed in a table in the report as approaches that intuitively have promise but have not yet been supported by research. For example, one goal of service-learning is increased student competence in dealing with a wide variety of people and groups (Eyler & Giles, 1999). There are, however, other ways schools might expose students to people different from themselves. Since more general questions on this topic were asked of teachers, administrators and students, this category was added. Another hoped-for result of service-learning is a felt connection to one or more community or interest groups. Service-learning, however, may not be the only means to promote this result. For this reason, the category that the Carnegie group called service-learning was expanded to include any means the school used to connect students with community groups.

Though critical thinking was mentioned by the Carnegie group as a result of vigorous discussions of current events, there are other practices that might promote it and that were mentioned by student and teacher participants in this project. Therefore, a more general category for critical thinking was created.

Another addition necessary to expand the “promising approaches” box to serve as a vehicle for organizing the data collected in this research project was to include space for practices promoting the acquisition of the various manners necessary for democracy that were noted in Chapter II. These include respect towards others when in disagreement, being willing to sacrifice for others and for the common good, valuing diversity, and being trustful and generous.

Finally, practices promoting the skills necessary for self-government include but might not be limited to the simulations discussed by the Carnegie group of thinkers and included in their table of promising approaches. Table 3 contains the Carnegie group’s structure modified to fit the data collected for this project.

Table 3. Practices for Citizenship Education

Practices	Knowledge	Socialization	
	Civic and Political Knowledge	Democratic Dispositions	Thinking and Participatory Skills
Classroom instruction in social studies	X		X
Encouragement of critical thinking, including discussion of current events	X	X	X
Involvement with community groups, including service-learning and community service		X	X
Encouragement of manners necessary for citizenship		X	
Dealing with difference		X	
Extracurricular activities	X		X
Encouragement of student commitment to social and political causes		X	
Student voice in school government		X	X
Simulations and other practice in self-government	X	X	X

In Chapters V and VI the topic of this research project—the items listed in the dispositions and thinking and participatory skills columns—are discussed. The rest of this chapter sets the stage for the following chapters by describing Greenhurst, Greenhurst High School, the study participants, the formal curriculum at GHS for producing the civic and political knowledge necessary for democratic citizenship, and the predominant methods of teaching at GHS.

The Town and the School

Greenhurst itself has no recognizable downtown area, and so Main Street serves this function. This street is one long drag on which most of the town's coffee shops, sandwich shops, fast food restaurants, and banks are located. Off this main drag in the east part of town are 1950s and 1960s style ranch homes on half to full acre lots. Some of these ranch houses sit on Greenhurst's placid river, and many have small piers. In the extreme south of this area are newer subdivisions with large, expensive homes—in the range of \$400,000 to \$500,000. The northern part of town is newer and consists almost entirely of subdivisions with prices ranging from the low \$200,000s to the \$500,000s. This part of town is considered to be the most expensive and exclusive, with the exception of the new subdivisions in the southeastern part of town mentioned above. All the gated communities are generally well-kept, grassy, and generally treeless. The south part of town, which is served by another high school, is not on the river and is characterized by homes on bigger lots. The socioeconomic status of the south part of town is perceived to be lower, but based on property values, it is not much different from the northern part of town. The extreme southwest part of town, which borders a neighborhood in Metro County, has some rental properties, a few relatively run-down homes and one small trailer park.

Greenhurst High School sat in the middle of town, approximately two blocks off the main drag and two blocks from the river. It was built in the late 1980s or early 1990s when the old building became too small for the community. No graffiti marred the two story red brick building, which had two white brick stripes between the first and second floors, and a third stripe near the roof.

The school sat on a lot approximately the size of a small city block and had parking lots on three sides. In back were a running track and a football stadium. Small trees were planted on the tiny lawn that ran past the classroom windows to the right and left of the main entrance. The school was as wide as it was long and was formed like a sideways H with a large gymnasium on top of it.

In the front center of GHS was the main entrance. Directly to the left of four glass doors was a curved glass enclosure of one stairway leading from the first to the second floors. Directly inside these doors was a large lobby with soft drink and snack machines on two walls. The third wall was a glass fronted office which housed administrator offices and secretaries.

The floors inside GHS were off-white industrial tile, and the cinder-block walls were painted a light mauve. To the left and right of the administrator offices were wings housing the social science and history classes (the bottom north leg of the sideways H) and English and foreign language classes (the bottom south leg of the sideways H). Just to the right of the administrator offices was a hallway (the center of the H). The library was on the left side of this hallway. It abutted the administrator offices. The doors to the cafeteria and the auditorium were on the left. The latter was two stories tall and seated almost 500.

The hallway terminated at the lobby for the gymnasium. The gymnasium lobby was as big as the front lobby and had drink machines on the southernmost wall. The gymnasium itself was two stories tall, and was divisible by temporary walls into wooden-floored basketball courts and spaces for other classes to meet. The other legs of the

sideways H on the first floor were taken up with shop classrooms (the top north leg) and locker rooms (the top south leg).

The second floor had math classrooms just above the social science wing, and science classrooms just above the languages wing. The second floor hallway to the gymnasium was lined with computer classrooms. The auditorium's height meant that there were no classrooms above it.

A Day in the Life of GHS

This section describes a generic day at GHS. In Appendix C field notes from two complete student days are summarized.

Approaching the building from Main Street at 7:45 in the morning, the volume of traffic was quite high, and cars moved at five miles per hour for two blocks before the parking lot entrance. Most students over 16 were driving cars or trucks. Some of these were used and some were quite new. Students parked in large asphalt lots on the north and east sides of the school. The lots were crowded because many students arrived early to secure a spot.

In the back of the school the football players were ending their practice by running around the track located there. They had been at school since 7:00 AM, when the school officially opened. In front of the school, where visitors and staff parked, sat the five or six school buses that brought the students under 16 years old whose parents did not bring them, along with a small number of older students who did not have cars. Next to the buses was a line formed of vehicles carrying parents who were dropping off children and slowly exiting the parking lot.

Walking in the main doors and through the lobby to the administrators' office to sign in took several minutes because the lobby and the glass stairwell were crowded with students. Students talked loudly, but no one fought or pushed others. Coaches, vice-principals, and the principal watched the students from strategic locations in the lobby and in the stairwell. The hallways were not full at this hour, but a few students using the lockers located there were present. Once finished, these students moved to the lobbies. Though no coaches or administrators were stationed in the hallways, cameras monitored most of these areas.

Most students in the lobbies and the stairwell were white, though one or two groups comprised of five or six black students talked together. Most students wore blue jeans or khakis, and t-shirts or sweatshirts. The blue jeans tended to be long and flare-legged without touching the floor, which would have been against school policy. Most boys wore slightly baggy jeans or khakis, while most girls wore clothing that was slightly tighter. Most girls had on eye makeup and many had their hair pressed straight and glossy. Since pierced jewelry could not be worn (except for earrings), no one wore nose or eyebrow rings. Perhaps one percent of the students had on black clothing—these were the “Goths.” Almost no one had hair that appeared to be dyed an unnatural color, which would also have been against the school dress-code. Only one or two boys had shoulder-length hair—but most were clean-cut and lacked facial hair. Some boys were quite small—most of these were freshmen.

Most students appeared to be content and were laughing as they spoke to their friends. When the warning bell sounded at 7:50, the students started moving to their first block classrooms (GHS's school days were organized into four blocks instead of the

classic 50 minute sessions) and by 8:00 only one or two students remained in the hallways.

Almost every one of the classrooms the students moved into had one window, approximately six feet tall and three feet wide, that did not open. The computer shop and art classrooms were the exception, and the latter two had doors leading to the outside instead. Most regular classrooms had approximately 30 chrome colored chair-desks with cream-white tops. All classrooms had chairs facing forward in more or less regular rows. Teachers were allowed to place their own posters on the wall, and therefore most classroom walls had a mix of inspirational posters and more personal posters (such as favored bands or performers) lining them.

Five minutes into the first block an administrator announced over the loudspeakers that the state legislature mandated that each day begin with a moment of silence followed by the Pledge of Allegiance. For the silent moment and the pledge all students stood quietly, but one or two did not recite the pledge.

In this block, as in the three others, teachers gave their lessons and students did their work (see the section later in this chapter entitled “Lesson Types” for a description of these). Few disruptions occurred. Many classes had an informal air, and most of the time students were allowed to get up to use the restroom without asking, despite the fact that one day the principal stated over the loudspeaker that no one was to be in the halls without an excuse.

At 9:23 AM in the first block Channel One aired its daily news show, though many teachers did not choose to tune in to it. At 9:35 the block ended and students again

poured into the hallways. They had 10 minutes to go to the lockers and to their next classes.

At 9:45 AM the second block began. Toward the end of this block school announcements aired over the loudspeakers. These consisted of statements about who won in recent sports games and about administrative issues. During these announcements students talked amongst themselves, effectively ending the block. The block officially ended at 11:15.

During the ten minute break between the second and third blocks, students either went to their lockers and then to their next classes, or they went to the lunchroom on the first floor. The third block was devoted to instruction, but students and teachers were assigned a 25 minute lunch break that took place over four shifts in that block. Therefore, third block classes might start 25 minutes late or end 25 minutes early, or the block would be broken by one of two 25 minute lunch breaks. During their breaks, students were not allowed to leave the building, but they could go to the library or sit in the hall outside the cafeteria if they were not eating. If they ate, they could bring something from home or go through a cafeteria line that offered pizza, burgers, fries, a small salad bar and one changing daily entrée. Soft drinks were not sold at the cafeteria, and the soft drink machines in the hallways were turned off at third period. This was done so that students would be more likely to drink the milk and juice sold at the cafeteria.

Students tried to sit at tables with friends. When friends did not have the same lunch period, students often went to the library or hallway instead. After lunch they went back to their classes if they had one of the first three lunches, or they went to their lockers to get books for their next class if they had the last lunch. Teachers had their own lounge,

which was located off the main cafeteria, and they ate there or in their own classrooms. There were usually no more than four or five teachers in this lounge at one time. Teachers also sat in the lounge or their classrooms during their one block daily planning periods.

The fourth and final block began at 1:30 PM and ended at 3:00 PM. After this block, most students and teachers left, causing another traffic jam. However, some students and teachers always remained for another hour to an hour and a half for clubs or sporting activities. An administrator, often the principal, was always present during this after-school period. In addition, there were evening events, such as the school plays and sporting events, on an occasional basis.

The overall mood of the school was pleasant. One reason for its pleasantness was its safety. As one guidance counselor said, he had “stopped fights almost daily at another school,” but he had “never seen a fight [at GHS in] ten years.” No fights were observed during the research period at GHS.

Another reason for GHS’s pleasantness may have been its low poverty rate and attendant problems. In addition, most students had high expectations that they would go to college and do well. Both guidance counselors I interviewed mentioned that 85% of GHS graduates went to a four-year college or university, and an additional 7% went to two-year colleges or technical schools. So, students’ expectations were not unwarranted. Furthermore, high school was taken as a given by most students. They did not imagine an alternative world, as those I interviewed were not aware that it was legal or possible to drop out of school before the age of 18. It was perhaps for these reasons that students were “self policing” according to Mr. Dupree.

Such pleasantness had one side-effect for this research project. In my time at the school there were no ‘critical incidents’ that might have given me insight into how problems were solved at the school. This lack of out-of-the-ordinary incidents may be a finding—that the school ran so smoothly that such incidents were rare. However, examining unusual incidents at the school would have given me more insight into its structure and function.

Participants and Their School Days

Four of the six students I chose to shadow and interview attended only three of the four possible blocks. This was typical since students had the chance to take 32 blocks over four years, but only 26 were required for graduation. These four student participants’ 4th blocks were devoted to senior projects. These projects consisted of a student working for a teacher. In practice, seniors with such senior project arrangements did no work for these teachers on most days. During my shadow days I accompanied a student to only one block during which work was done for a senior project. On the other days, students left the school or went to the library to study during the project periods. Since each student devoted one block to Mr. Dupree’s courses, only two other courses per student remain to be documented for four student volunteers. The two others were enrolled in three other courses apiece.

Though I asked all students for permission for interviews and shadowing, approximately one fourth of the students agreed to participate. Of volunteers from the standard (non-honors) section, I chose two male and one female student. Jacob was a white 18 year-old senior who was interested in becoming a paramedic. In fact, he occasionally taught students at Greenhurst how to perform cardiopulmonary

resuscitation. Jacob was one of the few students at Greenhurst to have much of a Southern accent, and his was fairly mild. Jacob's three courses other than Mr. Dupree's were a greenhouse management course, an algebra course, and a journalism course. Jacob had attended all four years of high school at GHS and had no immediate plans to go on to college.

Vanessa was the only student from a minority group who volunteered to be followed. She was of mixed race and had ambitions to go on to become an actress and a dancer. She was opting not to go to college so she could follow this path. Vanessa had attended an academic magnet school in Metro County before coming to GHS for her last three years of high school. Her other two courses were an art class and theater.

Caleb was a quiet, soft-spoken, polite young man who hung out with "the burnout" crowd. He was going to a regional college after high school. He did not yet know the subjects in which he was most interested. Caleb's other two courses were a standard math class and a social science course. None of the three students from Mr. Dupree's regular class claimed to have any strong political affiliations or positions.

The three students I chose to interview and shadow from Mr. Dupree's honors American Government class also went on to take his honors economics class, and I attended this class with two of these students. Rose was one of them. Rose planned on attending a small religiously affiliated college after graduation and described herself as a fundamentalist Christian. She was interested in medieval reenactments and was a "computer geek." Rose's three classes besides honors government/economics were an e-commerce class, a computer programming class, and honors trigonometry. She had been enrolled at GHS for all four years of high school.

Mike, an exceptionally polite honors student I followed for three days, was also enrolled in honors trigonometry as well as a standard physical science course. Mike was planning to attend the state's flagship university in the honors program and was a self-described political conservative. Mike attended GHS for all four years and had lived in Greenhurst all his life.

Karen was a very articulate 19 year old student who had moved to Greenhurst from a suburb of Atlanta during her sixth grade year. She had not done well that year and had to repeat it. Nonetheless, she was then an honors student planning to enroll in a regional state college the following fall. She was moderate in her political views, though she described a recent shift towards conservative viewpoints due in part to the influence of her boyfriend. Karen was enrolled in both an honors and a standard English class. She was not happy with the latter but needed to take this class as a result of what she described as a bureaucratic error.

The students I chose for the two focus groups were Carson (honors), Joe (standard), and Sherry (standard) for focus group one, and Jill (honors), Richard (standard), and Susan (honors) for focus groups two. Since these students were chosen only for focus groups, I did not gather background information on them.

As noted in Chapter III, six of the eight teachers I interviewed were chosen randomly. I chose to interview the seventh teacher based on the fact that she taught business law. The teacher of this class, Ms. Malton, had gone to GHS 30 years before and had come to teaching a bit later than many other teachers.

The eighth teacher I chose to interview was the only teacher from a minority group in the school. Ms. Miller had been teaching for over 20 years in various parts of the

state, though she had been at GHS for quite some time. She taught mainly standard English classes.

One of the first random teachers' names to come up was Ms. Stiller, Mr. Dupree's wife of six years. She taught both honors and regular English and sponsored the school newspaper. She was in her late thirties or early forties and had been teaching for approximately 16 years. Dr. Reeves, another randomly selected teacher, was one of Ms. Miller's and Ms. Stiller's colleagues in the English department and had been teaching for approximately the same amount of time as the latter. Both Ms. Stiller and Dr. Reeves had taught at other schools in the county before teaching at Greenhurst.

Mr. Brown taught computer courses (including one I sat in on with Rose), many of which were geared towards specific certifications. Mr. Brown's education for teaching took place in the army, and though he had lived and taught in Greenhurst only since 2000, he had had previous teaching experience elsewhere in the state.

Ms. Edwards was in her first year at Greenhurst as a social science teacher and had worked in temporary positions at another Close County high school the year before. She had only recently graduated from college with her degree in the social sciences and was in her mid-twenties.

Ms. Flanders was in her second year of teaching both standard English and a foreign language at GHS, though she also had a master's degree in special education. She was from the Southwest, and had taught in the greater Metro area for 11 years.

Coach Hull was in his fourth year of science teaching at Greenhurst, and had not taught elsewhere except for student teaching, which he completed in Metro County. He was originally from a small town in Texas and was in his late twenties to early thirties.

In addition to eight teachers, I interviewed two guidance counselors, Mr. Williams and Ms. Gold. The former was in his early fifties and had taught English for many years before becoming a counselor. Ms. Gold was younger and had been at the school for less than 10 years. She had been a counselor and a teacher before her employment at GHS. Both were from the mid-state area.

The Curriculum and Classroom Instruction in Social Studies

The main focus of this project was to document the practices in which teachers and administrators across the school engage that relate to the formation of democratic dispositions, and not to document the formal teaching of civic and political knowledge. However, a brief section on the school's formal practices to impart such knowledge is necessary to put other practices in context.

Neither civics, citizenship, nor democracy were mentioned in the school's mission, and no focus on concepts tied to democracy or citizenship were listed in the school catalog. In order to graduate, however, students were required to take three social science/history courses. Students in all three tracks (the University Path, the Tech Prep Path, and the Dual University Tech Prep/University track) were required to choose one course from three areas. The first area included world history, U.S. history, or world geography. The second area included economics or marketing, and the third area included American government or business law. All three courses were recommended for the junior or senior years.

In the catalog descriptions of these courses, only standard U.S. history, standard and honors American government, and American business legal systems used the terms "government," "civic," or "democracy." There were also at least two elective courses in

which students might glean knowledge related to the functioning of a democracy. These included journalism, which included a study of legal issues, and a contemporary issues course, which focused on social and political issues of the times.

In addition, most of the courses offered by the business/information processing department included the following phrase: “Students are strongly encouraged to join and participate in the FBLA (Future Business Leaders of America) which will enhance their competencies in civic, social, and professional activities.” However, the description of the club in the Clubs and Activities Handbook made no mention of a focus on civic activities.

To summarize, in order to graduate, students were required to take one course that discussed American law and government, democracy, citizenship, and/or civic knowledge. For this course students chose between American government, which in the catalog and in practice emphasized the foundations of government, the constitution, and democratic values, or business law, which focused on the legal framework of the government as it applied to American business functions and the free market economy.

Other Required and Optional Courses and Extracurricular Activities

During my first interview with Mr. Checker, the school’s principal, he gave me a list of the aforementioned graduation requirements but also said that students could take “whatever they wanted” and pointed me to Mr. Dupree’s class when I asked him about civic education. He then likened the school to a nearby shopping mall.

In this marketplace a wide variety of knowledge was available. There were, for example, 16 business classes, which compared favorably to the 12 classes in social studies, nine classes in mathematics, and nine classes in the sciences (if you count

standard and honors courses in the same topic as one course). The core classes took up six pages of the catalog, arts and music classes took up one page, and business, agriculture, family science, health, architecture, computer repair, digital design, criminal justice, and similar classes took up five pages of the catalog. For graduation, required academic and arts courses in all three tracks accounted for just under two thirds of the required coursework. One third of the courses were electives and/or had a technical/career focus, depending on the track.

There was one other arena in which students could glean the knowledge necessary to function in a democracy, and that was in student clubs and activities. There was more than 20 clubs students could join. Some of the clubs, such as Interact, Serteen, Beta, and the Honors Society, placed a high value on service projects. Others, such as the Future Farmers of America (FFA), emphasized debates and discussions using Robert's Rules of Order. In one other, Model United Nations, politics and democracy were the actual focus of the club. Therefore, students participating in many clubs gained knowledge relating to functioning in a democratic society. No teacher or administrator could answer exactly how many students belonged to clubs, but several teachers and counselors put the figure at 50-60%. However, the number of students who actually participated in the clubs was thought to be lower, perhaps 25-30%.

Some of the clubs and extracurricular activities carried price tags. Model U.N. cost each student over \$200 to participate because of the need to travel. Other clubs, such as FFA, also traveled and students were responsible for travel costs.

The American Government Course and its Counterpart

Mr. Dupree's class, from which I recruited all participants, was part of the formal curriculum for citizenship and democracy. It had four Core Areas of Study. These were: a) The Supreme Court, the judiciary, and the philosophy of democracy, b) the Constitution, c) civil liberties, and d) Supreme Court cases.

The American government course began with a review of the history of the writing of the articles of confederacy and the U.S. constitution. The philosophical backgrounds of the founding fathers were discussed, as were the differences between the framers of the constitution. The Supreme Court and its history were discussed at length. After several weeks of such history, the class moved on to student debates of Supreme Court cases of the last 40 years. In these, one student took each side and the rest of the students voted on who they thought won the case. If one or both students were doing what Dupree considered to be an inadequate job, he added to the debate. Students took notes on these cases and were tested on them as well as additional reading materials.

During class periods in which there were no debates, Dupree continued to lecture on the Supreme Court and topics related to it, such as the politics that lead to appointment, and the educational background of the justices. In addition, Dupree challenged the students to define their own political beliefs with such quizzes as "Conservative or Liberal," "Match Your Political Beliefs," and "Match Your Ideology." These tests were online, but paper copies were made available. Once students identified their beliefs, he challenged them to debate each other along political lines on contemporary topics as well as the Supreme Court cases.

While such were the main topics of the class, Dupree often discussed current events, such as the war in Iraq, and he showed videos about current social questions on everything from whether assisted suicide should be legal, to whether political correctness has gone too far, to apathy towards politics in the young. For the latter, students watched a video of one of Michael Moore's "Awful Truth" shows featuring a traveling Mosh Pit, into which 2000 republican candidate Alan Keyes jumped, much to the delight of the press. The class also had required readings relating to educational practices, such as Walter Karp's (1985) "Why Johnny Can't Think."

Dupree constantly stressed the value of critical thinking, and was often quite candid in his opinion that students had not sufficiently learned to think for themselves. For example, during one class period he stated said that watching the students move from class to class was like watching "a herd of cattle." When one moved they all moved, and they "mooed their way" from class to class, never thinking about connections between them or of challenging their teachers on anything they learned in them.

Though I interviewed Ms. Malton, the teacher of the alternative to Dupree's class, she did not give me a syllabus because it was mid-semester, and she had none left. Ms. Malton reported that her main method of teaching business law was through the use of videos, lecture, and having students present cases based on criminal law. About the presentations she required, she said that:

Some of [the students] like to choose famous villains through history, and they do a presentation in front of class about what happened, the situation, the evidence and what happened in the case... We do videos, and the handouts, and just class discussion. We usually have a lot of class discussion over... when we get into criminal law... 'cuz people always have questions about situations that happened to them or somebody that they knew.

So, like Mr. Dupree, Ms. Malton used much discussion in the course that was interchangeable with U.S. Government. She also went through court cases, though hers were related to business (and criminal) law. She reported using court TV cases, for which she had students write down what the verdict should be and why. Another similarity to Dupree's class was that it required discussion of controversial issues. She mentioned that she asked them to think about the death penalty and to "make up their own minds" about it and not support or oppose it "just because it's what Mom and Dad believe." She reported being open about her own views, but made sure she mentioned that she was not there to tell them what to believe. Mr. Dupree often expressed the same sentiment.

Though similarities between the two classes clearly existed, Mr. Dupree thought Ms. Malton's course was not as demanding in terms of its requirements, and especially its requirement for discussion and debate. He felt that students self-selected Ms. Malton's class because he had a reputation for being quite demanding. Ms Malton echoed these perceptions in the following exchange:

Ms. Malton: [Discussion and debate are] a big chunk of [Mr. Dupree's] grade, and the Supreme Court cases that they have to give in front of the class and argue. Well I guess a lot of kids don't really like getting up in front of the class, they're reserved, they're introverted, and I think that's the reason that a lot of them take my class because they know that I don't have that big confrontational type lecture, you know, atmosphere in the class where they have to say something.

I: Right.

Ms. Malton: That—a lot of times, it's interesting. I get a really a lot of the smart kids that you can really [tell do not want to do such debates] or sometimes they'll take my class and Government.

I: Right. I think that happens a lot.

Ms. Malton: Um hum. There are the students that have failed...

I: Oh, Government?

Ms. Malton: Yeah, I have a lot, I had several kids....I don't want to give out names.

I: I know that he fails a decent percentage.

Ms. Malton: Yeah well sometimes you know, I asked him once....why there's a high failure rate. Why—I asked him about that one time. He said “I don't think my failure rate is that high.”

None of the students I shadowed had taken Ms. Malton's class, so I could not ask them to compare the two. However, the perception among both students and teachers was that Dupree's American Government class was quite difficult. Therefore, it was the student body's perception that even the standard class tended to attract more motivated students. About this topic, Mike said the following:

...the more quiet person is not going to enjoy [Mr. Dupree's] class. Like a friend of mine [did not want to take the class]... 'cause he knew that there's a lot of work involved and a lot of talking, a lot of having to defend your beliefs and ideas and a lot of people here just have them, I don't know if they know where they got them or how they got [them], but when people ask the question they just made the decision and that's what they stick with and if they don't know how to defend it then that class is going to be very, very tough for you. And the thing about that, you can be wrong, way wrong....

For sample days in Dupree's and other teacher's courses see Appendix C, which summarizes field notes for two student days.

The next section outlines the teaching methods (lesson types) in which students engaged on the days I shadowed them. Following these are student reports of the most common lesson types used at the high school.

Lesson Types

In order to provide information on the nature of the days I shadowed students, the following table outlines the primary activities and lesson types used in each class. Mr. Dupree's classes are not included in the table, as the tenor of his class is discussed extensively in a previous section.

Table 4. Students' Activities on Shadow Days

Student	Course	Predominant Activities on Shadow Days
Rose	e-Commerce	Working at computer alone
	Computer Programming	Working at computer alone
	Honors Trigonometry	Working on math problems interactively
Mike	Ecology	Worksheets, test, video (no relation to class material)
	Honors Trigonometry	Working on math problems interactively
	Senior Project	No work performed
Karen	Honors English	Student review for test (mainly solo, with notes on board, video (one related to class material, one not related to material when substitute present))
	Non-Honors English	Worksheets, short student presentations of work, approximately 25% lecture
	Senior Project	No work performed
Vanessa	Art	Solo art project
	Theater	Rehearsals for and performance of play
	Senior Project	Help with props for play or no work
Jacob	Algebra	Working on math problems interactively, video when substitute present
	Journalism	Group projects, individual presentations of work, and special class session
	Greenhouse Management	Solo project, video, teacher lecture (mainly unrelated to classroom material) and plant sale
Caleb	Social Science	Discussion (unrelated to class material), international food day, a visit to the art show.
	Algebra	Worksheets, quiz, interactive work on math problems
	Senior Project	No work performed

By far the most time was spent by the students I shadowed in solo activities. Oftentimes, such as in Coach Brady's ecology class, Coach Taylor's math class, and Karen's non-honors English class, worksheets or look-up tasks occupied most of the class time. All six student volunteers affirmed that the days I visited were typical of their school days.

Because I was interested in students' perceptions of how classroom time was spent, I posed the following question: "What do you think is the most common method of teaching [at GHS]?"

In response to this question, Rose, an honors student, quipped "I tell you this and you tell me this back." She noted the second most common lesson type used was the worksheet with fill-in the blank spaces. She felt such sheets were meant to make students do class reading but that students' "look-up skills were amazing" by senior year of high school. She noted that honors classes were better and that students could not get through them as easily without actually doing entire assignments.

Karen said teachers "handing out assignments" was the primary method of teaching at GHS. Sometimes these were worksheets and other times they had to do with looking things up, coming up with questions from the text, or in theater, performing a little piece in front of the class.

Mike reported that he did not mind when teachers used mainly a lecture format. He did not like it, however, when teachers relied overly on the textbook and then tested on it. This was the method of teaching he described as "typical." He also noted that a lot of what he considered to be the less skilled teachers used a lot of videos.

When I asked Caleb, who took mostly standard classes, to loosely quantify the amount of class time was spent in various types of activities he said that "probably around 50% is worksheets...and next [most common] would be lecturing, and very few discussion-type classes." Jacob said very much the same thing but also echoed Mike's comment that there were a lot of movies shown in class. He added that when coaches

taught the classes the teaching method was “almost a hundred percent” movie watching, especially if it was the coach’s sport’s season.

The focus group participants agreed with the students I interviewed. When I asked what kinds of lesson types their teachers used, the following discussion ensued among Carson, Joe and Sherry, members of the first focus group.

Carson: It’s more of a lecture, then you do...

Sherry: Busy work.

Carson: Yeah.

Sherry: They just don’t want to put up with you.

I: Could you guys come up with some percentage that you could agree on?

Joe: I’d say 50/50 in some of my classes.

Sherry: Easily 50 percent lecture. Like I’m taking notes and stuff. And then probably...40 percent busy work, and...10 percent discussion. And that ten percent...

I: What is busy work?

Sherry: Like “Here’s a worksheet.”

Joe: Drills, yeah.

Sherry: Yeah. And worksheets.

Joe: These problems, one through ten. Read them.

Sherry: Yeah, and it usually takes the rest of the class.

I: What about videos? I happened to notice that there was some videos being played in the classes I saw students round in, and they didn’t necessarily all have to do with the topic. How much of that kind of stuff goes on?

Carson: I think some teachers use it to their advantage, like I had Mr. Jones. Any of you guys? And that was one of the best classes I’d ever taken, and he showed videos once or twice a week. But you had to really pay attention and watch, because when you had a test on the video. And a lot of his lectures and stuff was over the video.

Joe: Yeah, based on the same thing.

Carson: Yeah, but I think I learned a lot, because I got a visual representation of what he was talking about.

I: I don’t think videos are bad, but I was just kind of wondering. You’re shaking your head...

Carson: But I’m just saying that’s one teacher that I’ve had that I have used videos in a good way. And I think a lot of teachers use them in other ways that aren’t really— but at the same time, if a teacher uses a video that’s not really related to the topic, I think in a sense that could be the kind of open-mindedness that we’re looking for, as long as they take the movie and they use it for discussion. Or they use in order to allow students to talk about it and stuff. But a lot of teachers just show it because they just want to sit there and not do anything.

Sherry: Exactly.

Joe: I think they try to use students. Like I know physics, again, like she'll show us movies. And videos about physics, but it didn't help me at all. And I think she's trying to get that variation in there, like you say, but it just doesn't work in that one...

Sherry: Or in ecology all the time, I love Coach Brady to death, but like we'll be talking about water pollution, and he'll show us a video about animals in the mountains. And you just kind of see it, and we're kind of like, "Okay." And they're not like interesting movies either. Like he'll turn the lights off, and turn the movie on, and everybody just sleeps. And that's usually what happens when teachers show videos.

In sum, students reported that they spent most of their classroom time either in lectures or doing "busy work" such as worksheets and drills.

Observations of Lesson Types

The days I shadowed students showed that most, but not all, teachers employed the teaching methods the students described as most common above. As Jacob, Mike, and the students in the focus group noted, there were a number of videos shown at GHS. The difference in video watching between the honors classes and other classes was that those shown in the former related to the subject matter much of the time, while in standard classes they did not. For example, one day I followed Mike to Coach Brady's (standard ecology class), where we watched *Apollo 13* for the block. In a class to which I followed Jacob, the math teacher's substitute showed "The Swiss Family Robinson" during the block. On the other hand, in Karen's honors English class, they watched a relatively short clip of actors performing the Shakespeare play they were reading. Dupree also showed video clips, and they were usually on topics related to civic education. This was true whether the class was standard or honors.

Worksheets and "assigned topics" as Karen called them, were the main teaching methods in most of the classes to which I accompanied students. For example, in the second class I accompanied Karen, a standard English class, students were reading

Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. The teacher asked them to come up with ten open-ended questions, and put the answers on a separate piece of paper. The questions were not supposed to be act or scene questions, such as "in which act does a certain action take place?"

In the first of Karen's classes I attended, an honors English class, Coach Raymond wrote on the board about acts in *King Lear*, a topic on which they were having a test that very day. The instructions were mainly for students to look up who said what and to whom. The students chatted while he was doing this, and then they looked up the passages, moving around the room and asking each other questions as they did so.

Some honors classes were quite different, however. I accompanied Mike and Rose to the same honors math class, which was quite demanding. Most of the six sessions I attended were devoted to going over problems on the board. There was much student interaction with the teacher in this class.

The brief descriptions of typical school days at GHS, of the research participants, and of the lesson types student participants reported and I witnessed are intended to provide a description of the general feel of the school and its educational practices. The next two chapters discuss the practices teachers and students reported or that I observed that might impact students' formation of democratic dispositions and their acquisition of the skills necessary to become effective citizens.

CHAPTER V

DEMOCRATIC DISPOSITIONS

Chapter V analyzes the GHS practices that might impact the formation of a democratic disposition through the framework presented in Chapter IV. That is to say, it lays out the practices in the second column of Chapter IV's Table 3. These are approaches teachers, administrators and students reported that might promote the manners necessary for democratic citizenship, including those for discussing and debating various topics and approaches for learning to deal with difference. This chapter also includes discussions of practices encouraging student commitment to ideals and social causes.

Though the Carnegie report (2003) states that discussion of current events, student voice in self-government, and simulations and other practices in self-government positively impact civic dispositions, these are discussed extensively in Chapter VI. Practices that aim primarily for the heart—those that are intended to produce feelings and attitudes—form the bulk of this chapter. Those that are primarily aimed at building skills are discussed in the next chapter. The concluding chapter contains a discussion of whether the practices set out in this and the next chapter lean toward the participatory pole or the representative pole of the revised theoretical construct.

Formal Character Education Initiative

Before discussing GHS's education for the manners necessary for citizenship, it is worth noting that in 1999 the Tennessee Legislature passed a bill mandating that

character education take place in all primary and secondary schools. This was due to the fact that the “recent disruptive behavior in the classrooms may be attributable to behavioral issues” (House Bill 453, 1999). The act did not define character education or clearly mandate how it was to be taught. The State Board of Education was charged with coming up with appropriate educational activities in conjunction with local boards of education. In Close County, a School Board administrator worked with schools so they could implement their own courses of action.

Mr. Dupree was in charge of character education at GHS. His understanding of the mandate was that it was intended to promote nondisruptive and general good behavior, and not to engender civic dispositions. He noted that the county sent newsletters and “words of the week” (such as “kindness”) meant to prompt teachers to engage in character education. To him and Mr. Checker, the activities and words of the week were appropriate for elementary but not secondary school students. Therefore, in order for GHS to meet the mandate for character education, each year teachers were asked to provide the names of students who had contributed to their classes in a meaningful way. The school would then send out letters to parents commending the behavior of these students. The letters were well received by the parents and were meant to provide a positive word for students who were sometimes overlooked in both honors and standard classes. The initiative was not meant to promote manners for democratic citizenship per se. Such undertakings were left to individual teachers.

Teachers Views of Manners Important to Democratic Citizenship

Before asking teachers and counselors about the practices in which they engaged to foster the manners necessary for democratic citizenship, I asked them what these were.

Each teacher had differing views on what it meant to be a citizen and what manners should be taught or reinforced at school. Teachers often lacked the language to discuss the manners they thought were important to citizenship. This fact is illustrated in the responses to the question “do you think that you need to have certain manners as a citizen of this country,” and the follow-up question, “what would these be.”

Before giving examples but no definition of the necessary manners, Reeves asked “what do you mean by manners?” Brown wondered if I meant “manners...skills....[was I] talking about attitudes?” Ms. Elmore looked at me quizzically and said “manners?” “Manners...ways to act,” I replied. Elmore then answered “To succeed, yes....Manners....like being on time.”

Most (but not all) of the answers to this question were vague, making them difficult to present neatly. For example, three of the teachers gave examples of manners instead of defining the manners. Though such lack of clarity made the teachers’ views of manners important to citizenship difficult to categorize, they fell roughly into two categories, courtesy/civility and respect.

Courtesy/Civility

Many, but not all, teachers and counselors interviewed felt that simple courtesy was an important manner for citizens to possess. Many of the teachers mentioned not harming others and/or not giving offence. For example, Dr. Reeves gave two examples in response to the manners for citizenship question. Reeves felt that though everyone would have his or her own standard for such manners, “things like smoking in a place that would...cause discomfort for other people, or being loud in a place where other people were trying to be quiet” would reflect unacceptable manners for citizens to possess.

In response to the same question, Mr. Williams described a time when a student athlete was dying and the coach spoke to the rest of the team. The coach instructed them in the proper etiquette for visiting the young man in the hospital room, including “how to act, what to say, what to wear, and what [the coach] expected of them.” The students followed the coach’s advice in their behaviors, according to Mr. Williams, went to the hospital room, and were respectful of the student and his family.

Ms. Edwards felt that responsibility to others was important, and this entailed such things as being where you said you were going to be, “picking up the kids on-time, showing up for a meeting,” and the like. Ms. Malton had a similar view, and thought students needed to learn manners necessary “to be there on time...[and] do the work that they’re supposed to do....”

Respect

Many teachers also mentioned respect as a manner necessary for good citizenship, though the term was defined differently by the teachers. Two teachers and one of the counselors spoke specifically of respect for country and for authority. For example, Coach Hull thought that:

...as a citizen...you don’t necessarily have to be patriotic but you need to respect the country you live in...if you wanna change something—the fact that the school is saying the pledge of allegiance—and respect the process that was placed there....have enough respect for the laws that are there. Don’t...make an anarchy, you know, go off your own way....

Hull also felt that teachers’ hands were tied when it came to promoting such respect and said “we want ‘em to respect the government, but the government has taken away our ability to make them [do so].” For example, it had taken away teachers’ abilities to force students to stand for the pledge and be respectful of soldiers. On the

other hand, he did not want to force students to be respectful in this manner. He wanted them to do so willingly.

Ms. Gold felt similarly to Coach Hull that students should have “respect for the institution of the United States and...respect for the flag.” She also thought students should have the proper etiquette to “...honor...people who are in high positions.” In a related vein, Ms. Flanders stated that since she had started teaching, in the 1980s, she had seen a notable deterioration of respect for authority. She noted that students would blurt out inappropriate things in class, ask a teacher a personal question, or sometimes even deface property. She noted that the latter was not a big problem at GHS, however.

Other teachers, such as Dr. Reeves, noted how respectful they thought students were. She gave an example of how well-behaved students were in pep rallies. She said she thought Mr. Checker emphasized respect in such settings and noted that he often praised students for being well-behaved. Ms. Stiller felt that though students at GHS were less courteous than they had been in the past, they were still a whole lot more courteous than at other schools that she had taught for or visited.

Teachers and counselors also mentioned general respect for others. For example, Mr. Williams felt that “a big part of education was learning to...respect other people and their ideas, their values, and...see how they can work together to make things better.” Mr. Brown mentioned that he sometimes took his student club members on field trips to community colleges and nursing homes in part to show that these institutions and the people in them were worthy of respect. He thought that since students’ socioeconomic level at GHS was mainly “upper crust” they benefited greatly from exposure to those they considered “those people” or “exiles.”

Teachers on Manners Important for Debate and Discussion

The theme of consideration for others came out more strongly in teachers' interviews when I asked if there were manners necessary for the debate and discussion that some theorists hold to be so important to effective citizenship. For example, Coach Hull stated that you "don't attack an opinion [in a classroom discussion] just because you don't agree with it." Dr. Reeves said that her classroom rule was "attack the opinion but not the person." Brown was proud of the discussion that teachers and students had at GHS, noted that they could be raucous, and said that teachers had to let the students know they were respected even if their point of view was not. Brown also said that his classes were structured so that students "know where the line is at," in terms of voicing opinions in his class. He drew the line at personal insults.

Edwards went a little further than Brown and Hull, noting that it was important to know when it was appropriate to engage in debate. She candidly stated that she found it difficult to effectively control class discussions, so she did not often allow them. She hoped that with more experience she would find them easier. Ms. Malton also noted that class discussion were often unruly because students had a hard time listening to others and wanted to discuss issues with friends and not with the whole class.

Ms. Miller felt that future citizens should learn to weigh and evaluate arguments and to give and take in discussions, but like Carter (1998) she was not sure the school should be the organization teaching these skills. In her own classroom, she reported that she did not allow students to engage in much class discussion. However, she occasionally let students share what they wrote in journals after assignments. She usually read the

journal entries before discussions, however, because she wanted to determine if “what they were saying was appropriate.”

Teachers’ on Their Practices to Promote Manners for Democracy

The section above relates what teachers reported were the manners necessary for democratic citizenship. This section reports how they reported helping students practice these manners. Several of the teachers gave concrete examples. These examples were as disparate as the answers teachers gave to the original questions about the manners necessary for citizens to possess. Dr. Reeves, for example, spoke of reading the book *To Kill a Mockingbird* and its use of the word “negro.” A few black students were offended by the term and said so in class. Reeves then attempted to give a historical context for the term and also asked black and white students to express their opinions on the changing historical context of the word.

When prompted for examples relating to manners for discussion and debate, Brown and Hull mentioned or gave examples of religious and/or government-related discussions in which they and students had engaged. In Hull’s case, he spoke of a discussion of the pledge. He noted that some students wanted to know why others would not recite it. His students wondered if it was the “under God” portion of the pledge that bothered the nonreciters. Hull stated that he acted in a moderator’s role in this discussion, mentioning that perhaps some students did not believe in a Christian god and therefore did not want to say the pledge, and that such students were not necessarily unpatriotic.

Ms. Malton mentioned the need for teachers to model the manners they expected students to learn. In her class, she allowed discussions of such topics as the death penalty.

Brown did not provide an example related to this topic, but he mentioned that he occasionally had to stop students from speaking to remind them to do so respectfully.

One teacher felt that controversial discussions and debates were frowned on by the administration, and she self-censored certain practices because of this. Ms. Stiller related a story about how GHS students did very well at a Model United Nations competition in Metropolitan County. The Close County Commission decided to commend them for this achievement, but at the commission meeting a man who was against U.S. membership in the U.N. stood up and protested granting the commendation. There was a debate at the meeting, and the result was that the Model U.N. team was commended by only one vote. Stiller, who sponsored the school newspaper, wanted to have students cover the controversy but was told by administrators that she could not do so. When I asked if there were other incidents such as this, she said no, but only because she had learned that she could not place controversial topics in the paper.

As a guidance counselor, Ms. Gold was not able to mention the contexts in which students might be able to practice manners needed for citizenship outside of Mr. Dupree's class. She did mention, however, that there was a moment of silence at the beginning of the day and that students said the pledge of allegiance.

Despite Coach Hull's lament about not having means to force students to stand for the pledge or respect soldiers, the school administration did have one tool to persuade students to recite the pledge. This was that the administration told the teachers that they needed to call parents when students did not say the pledge, though teachers themselves could not force students to do so. Ms. Malton was not happy about having to engage in this practice, as illustrated in the following statement:

We were told that we need to call the parent. The parent needs to know if they're not saying the pledge....I just thought, you know, these are high school students. Particularly first period, they're seventeen, eighteen years old...I thought as a parent – you know I have teenage kids. I thought if a school calls me and tells me that my kid's not saying the Pledge of Allegiance, I'd think they were nuts. I would think you would have more things to be concerned about.

Ms. Malton was the only teacher who reported this practice to me in her interview. However, Dupree confirmed that the administration did instruct teachers to call parents when students did not say the pledge. He refused to participate in this practice and reported that he told some of his students that it was their right not to recite the pledge.

Mr. Williams' example of a school practice related to manners for democracy was how Mr. Checker set the tone for behavior at the school during pep rallies:

He goes ahead and he tells 'em, um, as far as even what pep rallies are like. "This is what we do. This is what's expected," and you've never seen anything like a Greenhurst High School pep rally. We always tell 'em that. And sure enough, when they go in, it's important cuz we've got all these kids in the gym, packed, they're all on the same page, same chapter, same verse, and they're doing the same thing. And it's great every time, and it's amazing to see. The parents will come to them a lot, and they see, and they say that they can't believe that you can have that many kids that respectful....Then when Mr. Checker starts out to make his announcement at the end, they all sit down.

To Williams, respect was shown by showing school spirit, being nondisruptive, and being quiet when teachers and administrators were speaking.

In sum, the manners most teachers and administrators reported as necessary for democratic citizenship were being courteous by being non-offensive, respecting country and authority, and respecting other people. The latter generally entailed simple respect, shown by not speaking when others are speaking, doing what you say you will do, doing what is expected of you, and the like. For school administrators, manners of respect for the flag were supposed to be enforced by teachers calling parents. For one or two

teachers, necessary manners included respect for people outside of the students' everyday contexts.

How Students Reported They Got to Practice Manners

Before asking students how the school helped them learn manners related to citizenship, I asked students what they thought such manners were. They were in basic agreement with the teachers that common respect and courtesy were important to citizenship.

Mike noted that in something as simple as listening to another person's presentation one could practice respect and courtesy by not talking, by paying attention, and so forth. The school practice he mentioned was related to this was that teachers often had to break up student talk so that a student presenter could finish, teachers could lecture, or students could do their individual work in peace.

Caleb mentioned one event closely related to manners for citizenship that occurred in a class closely associated with a club. Some members of the Future Farmers of America came to one of his classes to demonstrate Parliamentary procedures. When I asked Caleb about these procedures, he said he did not remember them. I then asked if the demonstration included hands-on learning, and he said no, it was strictly observational.

Vanessa felt that the school did not offer many formal opportunities for practicing manners for citizenship. However, informal opportunities abounded that took place on school grounds. It happened in situations such as "a friend has a friend you don't like and that you need to be nice to." Far from teaching manners related to cooperation and

respect, she felt that at the school you were “kind of always taught to fend for yourself.”

She clarified this by adding:

Well, they never come out and say it, but it’s just kind of like you’re taught that as far as like almost like actions, like if you want something then go for it....So I guess you just figure you’re supposed to be like that all the time.

Presumably, Vanessa was referring to an opinion that at GHS students could pursue their individual passions, but that students needed to be the one with the impetus to do so.

Students on the Manners Important for Discussion and Debate

Though many teachers noted that students needed to have the manners necessary to debate and discuss topics both controversial and noncontroversial, students reported that discussions and debates happened in few teachers’ classrooms and for a small percentage of the time. Students reported that they got to practice learning how to be respectful and courteous during discussion and debate in classes such as Dupree’s. Jacob, for example, mentioned that he had gotten practice in Dupree’s government class, economics, and perhaps a few English classes. He said that high school teachers assumed students already had this skill, but that they really did not. They could get overly personal in discussions and debates both in and out of classrooms. He felt it was helpful when teachers set rules for debate and went over them with students.

Karen also described how much research she had to do for Dupree’s debates and how much she enjoyed doing it. I then asked how many classes she had in her high school career in which she had to participate in discussions and debates, and she replied that there had been “three or four at most.” Mike also noted that he enjoyed the discussion and debate in Dupree’s class. When I asked him if there were other classes in

which he had to engage in discussion and debate he said no, but that was because in most subjects, and especially in science and math, “there were not two sides to things.”

Caleb stated that he had been enrolled in very few “discussion-type classes.” The focus group participants reported much the same thing, as this short exchange between Carson, Joe and Sherry, illustrates:

Carson: There’s no discussion.

Sherry: Oh there are not discussions. You do not discuss.

Joe: Yeah.

Observations of Manners Practice

As noted in Chapter IV, students at GHS were generally quite polite in the classrooms and in the hallways. The teaching practice most related to democracy and citizenship in the classes I attended was giving students the chance to practice manners related to courtesy and respect in the fashion Mike outlined. That is to say, students got to practice being courteous by listening to other students or teachers and being non-disruptive. In only one or two classes did I witness a teacher reminding students to be courteous (see Appendix C for a description of one these occasions).

Observations of Manners for Discussion and Debate

The observations I made on the days I shadowed students through school days were in line with students’ contentions that the school offered few opportunities for students to hone manners related to discussion and debate. The one example outside of Dupree’s and Stiller’s classes I witnessed was in one of the three social science course sessions I attend with Caleb. The discussion in this class period was about marriage and family, and one student and the teacher did the talking. In this particular class period, the personal material related by the student who spoke was not integrated with the class

material by the teacher (see Appendix C for more details about this discussion). For example, she raised no questions about how the topic related to the course readings or to the course topic in general. The students and the teacher practiced respect to the main student speaker in that she was not interrupted or heckled. However, many of the other students appeared to be bored and practiced a mild form of disrespect by putting their heads down on their desks. None asked the main student speaker any questions.

I asked Caleb if the days I shadowed him to this social science class were typical, and he responded in the affirmative. In this class he said that the predominant lesson type was to “look up vocabulary words,” and do worksheets and “then we do crossword puzzles.” A student in the second focus group spontaneously added that video-watching comprised much of that class. She had seen two movies unrelated to coursework in it the week before.

Manners Summary

School practices that relate to common civility and respect are present at GHS. Students are expected to be nondisruptive and non-offensive, to listen (or at least to not speak) when others are speaking, and to exhibit other general good manners when conversing with others. Almost all teachers mentioned that they try to ensure that students act in this fashion, mainly by reminding students to do so when they became negative towards other students or teachers and/or by reminding them to be quiet when others were speaking.

Having the manners necessary to speak about beliefs respectfully was mentioned by most teachers. Coach Hull also mentioned that actively examining those beliefs is

necessary to speak intelligently about them and is thus a key to having the manners necessary to discussion and debate.

Learning to Deal with Race and Difference at GHS

Heyneman (2003) notes that people's willingness to freely cooperate with and trust one another at all levels of society promotes social cohesion. Carter (1998) would call such willingness to trust and cooperate part of the etiquette of civility that is necessary for us to come together to decide how we shall govern ourselves. Elstain (1995) defines democratic dispositions in part as the willingness to work with others different from oneself towards shared goals. Therefore, in order to understand how GHS school practices encouraged or discouraged students how to work with those not like themselves, I asked teachers and students questions about teacher, school, and administrative practices promoting this component of the democratic disposition.

Teaching about Race and Difference at GHS

GHS is at somewhat of a structural disadvantage in such practices because as nine out of the 10 teachers and administrators and six out of six students I interviewed noted, the school was relatively homogenous in terms of race and socioeconomic status. That is to say, it was white and middle to upper-middle class. Greenhurst itself had, according to Ms. Edwards, "not many poor parts of town." In addition, because of school zoning, most of Greenhurst's wealthier students attended GHS. However, several students mentioned that there were many different denominations of the Christian religion represented in the town and at the school. In addition, the area was experiencing high levels of population growth, so there was a constant influx of students from other parts of the country.

In answer to the question “how does GHS try to help students prepare for living in a diverse society (or dealing with people who were not like them),” most teachers and administrators had little to say. For example, Mr. Williams said “you know, I’m not sure we do prepare them for that.” He did note that there was a Black History Month program that included poetry, music, and art exhibits. The Metro School of Arts had presented the most recent program. Mr. Brown called this event part of “Cultural Diversity Month.” Ms. Miller also mentioned this program but felt that more could be done, especially in history classes, to promote awareness of other cultures.

Dr. Reeves, who as noted in a previous section had given an example of how she dealt with the word “negro” in *To Kill a Mockingbird*, also noted that there were school presentations that highlighted race and difference. She did not think they were very effective, however, and she thought such matters were best discussed in classroom groups, as she did in her class. She reported that in her previous places of employment she had participated in much more active discussions, programs, and presentations on race and ethnicity. Reeves also noted that there occasional in-service opportunities that had to do with multicultural education and that some issues of the character education newsletter all teachers received dealt with this topic.

In answer to the question about practices that help students learn how to deal with those not like themselves, Ms. Gold said that discussion was the main means GHS helped students prepare for living in a diverse society. She then noted that society was, indeed, more diverse than in the past. She went on to say the following:

When we were growing up we didn’t have...we didn’t even meet people who weren’t our, um, well in Metro Scotch-Irish...Most everybody had names that we...knew....The unusual names would not have been around.

She also noted that GHS offered special classes for nonnative English speakers.

Brown remarked that the student clubs served as a venue for students learning to work with those not like themselves. In addition, events like the talent show brought students together to work with others to whom they might never have spoken otherwise.

Edwards and Brown each brought up the fact that GHS had an exchange student program with Japan that they thought helped promote awareness of another culture. Edwards reminded me that she was a new teacher and thus far could not think of any other ways the school did or could help students learn to deal with people not like themselves. She felt that “you kind of have what you have, and you work with it,” presumably meaning that it was difficult to teach about diversity in a racially and ethnically homogenous environment. However, she hoped to learn more about how teachers could encourage students to view topics from other people’s and cultures’ viewpoints because she felt that it was schools’ responsibility to engage in such practices. At that point in the discussion she remembered that she was going to teach a class section on different Western religions and that this might be an arena in which she could encourage such learning.

Student Learning about Race and Difference at GHS

Like teachers, students felt that there was not much structural opportunity at GHS for them to deal with people not like themselves, as this focus group exchange illustrates:

Sherry: I think GHS does a really good job preparing you [for dealing with others] if you plan on staying in Close County or in the South.

Joe: And in Greenhurst especially.

Sherry: Oh, yeah. Like Greenhurst or Metro. Oh, definitely.

I: How so? What does that mean?

Sherry: Because you are not taught to deal with different people. You’re taught to deal with what you’re around. And like me, I want to go to college in Boston. I’m going to have crazy different people! I mean, like...(trails off).

Carson: But you're taught to deal with these people around here very well.

Sherry: Yes! You're just not taught to deal with anything else!

Joe: That's exactly right! And I think if they did that, we'd do a really good job at it. Because I mean, you can already see that they have...

Sherry (interrupting): It's too late for us, but there's those other kids!

Of course, race, and ethnicity were not the only cleavages between GHS students. Both students and adults in Greenhurst often identified very strongly with their religions. Interfaith differences were frequently discussed in Mr. Dupree's course but were not mentioned in any of the other classrooms to which I followed students.

Sherry, however, reported that discussions in English classes often wended their way back to the Christian religion. As one of the few Jewish students at the school, she did not always feel comfortable with the discussions, but neither did she feel comfortable adding the only non-Christian perspective. She stated that:

...people kind of assume that [Christians are] all there is here, and that there's nothing else! And they get weirded out and like creeped out when there is something else.

She went on to say that "[GHS] did not have any religion classes, because people are not open to anything but Christianity....and they think it's wrong to study other religions." In her interview, Karen shared a similar view and wished that there were objective "survey of religion" classes taught at GHS in order to promote understanding between people of different faiths and also to help students in their own personal development.

Vanessa had attended a magnet middle/high school in Metro before attending GHS and said the following about how she might go about designing a school in which students could learn how to deal with people not like themselves:

What would I do?...You know the only thing that I can think of is if the city itself as a community itself was diversified enough...[At the magnet school there were]

Asian teachers and Black teachers and Hispanic teachers and teachers from France and Germany...and so it just made things so much easier because they weren't biased. They weren't all the same religion. You know, like the teachers here are probably all from the same three churches which kind of makes it biased and it kind of makes it to where you don't learn to deal with other people because, you know, you're never around them and the teachers don't teach it because they're never around it and because the community isn't.

Mr. Dupree confirmed the fact that most teachers attended very few churches and noted that he, as a member of another church, did not attend an informal group that many of the more evangelical teachers had formed. Though he professed that he was not bitter about it, he felt like "an outsider" at GHS, in part because of this religious difference. He kept to himself and did not have many friends on the faculty.

Both Mr. Brown and Coach Hull mentioned their strong fundamentalist Christian beliefs in our interviews, and it was clear that the former discussed topics related to Christianity with students in nonclassroom contexts. However, none of the students at the school mentioned instances where specific religions were advocated. In fact, in a discussion of the Lemon test in class one day, Dupree brought up an instance in which Mr. Checker told some unhappy parents and teachers that there would be no school-sponsored prayer before football games. Checker had been advised by the Close County Board of Education that any school that engaged in such practices would not be supported legally by the county. However, according to the students I interviewed, the view that everyone was Christian formed a background assumption for most teachers and administrators.

Students also recognized that in addition to racial, ethnic, and religious differences, people from different geographic regions in the country were sometimes

different from themselves. People in different cliques were also different from themselves.

Most students identified the same cliques of students at GHS. These were the preppies, the jocks and cheerleaders, the red necks (who mingled with the jocks and were defined by their truck-driving and tobacco-chewing lifestyle), the hip-hop group (composed mainly of the few Black and Hispanic students at GHS), the Goths (who dressed in black and professed to be pagans), the burnouts, band members, and the tech/math geeks. The students I interviewed tended not to identify with one group, though they did mention that most of their friends were primarily composed from one of the cliques. I questioned students on how the school helped them get along with people from other cliques as well as different racial, ethnic, and religious groups.

Vanessa noted that there were certain venues, such as the art class I attended with her, where students from these different cliques came together. She thought students got to know each other a little better during such classes. However, since most art projects were individual, interaction with these other students was limited.

Jacob wished for more activities in which teachers assigned different types of people to groups to work on projects. Carson wished that teachers took a more active role in mediating “what happened in the hallways,” which is where uncivil behavior between people from different cliques and races occurred. He felt the teachers did nothing to stop this hallway behavior and felt they should be more active in this arena. To him, this was one way in which the school could help people learn to be more tolerant of others. Rose echoed the sentiment that the hallways were “a different world,” one in which students

were often verbally uncivil toward one another. I did not witness much of this incivility, however.

It was in the hallways, in the lunchroom, and in other nonclassroom areas that Vanessa told me she had witnessed student behavior that was anything but “inclusive of others.” After assuring me that there was very little racial tension at GHS (because, she said, students had learned not to share their racist viewpoints), she mentioned a few times when she or others were the recipients of racial and/or homophobic slurs, such as in these incidents that had taken place the previous semester:

[There is] a fellow who was homosexual at this school, and there’s a fellow who is not. He is a red neck. They’re very passionate about what they believe in, which most people are....I was going in the lunchroom with the homosexual and the person who opposed of that lifestyle was right there and we were walking by. They started laughing and they started making smart remarks. I didn’t hear exactly what the smart remarks were. The homosexual friend that I had, let’s call him “Jason”....stopped in the cafeteria and said, “Excuse me, do you have a problem with me?” He said, the one, “Joe,” the guy who disapproves of his sexuality, will say, “Well, you fag” and saying all these derogatory names. “Jason” was like, “Well, I don’t appreciate you calling me” and got in his face. They were like arguing, arguing. The teacher finally came in. But it was basically, “I don’t appreciate that. Why am I different?” “Well, you’re going to hell” and all this kind of stuff. It was really intense pretty much. I was kind of like, “Jason, let’s just go eat lunch.” I tried to calm it down.

Then the guy, “Joe,” the one who disapproves of “Jason,” was actually in one of my classes. He liked to make a lot of racial slurs. I don’t really care if you do it to yourself. I don’t really have such a thing. But it was in front of me and I take that offensive. He actually made some [comments] about Hispanics. I was like, “Excuse you. That is not right.” He said, “Are you Hispanic?” I said, “No.” And he said, “Well, why do you care?” I’m like, why do I care? You know, that stuff is not right.

Students Learning about Race and Difference at GHS, an Example

As the above incidents illustrate, even though there were few minority and few non-Christian students, there was enough diversity at GHS for teachers to grant students occasions to interact intensively with people different from themselves in formal

classroom settings. A good example of how such interactions might be encouraged occurred one day in Mr. Dupree's class. In it, one boy brought up the fact that homosexuals were going to hell. Dupree opened this topic up to discussion in the class, also mentioning opposing viewpoints from more liberal Christian perspectives. The end result of this discussion was that a young homosexual man—not the “Jason” mentioned above—spoke up in the class, noting that he had once believed homosexuals would go to hell. Now, try as he might, he could not change his sexual orientation, and he did not believe God would punish him for this.

Before Dupree's class period the next day students were marveling about the courage it must have taken for this boy to share this piece of personal information with a potentially hostile audience. Mr. Dupree had made the class a safe enough place for such sharing by constantly challenging students to state what they thought. He did this, in part, by calling on specific people who had been silent but whose opinion he knew clashed with his own or someone else's recently stated opinion. It was also accomplished through sharing personal stories and stories of students' past. Thus students were in the habit of stating and hearing opinions. Though they did not yet always have coherent arguments to back up their opinions, Dupree made a point out of asking them to defend their beliefs.

In sum, most students, teachers, and administrators did not report that GHS engaged in meaningful in-school practices aimed at helping students become comfortable with the diversity that existed in the school or in society. This held whether diversity was defined by race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, or student clique membership.

Teachers on Teaching about Race and Difference via Extra-Community Ties

The previous section centered on in-school practices that might help students become comfortable dealing with difference. However, the school might have also promoted practices intended to form bridging social capital, or the acquisition of informal norms that promote cooperation between members of diverse groups. Part of this capital is respect for and comfort with difference, which could be acquired if GHS encouraged students to bond with people or groups outside of the immediate area. As noted in Chapter I, Metro County had quite a diverse population, and Graymont, a town conveniently close to Greenhurst and also located in Close County, was also characterized by much more diversity than Greenhurst, at least in terms of race/ethnicity and socioeconomic status.

However, outside of sporting and club competitions, no teacher mentioned means by which they attempted to form ties with communities outside of Greenhurst. Coach Hull had the following to say in response to the question, “does the school have any ways that it connects (to people) outside of Greenhurst?”:

Well...I'm sure there's some, but I think that, I guess I would probably—and I you know you could say that, take it as a double-edged sword [because if you go outside your community] then are you forsaking your community? So I don't know. I don't, can't think of anything. I think that we try to do our best for Greenhurst first, and then if we have anything left over...then we'll...I don't know of us ever saying 'no, we don't want to help Graymont.'

Most other teachers mentioned ways in which the clubs and extracurricular organizations helped students form bonds with those outside the community. For example, Mr. Brown said the following:

...my students meet a lot of other students from other areas at those competitions. A lot of friendships are established through those.

Dr. Reeves also stressed how much students could get out of some of the extracurricular activities in her interview:

The horticulture-floraculture people go to competitions all over the place. I'm the sponsor of the Youth Legislature and the Model United Nations and that works through the State YMCA Youth in Government Program. So, we take groups to that. That's twice a year – the Youth Legislature is in the spring, and Model U.N.'s in the fall, and it's in Metro County. But they're with kids from all over the state.

In sum, teachers reported that students acquired bridging social capital in the clubs they are encouraged to join. In them students could become comfortable in dealings with different types of people.

Students on Learning about Race and Difference via Extra-Community Ties

When I posed questions to students about school projects or activities that allowed them to connect with people from outside the community, all six of the students mentioned sports, though they did not report that long-term bonds were formed by visiting other playing grounds. Jacob and Vanessa also mentioned that occasionally clubs or classes would take students to the theater in Metro County. Karen was quite emphatic about the fact that students do not connect with others outside of Greenhurst in the exchange that follows:

I: Does the school do anything to get you involved with people who are not in your community, like say people in Metro or [a specific neighborhood in Metro that is close to Greenhurst]?

Karen: No.

I: Never?

Karen: No.

I: OK.

Karen: Other than opposing teams in sports, no. No.

I: Anything...it could be like a, you know, a recycling project, a social or political cause....

Karen: Um hum. Well I can't think of anything that wasn't club-connected, or...(trails off).

Similarly, Caleb reported that he had never participated in any activities that connected him with people from outside of Greenhurst. However, he “thought there was stuff” that the school did to promote such connections.

Thus, students reported fewer opportunities than teachers reported for students to meet and interact with those from outside their community. Like teachers, students reported that opportunities for building bridging social capital were connected with optional clubs.

Though not related to school, it is worth noting that many students did have a chance to connect to the community and beyond through their churches. Mike, Rose, Karen, and Jacob all reported going on mission trips or volunteering.

Observations of Teaching about Race and Difference via Extra-Community Ties

During my shadow days, I did not witness any means by which students might connect to those outside of the community. This may have been due in part to the fact that during the time of my research, two of the six students I shadowed did not belong to any clubs, and one belonged only to a then-defunct French club. Three were minimally involved in several clubs that did not meet during our times together.

However, on several days that were not devoted to shadowing, I accompanied Mr. Dupree’s class to venues that introduced students to those not like themselves. For example, one field trip was devoted to visiting the Hindu Cultural Center of Metropolitan County. On this trip, students met with and discussed Hinduism with a representative from the center and toured the premises. In previous semesters, Mr. Dupree reported that he took students on field trips to the Islamic Center in Metro County as well. Such

contacts were not sustained, but they did introduce these students to cultural/religious institutions with which they might not otherwise become acquainted.

In sum, teachers reported that students involved in clubs and extracurricular activities met and sometimes befriended students from other parts of the country. However, other than Mr. Brown's discussion of taking students to a nursing home and Mr. Dupree's field trips, the teachers mentioned no activities that would connect students to people of other ages, religions, ethnicities, socioeconomic statuses, or completely different walks of life. There were no means reported by which students could form sustained relationships with people different from themselves. Such projects might have included service-learning projects, long-term and close sister school arrangements with schools from rural or urban areas, paid or unpaid internships with agencies or companies that serve diverse groups of people, and the like.

Learning to Deal with Difference, Summary

Teachers, administrators and students reported that in-school practices related to teaching students how to freely cooperate with and trust others not like them were not abundant. Those practices in which teachers engaged to help students connect with the immediate and extended community were largely voluntary and occurred in one of the many clubs available to those who chose to join them.

Commitment to Social Ideals and Causes

The third and final component of a democratic disposition discussed here is commitment to social causes and ideals. To proponents of participatory-style democracy, citizens must have the dispositions to make a voluntary commitment to a democratic way of life. This way of life includes joining or starting organizations that influence policy or

address social ills of concern. As noted in Chapter II, citizens who possess democratic dispositions are likely to participate in civil society. This includes governmental organizations and groups working on causes of many sorts. Therefore, one question asked in both teacher and student interviews was “does the school encourage students to get involved in larger social or political causes that they might believe in.” Unfortunately, my question, though not worded to suggest direct political endorsements, was often taken this way by teachers and students alike. Thus, I gave an example from a school in Metro Country that launched a school-wide recycling drive in order to illustrate the types of causes I was concerned with.

Teachers on Practices Related to Political and Social Causes

The prompt I used often elicited short responses about GHS’s own recycling program. However, more often the answer was that such practices were neither discouraged nor encouraged by the administration. For example, Ms. Edwards stated the following:

...I’m sure that anything a teacher wanted to do, that would be a positive social cause like [the recycling project], I’m sure they would be encouraged if they wanted to do it. Because I’m sure that Mr. Checker would be happy to...

Similarly, before the recycling prompt, Mr. Brown said that “it’s not that there is encouragement or discouragement.” He then likened encouraging students to become involved in social causes they believe in to proselytizing for the church, by saying the following:

Whether it’s trying to draw ‘em in to a political or a religious experience. You know, if that ends up, I think it’s a natural process if that takes place.

Mr. Brown clearly felt that encouragement toward social and political involvement was beyond the purview of teachers and school. After being prompted with

the recycling example, Brown mentioned that there was a newly formed student-run organization whose goal was to promote virtuous behavior for girls and women. He was unable to recall the name of the club, nor could I find any information about the group on the school's website or in its literature.

Neither of the two student counselors interviewed could name any practices related to social causes besides the recycling project. Coach Hull was not able to think of many examples either, but upon prompting he cited an example of an athletic trainer who had organized a blood drive at GHS.

The following exchange with Ms. Malton illustrates the fact that conflict avoidance, and therefore limiting discussion and encouragement of involvement in social and political causes, was felt to be the best option at GHS. The exchange occurred after the prompt regarding the recycling project at another high school.

Ms. Malton: Here the Ecology Club's doing that, but I can't think of anything that they encourage you [to do besides] you know, the club work, and going to the basketball games, and you know, showing that you support your school. Just that kind of thing.

I: So they wouldn't, like they wouldn't sort of try to, for instance, get you to, uh, volunteer time for the Republican or Democratic um...

Ms. Malton: Oh that would be, oh that would be just setting the school on fire.

I: Even if they were completely neutral about which party?

Ms. Malton: Well, I don't know that you can be neutral. This school is kind of, Greenhurst is more Republican than Democrat, and there is, gets to be little bitty discussions during the time of presidential elections.

I: Um hum.

Ms. Malton: Matter of fact, it's kind of split, half and half, Democrat and Republican. But you can get really nasty.

I: Like in teacher's lounge, or where do you mean?

Ms. Malton: Oh sure! I mean they can get really bad—and saying things about religion, you know, religion and politics, you don't, you don't talk about that....

I: Um hum.

Ms. Malton: You can't.

I: Why—why is that—so you don't offend your fellow teachers?

Ms. Malton: Yeah, you know.

When I asked Ms. Stiller whether the school encouraged students or teachers to get involved in social and political causes they believed in, she laughed and said “no, and in fact the administration would encourage you to not to get involved in anything your picture might show up in the paper for.” When I asked her what she meant, she related the story already mentioned in a previous section regarding not being able to have students write up a story about a Close County Commission meeting controversy.

In sum, teachers reported there were few practices with which they prompted students to become involved in social and political causes of their choice. Some felt that such prompting was not proper for a school, as topics in politics and society were quite controversial. Furthermore, the administration did not recommend that teachers engage in such prompting.

Students on Practices Related to Political and Social Causes

As was the case for connecting to the greater community, students reported that the school’s and teachers’ main means of helping students become involved with and connect to larger social or political causes was through clubs. Two students, however, were able to report concrete examples of activities in which they participated that might affect students’ propensity to become involved in a social cause.

Jacob’s example was that he had been involved in a river cleanup project. He had participated in this project through a class called “Adult Living,” which focused on balancing checkbooks, making job and personal decisions, and generally preparing students for living without parental help. Mike’s example was that he had measured chemicals in the river for a chemistry class. Neither of these particular students was

moved to become an environmentalist by these experiences, but such activities have the potential to connect students with such causes.

Observations of Practice in Social and Political Causes

On the days I shadowed students, there were no activities that might lead them to take up social and political causes in which they believed. However, on one nonshadow day I accompanied Ms. Stiller, Mr. Dupree, and their honors English and honors American government classes on a field trip to the ACLU headquarters and a local university's First Amendment Center. On this trip several speakers talked about the freedom of the press and possible limits on it. Mike mentioned in his interview that this trip had such an impact on one of his classmates (not a research participant) that the classmate started volunteering for the ACLU.

I also witnessed several assignments in Dupree's class that were intended to help students familiarize themselves with the local and state governments and that therefore had the potential to lead to future interest and involvement. For example students were directed to study a newspaper's detailed accounts of the current year's state budget shortfalls. Then they had to familiarize themselves with the workings of the major departments of the state government and come up with a means to balance the budget by making cuts to the departments. Students could choose to do this any way they wished, but they had to justify their spending cuts. The results were then discussed in class.

In addition, though the Supreme Court cases that Dupree chose for students to debate had various themes, they were weighted in favor of school and student-related cases. This choice of assignments was consciously aimed at making students aware of and involved in decisions that involved them directly.

These examples aside, the students I interviewed noted that the school did little to help them connect with larger social or political causes. Karen stated that the only time the school would promote such activities was if they were occurring at the school, such as the “Relay for Life,” fundraiser mentioned in an earlier section. Mike said that “politics was not brought up at all in the school as a whole.” Similarly, Vanessa stated that politics and social causes were not discussed at GHS “one way or the other.”

Student-led affiliations with social and political causes were tolerated at the school, however. There was, for example, a group that met in the morning to rally around the flag. Such a group had to have a teacher-sponsor but be student initiated. The group that Brown mentioned regarding the promotion of feminine virtue fell into this category.

However, the formation of some types of student-led groups was not encouraged by the school. This was revealed in Dupree’s class one day when a discussion arose about some clubs having a difficult time finding faculty sponsors, such as an alternative religions club (namely Wiccan). This club was not sponsored and, therefore, not formed.

Practices Related to Political and Social Causes, Summary

To summarize, teachers did not report that the school encouraged them to get involved in social or political causes themselves and did not encourage them to prompt the students to do so. Students reported much the same thing. Students were, however, offered the opportunity to join in a number of clubs that dealt with social and political causes, such as the group Mr. Brown mentioned that was concerned with feminine virtue. Several teachers felt that it was inappropriate for teachers to encourage such involvement.

Democratic Disposition Summary

GHS had no school-wide focus on helping students develop democratic dispositions. However, a few teachers, notably Mr. Dupree, Ms. Stiller, and one other teacher (a Coach Lundt who taught advanced placement and honors history) were cited by students as helping their classes learn the manners necessary for discussion and debate, attempting to connect them to those not like themselves, and encouraging involvement in social and political causes. School staff members consistently brought up student clubs as arenas through which students were exposed to practices that would help them form the various elements of the democratic disposition. Since it was thought that approximately 25-30% of the student body was active in the clubs, a good number of students chose to engage in school practices that might help them form democratic dispositions. A large percentage, however, did not choose to do so.

As noted in Chapter IV, the Carnegie group, in their review of the research literature, noted there was evidence that several practices not mentioned in this chapter are associated with producing civic attitudes. These include discussion of current events, service-learning (and presumably involvement with outside groups in general), student voice in self-government, and simulations of governmental activities. These are discussed in the next chapter, since the approaches mentioned also encourage the development of thinking and participatory skills for citizenship.

CHAPTER VI

CIVIC SKILLS FOR DEMOCRACY

Chapter VI analyzes the GHS practices that may impact the acquisition of skills for citizenship through the framework presented in Chapter IV. This chapter covers the practices in the third column of Table 3 (Chapter IV) that were not covered in Chapter V. As is the case for democratic dispositions, theorists have diverse ideas as to what civic skills are necessary to thrive fully as a citizen. One influential group of theorists, the participants in the Professional Judgment Groups convened by the National Center for Learning and Citizenship make a distinction between thinking skills for and participatory skills for citizenship. Briefly, the former pertain to being able to obtain and analyze information related to the government, citizenship and human rights, and civil society. One primary means to promote their acquisition is to discuss current events in tandem with other subject matters. The latter skills pertain to the abilities to be part of and/or lead groups of citizens and to communicate effectively within them (see Torney-Purta & Vermeer, 2004, for these definitions).

As noted in Chapter IV, what Torney-Purta and Vermeer (2004) called “thinking skills” align well with what were discussed in interviews for this project as critical thinking skills. What they called participatory skills line up with the questions on practices related to group work in school and with community groups, and to self-government. GHS practices related to these two skill-sets are discussed below.

Critical Thinking

Central to the skills most theorists state are required for democratic citizenship and to support the democratic disposition is critical thinking. Though GHS's mission statement did not include any reference to producing citizens, it did state that "critical thinking and problem solving skills are fundamental." Therefore, I sought to find out from teachers, administrators, and students and through observation how these skills were taught at GHS. I posed the general question that follows. "I'm sure as a teacher you are always trying to promote critical thinking—how do you do this (or, for students, how have you learned critical thinking skills)?" I then asked about discussion of current events in coursework.

Teaching Critical Thinking

Since critical thinking was part of the school's mission, I asked Ms. Gold, one of the guidance counselors, if she knew of any school-wide initiatives to promote critical thinking skills across the curriculum. She was not aware of any programs or directives of this nature. She was also unaware of which classes, if any, students would be offered the opportunity to discuss current events.

Though I did not ask the teachers whether there was a school-wide emphasis or initiative promoting critical thinking, I did ask three of them if they knew how other teachers were incorporating critical thinking into their classes. Two did not have any knowledge of whether teachers other than Mr. Dupree were incorporating critical thinking into their coursework, and none mentioned any school-wide emphasis on critical thinking. Ms. Malton, however, noted that her students who had taken history courses seemed to have stronger critical thinking skills.

When I asked teachers how they themselves taught critical thinking skills to their students, most came up with concrete examples. As might be expected given the different subject matters of the teachers, the examples they were provided differed from one another. These disparate examples are reported below.

Though Ms. Edwards did not call it such, she reported using Socratic questioning to draw answers out of students. She noted that she consciously worked on the skills to be able to practice this method, and that it was very difficult. When I asked her whether she included assignments on or discussion of current events in her classroom, she replied in the affirmative. She was currently offering students extra credit for finding newspaper articles on current events and reporting on them in class.

Ms. Miller noted that trying to help students to “analyze, to think critically, to differentiate between fact and opinion” was the most difficult thing that teachers had to do. It was especially difficult to do because “when you work with students every day you have to just kinda...adjust that content to their level.” She was presumably speaking of the fact that she taught non-honors classes, as this had been reported a few minutes before. However, she was able to provide an example of how she helped students to think critically from that very morning. In her first period class she had had students write about a current event in a journal they were required to keep. The assignment directed students to explain how they would greet President Bush if he were to visit, what questions they would ask him, and why they chose those questions. Miller stated that she often used current events in these writing assignments, and she also used class readings for this purpose.

Ms. Flanders, who taught standard English as well as foreign language courses, provided a few examples of how she promoted critical thinking. In her English classes she had recently given students supplemental handouts after a section on poetry and then had students interpret a poem on their own. She also required students to write one page responses to readings they were assigned but had not yet discussed in class. In her foreign language class she had students make analogies between America and a foreign country in terms of lifestyle, schooling, and culture.

When prompted to speak about whether she incorporated current events into her teaching, she mentioned that she thought that Channel One (a commercial teen-oriented news company that provides free televisions for classrooms so students may watch the channel) was an excellent means for students to keep abreast of current events. Upon further prompting, Flanders reported that she often had students in her foreign language class collect newspaper articles about the country. She also had her English class bring in newspaper articles related to topics they were covering in class, and she also occasionally read newspaper articles to the class.

Ms. Malton, as noted in a previous chapter, used much discussion in her class sessions. The example she brought up to illustrate her method for encouraging critical thinking was an extended exchange she and her students had about the death penalty. During this discussion, she went to the board and wrote up the pros and cons of the death penalty as they came up. She questioned students in the following manner:

What is it that...the death penalty is gonna do? Is it...punishment? Is it revenge?
Is it a deterrent?

They also discussed the genetic evidence that had recently come to light in Illinois that caused the governor to commute the sentences of death row inmates in that state.

Like Ms. Malton, Ms. Stiller and Dr. Reeves also stated that they used classroom discussion frequently to spur critical thinking. They also noted that such discussions were much easier to conduct with honors students, who were already used to the process.

In addition, Ms. Stiller reported that like Ms. Miller, she required a journal for her classes. Every day non-honors students were required to journal about a specific topic of Ms. Stiller's choosing, generally from current news. After 15 minutes of writing, the class would discuss the topic. A journal topic Stiller cited as an example was a possible renewal of the draft. She noted that honors classes were more used to discussing current events and did not need to write in their journals to do so.

Coach Hull, who as noted before taught chemistry, had a difficult time explaining how he taught students to think critically. Part of his answer to the critical thinking question follows:

...It is hard, I know that as a, as a young teacher that's probably one of my biggest challenges...but um, I think that allowing them to have those discussions like we talked about before (school prayer). Sometimes we come in, we've made, mostly we're talking about combustion of...fuel engine, somebody talks about you know, the part that's bad for the environment, and we can go on about that. You know we'll look up this is an electrical engine and what about...solar power? Can we do that, or? You know it's applying something that they learned.

He also mentioned that he tried to discuss chemical reactions that happen in everyday life, such as what happens when you chew an antacid.

Mr. Brown, who taught vocational classes, had a more difficult time than Coach Hull articulating how he helped students learn to think critically, as illustrated in the following statement:

Yeah, there there's things that students can't avoid, uh, such as uh, you know your social factors, relationship-type things and...some students interact with some teachers, seem like some students are just uh, drawn to you, and they'll spend time after class talking to you about things which are going on in life. Ask your

point of view on those things, and on those situations...the best that I know to do is just to tell them what, what type of things that have happened to you...

In sum, teachers reported using several methods to help their students think critically. These included classroom discussion of controversial topics, writing projects, using everyday examples in science classes, and speaking to students about personal problems outside of class.

Students on Learning to Think Critically

Students were able to produce fewer examples than teachers of ways in which they were encouraged to think critically and reported receiving lessons that forced them to do so in only a few classes. This was true even for the honors students. For example, Rose noted that other than Dupree's class—which she said helped her think critically even in nonclassroom contexts—she could only think of one honors English class in which she had been forced to think critically. One specific assignment came to her mind as an example. It was an assignment asking students to write a critical essay using both primary and secondary sources. Her paper was on Robert Frost.

Mike, another honors student, was adamant that outside of Dupree's class and perhaps English classes, there was not much need for critical thinking and so he could think of no reason for teachers to demand it of students. His statement about this follows:

I guess you could say [I was asked to think critically] in U.S. History but not really because, of course, it's a history class, there's not much to think about....It's not that you shouldn't (think critically) or that [the teachers are] trying to hold you down. I don't think I know what else do you need to think on your own about? It's teaching you information, you know, in science there's not a whole lot of— what other thought are you going to have that they can really teach?....There's not really a need, I don't think, for other thoughts.

Mike, as a future science and mathematics major, saw no need for the type of questioning he received in a class like Dupree's. In history, he did not feel there were competing conceptions of truth to be explored.

Karen, the third honors student participant, felt that there were very few classes in which she had a chance to learn critical thinking. She bemoaned the "monotony" of most of her school days and wished there was more active learning. She said that outside of Dupree's class, the closest she came to learning critical thinking was in an Advanced Placement English class. Even that, she said, was more geared toward reading the literature and then "spitting out facts and forgetting them." In her A.P. class she said she could forgive that, because the teacher had a prescribed amount of information she had to pack into a semester. In other English classes she saw no reason why there should not be more discussion of texts.

One of the non-honors students reported even fewer experiences in learning to think critically than the honors students. Caleb could not think of a single class besides Dupree's in which he had been asked to do so.

Jacob, however, reported that in his journalism class and in his greenhouse management class he was forced to think critically. He was not able to give any examples from his journalism class, except to say they "did group work." He did relate what he thought was an example from his greenhouse management class. The teacher of this class was a veteran of the Vietnam war. Jacob reported that as the U.S. invasion of Iraq approached, Mr. Koppel described very vividly what the life a soldier in the trenches was like. It was a very moving and personal story, according to Jacob.

Vanessa, though she was not an honors student in general, reported taking some honors classes in English that had made her think critically. One of these classes was taught by Mr. Dupree's wife and the other by Coach Raymond. She had taken both in her junior and senior years. Vanessa stated the following about these teachers:

I mean they really got you thinking about different time periods and the way different people lived and just different views and ideas. I mean questions on a test would include opinions instead of what the book said, which I thought was great because you're supposed to use your brain.

These two teachers had been transformational for Vanessa, and she became really animated when she talked about the books she had read in these classes and the Jungian and Freudian theories one of them had introduced. Before these classes she had "pretty much gone to school because she had to." In these classes she learned to enjoy looking up background material and other relevant information about topics in which she was interested.

Learning to Think Critically in Science and Math Classes

Mike's position was that critical thinking was not necessary to science and math classes. Therefore, I asked the second focus group (two honors and one non-honors student), whether they were ever asked to connect coursework in science to real-world situations. Two of the students (one honors, one non-honors) reported they had been "forced" in one science class to find newspaper articles that related to science, but neither had not found the experience very meaningful. The three also noted that the scientific method was not stressed very heavily in science courses. These students reported that having students memorize facts was the main means of instruction in science classes.

I then asked this group whether they were asked to learn how to judge the validity of statistics found in newspapers in math or other classes. No member of this group had been exposed to this practice in any course.

Rose also reported that most math classes did not emphasize critical thinking skills, as illustrated in the following exchange:

Rose: They give you a formula, but you have to understand it yourself. And if you don't get it, then you don't get it. I hate it when they teach like mechanics of math. They're like "This does this. You need to know this. But I'm not going to tell you why, but it does, so believe it."

I: Can you give me an example of that?

Rose: Why absolute values are never the negative. They just say "Absolute values can't be negatives." They don't draw you a number line and show you why absolute values can never be negatives. Functions. I couldn't do functions in Algebra II because I didn't know what she was doing. She wouldn't tell me what she was doing. She said "See this is this." And I'm "Well why?" ...Once you get to trig, there are no mechanics left, you have to know why you're doing what you're doing. Like geometry...you have to tell what you're doing, but you have to tell in detail. Like A equals B, B equals C, why does A equal C? And you have to tell why. And once more it makes sense.

I: So they make you explain it in that class?

Rose: [In] Geometry 3 you finally get out of the mechanics and start learning...

To Rose, a bright, mathematically-minded student, her early high-school math classes did not qualify as "learning," but rather, "mechanics." In sum, students averred that judging the credibility of data was not covered in science and math courses.

Observations of Practices Aimed at Helping Students to Think Critically

Other than Mr. Dupree's class, I viewed very few examples of students being asked to think critically during my 18 shadow days. There were, for example, few instances of the active learning that Dewey championed. Most of those I witnessed, though educationally valuable, were not related to critical thinking. For example, two were in Jacob's greenhouse management class, in which they were building small animal houses out of plywood one day and having a plant sale in the greenhouse another day.

Mr. Brown's and Ms. Krup's classes, to which I followed Rose, were in computer programming and e-commerce, respectively, and so students were asked to do hands-on learning with their computers. Other than the fact that a small group of students spent one entire period in Mr. Brown's class engaged in a group video-game (which likely contributed to students' education, considering that it was a computer programming class), the work was solo and not discussed during the visited classes. Other examples of active learning occurred on the days I watched Vanessa prepare for and perform in the school play and on the day Rose and I went to the local newspaper on a field trip for Mr. Brown's class.

Though these classes employed active learning, they were geared more toward learning vocational skills. They did not lend themselves to critical reflective practices or analysis.

Positive Example of Practices Aimed at Helping Students to Think Critically

One class outside of Mr. Dupree's did, however, call for such higher-order thinking. That was Jacob's journalism class with Ms. Stiller. On one of the days I attended this class, students presented on various topics of their choosing. Students chose to do their presentations in the formats of their choice. For this assignment one group of three presented a performance piece on applying for college. Two individual students each did poems. One student (the student Mike mentioned had become active in the ACLU after a field trip there) recited a written piece on his volunteer experience. Jacob gave a demonstration of CPR and a presentation on why it was necessary to learn it.

On the second day in this class, students went to "the pit," a large classroom built for band practices. In it they participated in an event put on by a college English class.

College English was taught by faculty from a local community college and was taken for college credit by high school students with high ACT scores. For this college-level class several students put on a “Social Issues Symposium,” which consisted of several student presentations on social issues. One presentation was on school prayer in public schools. A second presentation was on reciting the Pledge of Allegiance in school. A third reported on the history of Title IX in colleges and universities, and a fourth covered and critiqued the arguments for reparations to descendants of slaves. The issues were discussed by the visiting classes after each presentation.

Dupree (who had also brought his class) questioned the group after the reparations presentation since there were few student comments after it (and only two African American students in the class). He asked why descendants of slaves would be asking for reparations and challenged students to articulate why they thought the descendants should or should not receive them.

The third day I shadowed Jacob to Ms. Stiller’s class, they watched a concluding piece of Orson Wells’s “Citizen Kane.” After the video was over, Stiller discussed the parallels between this movie and the real-life Hearst family and its newspapers. She discussed the lawsuits over the movie, bias in the press, and how the movie was viewed at the time.

Mr. Dupree’s class was also filled with opportunities to practice critical thinking, especially as related to government. He often attempted to incorporate student experiences into his subject matter. For example, three days into class one semester he was lecturing on the nature of social contracts and Locke’s views on the consent of the governed. He used the prom as an example, asking students what “the rules” of the prom

were, and what the nature of that “social contract” was. The boys chimed in that they were expected to pay for dinner and buy flowers. Other students mentioned the negotiations between friends about where the group would meet before and dine after the prom. Then, without mentioning sex specifically, Dupree asked a girl who had indicated that she would attend the prom whether some boys thought there was a part of the contract to be fulfilled “when the couple was alone.” The following exchange ensued:

Girl: This is stupid.

Dupree: It is stupid—but do you have a right to not carry out that part of the contract?

Girl: Yes.

Dupree: Some men just use force to get this part of the contract taken care of.

Girl: But I make the contract! (Meaning, presumably, that she would not agree with a boy who thought sex was part of the contract.)

Dupree: Yes, it has to be consensual, and you have to know what your rights are. It is the same with the government. If you consent, you need to know what your rights and obligations are.

Such exchanges and easy moving between issues important to students and difficult subject material were typical of Dupree’s class.

Critical Thinking Summary

Other than Ms. Stiller’s and Mr. Dupree’s class, none of the classes I attended with students included teachers employing the critical thinking techniques teachers mentioned in their interviews. More shadow days may have yielded a greater number of examples in line with the methods teachers mentioned in their interviews.

Though most teachers reported specific examples of how they taught students to think critically, neither they nor the counselors I interviewed stated that the administration advocated that such practices to be incorporated into all coursework. Teachers did not report that they organized their courses in order to promote this skill.

However, teachers felt critical thinking skills were important, and each mentioned one or two examples of practices they used to foster these skills.

Students reported that many of their classes were monotonous, but all but one student could produce exceptions. The exceptional teachers consistently mentioned by students included Ms. Stiller, and when I shadowed Jacob to her journalism class, it proved to be exceptionally lively. Ms. Stiller also clearly expected and encouraged original thinking from her students, as was evident in the presentations they gave one day I visited.

Several teachers mentioned they had students reflect on current events in their classes. However, students reported that such practices were not the norm. No teacher or student reported that any type of peer or self-assessment techniques were used, and no instance of these types of evaluations were observed. Most tests were reported and observed to be of the simple fill-in-the-blank or match the definition to statement types (outside of mathematics courses). Mr. Dupree employed short- and long-answer essay questions (as well as a few fill-in-the blanks). Ms. Stiller and Coach Raymond were also reported to do so. Testing via short or long essay questions was not reported to be the norm.

In sum, teachers reported employing practices aimed at promoting critical thinking, including discussions of or assignments related to current events. Students reported a dearth of such practices. My observation period was perhaps too short to determine which view was closer to reality.

Simulations and Other Competencies for Self-Government

The competencies required for self-government are many, but to participatory theorists they include being able to function in and solve the problems that arise in group work, to participate in decisions related to self-government, and to determine how to administer discipline to those who stray from the law. Therefore, I asked teachers and students about the practice of group work in classes and with community members, how students were involved in governing themselves, and the nature of disciplinary action at GHS.

Student Group Work

The first question related to this domain that I asked students, teachers, and counselors was whether and how they and the school provided students opportunities to work in groups on any type of project. I also recorded instances of group work in my field notes.

Teachers on In-Class Group Work

In response to this question Mr. Williams, a guidance counselor, named a leadership development course that was optional for freshmen. In it students learned how to work in groups regarding “how much responsibility to take, how much responsibility to let someone else take....” He also mentioned that the coaches worked hard on the student athletes taking pride in being part of the team, and not just in their individual play. Finally, Williams mentioned the state and/or regional competitions to which the club members traveled. Ms. Gold, the other interviewed guidance counselor, also stated that clubs were the main means in which students learned to work in groups.

Most, but not all, teachers reported that they offered students in-class opportunities to work in groups. For example, Coach Hull noted that he chose lab partners for students in his chemistry class, and that he never chose the same partner twice. Brown reported that he paired up students for some assignments, but he “let them get used to the idea [of working with another student] with a friend, and then [he matched] ‘em with other people.” Ms. Malton, who taught keyboarding as well as business law, stated that she often gave group assignments to students, especially in the former class. Ms. Stiller said she did much group work in both her honors and standard English classes, as evidenced in the following statement:

I do a lot of group activity, and I usually draw [who is in each group], otherwise they gravitate to the same people. It really is helpful for them. It’s also very frustrating for them to work with other people, to work with people who sit there and do nothing, and they feel you know “well, I’m carrying the weight here” and next time they might be the one [not doing his or her share]. And then there’s classes where a really strong personality, and they find out “I liked carrying the weight, I liked doing it my way” you know.

For Stiller, group work was an important means for students to learn to work together and for students to find their strengths.

In contrast to Stiller, Brown, and Hull, when I asked about opportunities for students to work in groups, Ms. Edwards mentioned only club work as an arena for students to work together. Ms. Flanders answered this question similarly and added that there was peer tutoring available for students struggling in many subject areas.

Dr. Reeves noted that honors students do not like to work with one another, as they were individually competitive. Therefore, in many of her honors classes, group work was optional.

Students on In-Class Group Work

Though most teachers reported that they assigned group projects, two students reported that they had been involved in very few of them—a fact that was to their liking. Rose mentioned that in a sophomore history class she and other students made a castle out of cardboard, poster board, blocks, and sugar cubes. She said that “people don’t like to do group projects unless they are fun,” as the castle project seemed to have been. She mentioned a few other teachers for whom she had done group projects and added that “teachers don’t really like stuff like that, because you know one student always ends up doing the work.” She also mentioned that when group projects were assigned, teachers usually chose the memberships, so that no group ended up with “a bunch of rejects.”

Karen mentioned that teachers did try to assign group projects, but they were almost always unsuccessful because people never did equal amounts of work. After giving an example in which she had done all the work (in her second block class that semester), I asked her if teachers ever helped students negotiate such problems. Karen replied that teachers did not attempt to mediate these problems unless they were severe enough that they would need to reassign group membership.

Caleb also mentioned a history class for which he had had to do a group project. In his case it was a poster of life in the 1920s and 1930s. He had not had too many group projects in his high school career, however.

Unlike Rose and Caleb, Jacob reported that in almost every class he had been asked at some point to work with a partner, though not in larger groups. He reported that he had made many friends in this way. He did wish, however, that teachers would assign people to work in more diverse groups, rather than two-person partnerships.

Observations of In-Class Student Group Work

During my visits to GHS, I witnessed several student group projects. Dupree assigned one or two per semester, and Ms. Stiller had students working together on journalism reports. In addition, Vanessa's theater class provided an ongoing example of group work. In preparing for and performing a play, there were many group tasks. For example, students had to learn not only how to recite lines together, but to sing together along with members of a band class, how to coordinate the various entrances and exits of the players, put on each others' and their own makeup, clean up the dressing rooms throughout the production, and so on.

On the other hand, I did not witness any opportunities for group work in the two English classes, one science class, one art class, one greenhouse management class, three math classes, one social science class, or the two computer-related classes I visited.

It is possible that the days I visited were unusual, though students did not report them to be so. If they were typical and teachers and student reports of it were accurate, the amount of group work performed by students was limited to one or two projects per semester in most classes and partnered work in business and science classes. None of it would occur in math classes, and some classes, such as theater, would consist almost entirely of group work.

As mentioned in a previous chapter, two of the students I shadowed belonged to no clubs, and the others had no meetings during the time I shadowed students. Furthermore, the four students I shadowed who were club members were no more than minimally involved in them, Therefore, I did not get to witness the group activities that occurred in clubs.

Summary of In-Class Student Group Work

Students were assigned to group projects on an occasional basis in most classes. It did not happen in every class, and such work was neither encouraged nor discouraged by the administration. Club members came together to do projects they presented at competitions, and involved members were reported to learn much about how to lead, influence, and participate in groups in these venues.

Teachers on Community Group Ties

There was another school arena in which students could have gained experience with working in groups, and that was in community-based schoolwork, such as volunteering for credit, class-based projects that involved the community, and community-level service-learning. Community based-work within Greenhurst might serve to build what Putnam (2000) calls bonding social capital, which, as outlined in Chapter II, is the acquisition of informal norms that promote cooperation between the members of relatively homogenous groups. It is formed when such people work together toward common goals, form church groups, neighborhood watch groups, and the like.

Therefore, to see if GHS encouraged work in community related contexts, including with community groups, I posed the following question in my interviews with teachers and administrators: How does the school encourage students and teachers to get involved with the community (or Greenhurst)? The answers I received to this question led me to believe that there were very strong ties between the immediate community and the school, but that students did not work with community groups very frequently. The types of answers I received to this question are reported below.

In response to the school/community involvement question, Mr. Williams stated that many of the parents and community members he encountered chose to move to Greenhurst because of the school system. Thus these constituents were predisposed to support the school in fundraising activities that involved the community. For example, parents financially supported (through fundraising or direct giving) the needs of the sports teams. Ms. Miller noted this as well, as evidenced in the following statement:

...as far as sports are concerned, there is a great deal of involvement and activity here. Because, you look at our field house, and the support we got from the parents. I mean, just about anything you want [support for], you can get it. The parents see a need, and they are there. And you can reach out and ask for [help].

In a similar vein, Ms. Edwards noted that because GHS was in the middle of a small community and bore the community's name, local business people wanted to help the school financially. Given this community buy-in to the school system, it was interesting that the school had no parent-teacher-student-association. Parents were willing to give financially to the school but did not insist on their own or their children's involvement in its governance.

A second type of response received to the question about how the school encouraged students and teachers to get involved with the community was that the school opened its doors to the community. It allowed various groups, such as church-groups, fundraising groups, and community groups to use the facilities. Karate and gymnastics tournaments were held in the gym, for example. Coach Hull was not fond of the fact that Mr. Checker let the community use the sports facilities, but he did note it was one way the community connected with the school.

A third answer to the community question was that charitable organizations often teamed up with GHS to do fundraising. For example, each year at GHS there was an

event called “Relay for Life,” which was an overnight relay-walking event for community cancer survivors, their families, and the community. The event raised money to help the American Cancer Society and there was, according to Dr. Reeves and Ms. Gold, quite high student participation levels in this event. Students and other volunteers requested donations from friends and family for their walking in the event.

The fourth answer to the question—and the one most germane to student experience—was that GHS student clubs were quite active in the community. According to Coach Hull, clubs had recently sponsored such activities as a roadside clean-up drive, a can collection for a community center associated with a local Presbyterian church, and the painting of playground equipment at a local park. Ms. Malton, who was heavily involved with the FBLA, mentioned several projects that this club had undertaken, such as soliciting funds in front of a local grocery store for food for animals and raising money for a local group that provides Christmas dinners to those with no friends or family in the area.

As noted in an earlier section, in his role as a sponsor for VICA (Vocational Industrial Clubs of America) Mr. Brown took students to nursing homes after raising money to provide such things as presents for the residents. He also encouraged students to do projects with an organization similar to Habitat for Humanity. He noted that such experiences could be life-changing for the students. According to Brown, most students had never “smelled a nursing home” or seen anything like the conditions that some people needing help from a Habitat-type group lived in.

Many students belonged to a number of clubs, many belonged to none, and many were only nominally involved in clubs. Coach Hull said that you “see the same faces over

and over again [performing the club-related activities].” This was, he said, especially true of honors students.

However, Ms. Stiller mentioned that many of the students she taught who performed service for the honors club were “getting their hours done. [She did not] think that they really got involved so much.” She noted that she “heard students obsess about” how many hours they had to devote to service in order to remain in the Honors Society and noted that from most students she “rarely heard a positive... ‘I really enjoyed,’ or ‘I really made a difference here’ type of comment.”

Since students taking certain classes were strongly encouraged (or hounded, according to Rose) to join certain clubs, however, it might be supposed that the teacher-sponsors attempted to connect the coursework and the community based work. However, such connections were not mentioned in the teacher interviews or the student interviews and were not discussed in the class sessions I attended.

Only Ms. Edwards brought up an example in which classroom work was connected to the community. This was that students enrolled in vocational child care courses worked at a local daycare center.

Students on Community Group Ties

Students concurred with the teachers that the clubs were the most important way in which students were encouraged to interact with community groups. In fact, students’ only responses to this question focused on the clubs, the service required for Honors Society, and/or the service required for senior projects.

None of the four student participants who were enrolled in senior project hours worked with community groups for their senior projects. All were helping teachers when

the teachers had need of it. As noted in Chapter IV, of the 12 days I shadowed the four students in question, only one student, Vanessa, performed any work for the project. She was working with the theater teacher, and as there was a play about to open, Vanessa and I stayed during one senior project period to help with stage props and costumes.

Mike and Rose confirmed that as Ms. Stiller noted, there were many service hours required for membership in the Honors Society and the Beta Club. Rose reported that the types of work required for these groups were not linked with community groups.

I: Now, does the school do anything to encourage you to get involved with the community? You're obviously very involved in your church...

Rose: Well, I mean, like Beta Club and Honors Society. In order to stay in 'em for consecutive years you have to turn in a certain number of service hours.

I: Um hum. Are you in those?

Rose: Um, not anymore, 'cuz I didn't turn in my service hours. I did, but they were late, so...

I: What did you do for service?

Rose: This year I kept my friend's dog for a week. I cleaned somebody's house. You know, stuff like that.

I: And what do most students do?

Rose: Mostly, you know, its stuff like that.

I: Um hum.

Rose: Community service, maybe picking up in a park.

I: You're in VICA, right?

Rose: Um hum.

I: Have you held any leadership roles in that?

Rose: Uh, not in VICA, but I'm the reporter for FBLA.

I: Okay. So...what do you do in that?

Rose: A newsletter.

I: Um hum.

Rose: Stuff like that.

I: So has that been a good experience?

Rose: Oh, yes. We've never actually gotten around to making a newsletter.

Like Rose, Mike had left one of the clubs because he had not turned in his log of service hours, even though he said that he could have gotten his father or grandmother to sign the forms stating he had performed a service. Karen noted that one way students could perform service hours for the Honors Society and the Beta club was to listen to the

daily announcements the administration made, which often included opportunities for students to complete service hours. There were no reports of the administration attempting to integrate these activities with the curriculum.

In sum, teachers and administrators reported that GHS and the community of Greenhurst had close ties in that community members were supportive of the school financially, could use the facilities, and often chose to live in Greenhurst because the school system was rated highly. Clubs were the arena which students could utilize to form connections to community groups.

The service work students reported performing was tied to clubs or the honors program. Students chose their own forms of service for some of the clubs, such as the Beta Club and the Honors Society. In other clubs, students raised money for various causes, and in some cases, club members got the chance to interface with community or other groups. Neither teachers nor students mentioned how this service was connected to the curriculum. Nor did they mention how it was tied to actually working within community groups, though several clubs raised money for them.

Student Self-Government

In addition to group and community work, there are other arenas in which students might learn skills needed to participate in self-government. As Patrick (2003) notes, there is research showing that participating democratically in school management and the acquisition of civic skills are positively related. Therefore, I sought to determine how students were involved in decision making at GHS.

Teachers and Administrators on Student Self-Government at the Personal Level

When I asked teachers and administrators about student decision making at the school, the two counselors and one teacher mentioned personal-level decisions before tackling school-level decisions. For example, Dr. Reeves related the following information about students' personal choice:

They have a lot of personal choices, you know about like they can decide when they can take a class. That's really unusual. I've never been at a school before that the student can say okay "I want this first period, and I want this second period" you know, and its really a huge scheduling thing to do that, but Mr. Checker let's them do that.

According to Ms. Gold, students' eighth grade teachers in math, English and science recommend where the student should be placed in their freshmen year. After that, however, students were allowed choose the classes in which they wanted to enroll, as long as they filled all requirements.

When I asked Mr. Williams if students decided their first year whether to be on the college, technical or mixed track, he said "yes." However, students were allowed to change tracks at any time. The example he cited was of students who "could not make it" through Algebra II, which was required on the college track. If that were the case he would sit down with the student and find four technical electives so the student could graduate.

Teachers and Administrators on Student Self-Government at the School Level

Only one of the teachers I asked about students' involvement in school-level decisions stated that students contributed to school-level decision making. Mr. Brown stated that a recent survey had turned up the fact that students wished to be more involved in school governance, but he also said that students were already involved. He stated that,

for example, Youth Alive and Free (a student club devoted to peer counseling about drug and alcohol use) had an impact on how the school educated students about drugs and alcohol. Students also helped make preparations for the graduation ceremony and wrote the school newspaper.

Other teachers, such as Ms. Stiller, could not think of any examples in which the students were asked to help make school-wide decisions. She thought that they should be consulted more often. For example, the school was ending early graduation as of the following year. About this, Stiller stated the following:

And so Mr. Checker had to come up with extra classes for them to take. Now, he may have asked individual seniors, or juniors, you know, what classes they would be interested in taking. He actually put notes in [teachers'] boxes and asked all of us. That's certainly something I think that the student body should be polled about. You know, what kind of classes could we add to the curriculum to make it a bit more meaningful, more interesting.

Unlike Ms. Stiller, Ms. Malton was not sure if students ever participated in decisions that affected them. She thought—but was not sure that—students as well as parents and community members had been polled several years earlier when the county's high schools had moved from 50 minute periods to 90 minute blocks. Other than that, she said the following:

I know that the student government, the student council, is supposed to be involved, but I really don't know how that works, or where the administration gets input into what's going on...I get the impression that the administration is pretty uh, pretty rigid. I mean, things basically work the same way that they have for years, and there's not a lot of flexibility.

Dr. Reeves mentioned also mentioned the student council's role in graduation in her interview. Following that, I asked her about the decision to change to block schedules or other big decisions. Her answer follows:

I know I've worked on the prom committee [with student council members]. That's really the only school-wide thing I can think of...besides graduation...But school prom is very, you know, the kids decide how they want that to be. You know, the officers. So a lot of those kinds of social activities, and so forth, and I know all the clubs are very student-driven. As far as major decisions, what do you mean, like course offerings or...?

I: Yeah, course offerings or they need to change something about...for instance, this obviously predates you, but like when they needed to change to blocks or you know...I mean big...

Reeves (interrupting): I think they did a lot of surveying on that in the community. I don't know about from the students. On our committee, the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools Committee, we have a student committee that we get ideas and input from on the report. But that's more ...of an evaluating thing.

What Reeves was referring to about graduation was the fact that the student council decided which companies got awarded the contracts for student rings and other graduation-related purchases.

Stiller, however, thought that the student council did not make important decisions at the school, as she related in the following statement:

I had the student body president in my class...last year. And then I've had other members of Student Council, and I ask this question and other people have asked them this question "do you really make a difference in the school," and the answer they give is "absolutely not." It's a social organization, and they have, there are certain things, class officer elections, football games stuff, and all this kind of stuff, prom, I don't know, that you have to do. None of it really makes a difference, in terms of changing the school. That's what they say to me.

In response to the student decision-making question, Ms. Flanders responded that she knew of no school-level decisions that students or teachers made. When I asked her if she thought that students (or teachers) should ever be included in decision-making, she said the following:

I was gonna say Lord help us if we had to let them help with the dress code, for instance, everything would go. Um, I'm used to the "old school". I just believe that sometimes the more you get involved, the more people you get involved, you're gonna have some the dissention. They're not going to agree. So sometimes

it's best to let just the people who are the wisest make the decisions, and we do what we're told.

Ms. Edwards responded that there was no student involvement in decision-making, but she did not comment on whether this was a good or bad thing. She told me that there had been an in-service presentation that fall during which a teacher from another school presented on how their school system involved students in decision-making. She said that "things were so good" at GHS that there was no reason to implement such strategies. She felt that such innovations were derived in schools that had problems, but at GHS there was no violence in the school, the test scores were good, and everything was "running good, and smoothly, and nicely." She reported that everyone was happy with the school, and "when people are complacent, you know, you're not going see any major reforms and change."

In sum, most teachers did not feel that students made any important decisions at the school level. At least one of them felt this was the way it should be. Others, such as Ms. Stiller, would have liked to see more student involvement.

Teachers and Administrators on Discipline

Though questions about discipline were not included in my official interview questions, I did ask two teachers and one counselor about the nature of it. At the time of the interviews, I was hoping to get a sense of whether these participants thought students were treated fairly. However, student involvement in school discipline would also have been one arena for student participation in self-government. In addition, I knew there was an alternative school in Close County, and that students who had discipline problems were sent there, so I was curious as to whether the student body was involved in those decisions.

Neither the two teachers nor the guidance counselor had any idea how discipline was meted out at GHS. Ms. Gold simply stated that the vice principal “took care of discipline,” and that there was a Student Resource Officer at the school.

One of the teachers, Ms. Edwards, also did not know how large discipline problems were handled at the school. However, she had had a student in her class who would not pick up some papers he had dropped on the floor and had stated that they were someone else’s responsibility. One of the administrators came to her classroom the next day and asked if this student had been troublesome in her class, as there had been reports of issues with other teachers. The student’s guardians (his grandparents) were called, there was a school conference which this teacher was not involved in, and then the problem disappeared.

Ms. Malton affirmed that students were sometimes sent to the alternative school, but was unclear as to how such a process took place. She knew the students had to have a long history of behavioral problems. She also noted that “if something were going on, [teachers would] be the last to know.” She was referring to the fact that occasionally students received in-school suspensions, and that when this happened they simply would not be in class.

In sum, though there were few discipline problems at GHS, the processes administrators used to handle those that occurred were unknown to the teachers and the counselor I questioned about them. Students could receive in-school suspensions and be forced to attend the alternative school, but the process by which such decisions were made was not clear.

Students on Student Self-Government and Discipline at School Level

I did not ask students whether students had personal-level decisions they could make at the school. Rather, I asked about school-level decisions made by the student council and school-level decisions made by students (in general). Most students' answers were in line with teachers' answers, as the following sections make clear.

Students on student council decisions. Students' descriptions of responsibilities the student council held echoed those of the teachers. Rose noted that the student council had the responsibilities of choosing the nights on which proms and dances would be held, when the two talent shows would be held, and who would be chosen to participate in the latter. Karen recited the same list but added that she thought the student council was responsible for seeing that the yearbook was published.

Mike felt the student council was useful only in that participating students could indicate their membership on college applications. He reported voting for student council members, but he did not really know who they were. Mike voiced his opinion of the student council in the following manner:

[Regardless of student council choices] they're still going to pick what the teachers and the staff want...What topics are you going to debate on or have issues on...because you can't really change anything. What are you going to get, new Coke machines with better choices? You know? And so that's why it doesn't matter to me that it's a popularity contest. You're not going to get anything done so it doesn't bother me in the least that it's a popularity contest.

When I asked Jacob whether he thought that the school ever included the student council in important decision making processes, he replied they did not "unless you consider prom king and queen important." For a different question (about service projects) he reported that he thought of the student council as a club. It was no different

to him that any other group of students who shared common interests and participated in group projects.

In sum, most students did not feel that the student council made any important decisions at the school level. While proms, other dances, and the yearbook were enjoyed by students, they were not seen as having serious impacts on their everyday school-lives. However, none of the students I interviewed indicated that the student council should, in fact, make decisions other than those they did.

Student body input on school-level decisions. Since students did not report the student council as a venue in which students might impact school-level decisions, I asked students if there were other arenas in which students were consulted about important matters. All students answered this question with a resounding “no.” For example, Karen and I engaged in the following exchange:

I: Does the school ever involve students in any important decisions?

Karen: Like what?

I: Could be anything, from...a curricular change—

Karen: Oh no. No no no.

I: Or the school year needs to be tweaked, or—

Karen: Uh uh. Nope.

I: Cafeteria food, I mean anything?

Karen: Nope. Noooo, nothin’!...Everything is a surprise to us. Well, I say a surprise. Usually a teacher will leak the information, and the student body will run rampant with it, but they don’t actually consult us for anything.

Similarly, Jacob stated that important decisions “were given” to the students.

Caleb, in his typically understated fashion, simply answered “no” to the question. Jacob and Karen both felt that the student body should be consulted, especially about curricular matters.

Mike and Rose agreed that students had no impact on school decisions, but they did not feel this lack of power was negative. Mike said that there was no way the

administration “could ever get a consensus [on any important issue] from the student population,” unless it served the “student body self-interest, like getting out of school early or something like that.” Rose, for her part, was happy with the way the school was run and saw no need to change it.

Students on personal-level decisions. Though I did not specifically ask about classroom-level decisions students were allowed to make, Vanessa mentioned that school plays were chosen by the teachers, and Jacob said that classroom-level choice was limited to which partners you chose to work with.

All students stated that students themselves chose whether or not to enroll in honors classes. However, in Rose’s case her guidance counselor “strongly suggested them.” On this topic, Caleb stated that “the guidance counselors might tell you not to [take an honors class] by looking at your old grades, but, I mean, if you want to take one, you could.” He mentioned a friend who had done poorly in standard Spanish but went on to do well in an honors section of it.

Students on school discipline. The students I interviewed did not have histories of disciplinary problems. Nonetheless, I asked them what they knew of how discipline was meted out at GHS. As was the case for the teachers, I was trying to determine whether they thought all students were treated equally, but in hindsight, if students had mentioned student involvement in disciplinary hearings or honors councils, it would have been evidence of student self-government. However, students could not answer whether discipline was fair or not. They had no specific knowledge of disciplinary processes. The students did note that no students were involved in honors councils, disciplinary committees or similar positions at GHS.

Rose, Caleb, Karen, and Jacob knew that people were sent to the alternative school, but none knew how the decisions that sent them there were made. Caleb and Jacob both noted that the punishment for missing classes without an excuse ranged from detention to in-school suspension. Talking back to teachers at most garnered a visit with someone in the administration. Violating the school dress code meant they were sent home to change. In sum, the students were aware of the rules for minor school infractions, but were not involved in or aware of the rules regarding larger disciplinary actions.

Observations and Summary of Student Self-Government

Though there may have been student council members in one or more of Mr. Dupree's courses, no mention of their role came up in class discussions while I was there. This was true even though I heard many discussions of the prom and the graduation ceremonies that the student council organized. In addition, I did not witness or otherwise hear of students being asked for input on any school-wide initiatives or changes at GHS, even though it was phasing out senior projects and eliminating early graduation as of the following year. Teachers and students had varying ideas of whether greater student input would have a positive or negative effect on the school.

Classroom-level student input was present, but it was about personal, not group, decisions. For instance, students could decide which books to report on in English classes, the nature of the final projects in e-commerce, sculptural forms in art classes, and the like. In a few classes, such as Ms. Stiller's, students had great latitude in the forms some of their work took.

In addition, since 35% of a student's courses were electives, and electives were available in many areas, students had great control over their coursework. They also had control over whether or not they took honors courses. However, according to the school catalog, such choice was officially subject to school control. In addition, one student reported that counselors would discourage students from taking honors courses if they felt the student did not have the ability to do well in them based on past performance. Students also had control over whether they joined clubs (except in classes for which they were automatically enrolled for club membership) and whether they participated in them once joining.

Extracurricular Activates

The Carnegie group of thinkers noted in their 2003 report that participating in extracurricular activities in high school is linked to civic engagement in adulthood. They note that certain types of extracurricular activities offer the most benefit, such as involvement in student government and journalism. Other clubs, such as vocational clubs, show no such association with future civic engagement, while participation in sports teams has a negative relationship with future civic-mindedness (Carnegie Corporation, 2003, p. 27). They also note that many schools offer fewer extracurricular activities than in the past. This was not the case at GHS, which offered a very large number of activities to its students. These have been discussed thought this report and the topic shall not be expanded upon here.

Summary of GHS Practices for Civic Skills

Critical thinking is thought to be key to self-government, and though Greenhurst High School listed critical thinking as part of its mission, it had no programmatic emphasis on it. Most teachers were able to point to practices meant to promote critical thinking, but student participants' reported that they had been enrolled in few courses that encouraged it. Outside of a few classes, the practices teachers reported using to prompt critical thinking were not observed in the research period.

Teacher's classroom practices allowed for occasional group work. Almost no work was done with community groups outside of fundraising activities. However, students who wanted more group experience could obtain it in many clubs. Other practices that would allow students to learn how to govern themselves, such as participating in the school's governance and/or its disciplinary system, outside of clubs, were not reported to be present at GHS.

The following chapter shall discuss how the practices discussed in this chapter and in Chapter V fit with the revised theoretical framework presented in Chapter IV. It then offers recommendations for practice and for future research.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION AND DIRECTIONS FOR THE FUTURE

This study began by posing questions about the practices in which teachers and administrators engaged to socialize students in democratic citizenship at one mostly white middle to upper-middle class school. The picture that emerged from this study was of a school in which students were, as a side consequence of decisions about other matters (choice and neutrality), being trained in a manner more in line with representative democratic theory than with representative theory (Farnen, 1996; Dekker, 1996), though the fit was not perfect.

The following section briefly summarizes practices that teachers, administrators and/or students reported were aimed at developing the various competencies for citizenship and explores whether they are consonant with one or the other poles of the revised theoretical construct. The following section contains recommendations for practice, and the final section contains recommendations for future research.

Discussions of practices likely to impact the formation of civic dispositions and skills were discussed in separate sections of this work for conceptual clarity. Such separation is not reflective of how such educational practices may actually impact students, however. For example, extensive experience in discussion and debate might simultaneously hone critical thinking skills, sharpen listening skills, and induce increased tolerance and respect for difference. It is for this reason that the following section examines the practices more holistically than do Chapters V and VI.

Discussion of Practices

Classroom Instruction in Social Studies

The *Civic Mission of Schools* document (Carnegie Corporation, 2003) notes that the number of courses students are required to take related to government and civics has declined since the 1960s from three to one—the precise number that GHS requires. It goes on to note that, according to the 1998 NAEP Civics Assessment, approximately one-third of high school seniors lack a basic understanding of how the government in the U.S. works. Intense classroom instruction in social studies has been shown to increase this type of civic knowledge, as well as civic participation. Although GHS did have more social studies and history courses available than were required, as noted in Chapter IV, only three were required. There was also a relatively small number of required courses in the liberal arts and sciences at GHS.

These facts, combined with Mr. Checker’s assertion that the school fit with the “shopping mall” metaphor, and a lack of attention to civic education in the catalog or in the mission statement of the school, make it evident that the school was designed more with choice and the production of human capital in mind than the production of citizens. Though this focus aligns with a representative view of democracy and citizenship as outlined in Chapter II, it is important to note that outside of the one requirement for U.S. Government or Business Law, there was not *any* school-wide emphasis on the knowledge necessary for functioning in democracy. Rather, how and whether students gained the knowledge necessary to function as citizens in a democracy depended in large part on student and parental choice of courses and extracurricular activities (i.e., clubs).

Encouragement to Think Critically

As noted in Chapter II, critical thinking is, at base, rational reflective thinking focused primarily on deciding what to do and believe. Its connections to thinking about problems that arise in civic life are straightforward, and so scholars such as Gutmann (1999) and Barber (1998) advocate strongly that critical thinking be infused in all areas of schools' curricula. Practices aimed to increasing critical thinking skills were discussed in Chapter VI, which dealt with civic skills. However, many approaches for prompting critical thinking, especially discussion of current events, impact knowledge acquisition and civic attitudes as well (Carnegie Corporation 2003).

Perhaps most importantly, as an institution GHS did not place much emphasis on the development of critical thinking either in the specific context of democracy or within any other content areas. As mentioned earlier, the number of required social studies courses was very limited. These courses would offer an obvious entrée to introducing students to critical thinking about civic duty. However, it is often hoped students will learn critical thinking and the knowledge necessary to function in a democracy from their liberal arts and science courses (Barber, 1993; Facione, 1990). GHS required that only 17 of the 26 credits required for graduation be in English, foreign languages, sciences, social sciences, mathematics, and the arts. Thus, unless the development of critical thinking skills was emphasized in all required courses, the opportunity to gain these skills would necessarily be a by-product of other choices regarding academic emphases and/or extracurricular activities.

Although teachers reported a myriad of means by which they promoted critical thinking, students did not report being engaged in critical thinking-based activities

frequently. Furthermore, some of the examples teachers and students gave of practices used to prompt critical thinking seemed unlikely to engender it. For instance, Jacob reported that one of his teachers discussed his experiences in the trenches in Vietnam. Though this information was potentially very useful to 17 and 18 year olds in a country on the eve of war, it was not reported to be discussed in a manner likely to prompt students to think critically. Mr. Koppel was not asking students to analyze why the war might have been starting, the differing viewpoints on the number of troops necessary, or similar topics. No reflection, judgment, discussion, or integration with course materials was required.

Furthermore, students averred that judging the credibility of data was not covered in science and/or math courses. Science is not controversy-free, as Mike argued it was, and discussions of such controversies as well as hypothesis generation and testing would have had the potential to provide students with valuable lessons in critical thinking (Dewey, 1916/1966).

In short, although critical thinking was part of the school's mission statement, it was not vigorously promoted by the administration, and teachers did not report sharing strategies to promote it. Though some teachers were clearly engaged in helping students to think critically, GHS, with its focus on choice and its desire to be apolitical, was geared toward teaching value-neutral knowledge of the basics and satisfying consumers of education (students and their parents).

This lack of a school-wide focus on critical thinking skills is not in line with either a participatory or a representative view of democratic citizenship. Participatory theorists call for students to graduate from secondary school with strong critical thinking

skills so that these future citizens may participate in self-government. However, representative theorists hold that this skill-set is necessary to choose leaders to protect individual and state interests, and equally importantly, to create adequate human capital for the labor force (Sehr, 1997). Nonetheless, since how and whether critical thinking skills are taught to students is left to individual teachers at GHS, students have freedom to choose among teachers that vary greatly in the amount of critical thinking they require of them. Such a situation is likely to result in future citizens who cannot make good choices either as full participants in a democracy or in choosing their elected representatives. This, in turn, is more likely to result in a quasi-representative rather than participatory form of government because governmental decisions will necessarily be made by elected officials who are not forced to fully articulate their policies for the public. However, the representative view would call for a much more active focus on choosing good leaders.

Community Ties

Practices to promote involvement with community groups through service-learning, community service, and other curriculum-linked means of connecting to the community were discussed in Chapter VI. Service-learning is the most studied of these means, and when conducted well, it has been shown to increase civic knowledge, dispositions, and skills (Carnegie Corporation, 2003; Billig, Root, & Jesse, 2005).

Intuitively, it seems likely that any contact with the community linked to the curriculum and classroom instruction may produce these effects. While GHS teachers and administrators reported high community buy-in to support GHS financially, the only contacts reported to occur between community members and the students were in the context of student clubs. Much of the service that members of student clubs performed

was fund-raising for community or other interest groups. There was no evidence that club-work was tied to the curriculum in order to promote civic outcomes. Thus, it would appear that students at GHS were given only community service opportunities and not the service-learning experiences that might promote future community involvement. This is not surprising given the Carnegie group's contention that fewer than half of schools offer service-learning, as opposed to the 83% that offer community service. Although not the reason behind the decision to limit community engagement to extracurricular activities, the heavy emphasis on student choice of whether or not to engage with the community seems likely to produce a student satisfied with non-participation at the community level. Students choosing not to engage with the community in a manner tied to the curriculum would not be given the same chance to create bonding social capital with their communities or be given the same opportunity to learn to work in groups as other students.

Dealing with Difference

Practices to promote skills for dealing with difference in order to foster dispositional development via extra-community ties were reported to occur very rarely. Extra-community ties promote bridging social capital which, in turn, is important to social cohesion (Heyneman, 2003). It cultivates the willingness to be respectful towards diverse others. Fostering such bridging social capital via work with those outside the community was seen as outside the purview of the school, except for the fact that students could meet individuals unlike themselves at sporting events and in club competitions. Although the interviewed teachers presented examples of worthwhile educational opportunities for students involved in club competitions, it is unlikely that

these infrequent outings promoted long-term bonds with individuals unlike the students. Frequent interactions with acquaintances made during these outings would have been difficult to maintain due to issues of distance.

Practices for dealing with difference in classroom contexts were reported to be rare as well. This may be due, in part, to the racial, ethnic, and religious homogeneity of both the student and faculty bodies at GHS. In the presence of such homogeneity, an active focus on issues of race and other forms of difference would have been required to meet the standards of participatory theorists. Formal equality, which representative theorists hold is necessary to society (Farnen, 1996; Dekker, 1996) appeared to be met at GHS in that there were no reports of discrimination against the few students from minority ethnic/racial or religious groups.

Manners for Citizenship

Manners of basic respect and courtesy were reported to be enforced and encouraged at GHS. Students at GHS were, in fact, remarkably respectful in the classroom, and student fights were rare. Though general civility and respect are necessary for good citizenship, they are not sufficient to it, at least according to Carter (1998).

No teacher mentioned engaging in activities meant to engender some of the more active elements of civility mentioned by Carter (1998), such as sacrifice for others, doing good (instead of simply refraining from harming), criticizing others (respectfully) when necessary, and resisting wrong. Discussion and debate, which are key to the deliberative democracy that Gutmann (1990, 1999) advocates and in which a few of these more active elements of civility might be practiced, were in short supply in GHS classrooms. Students consistently mentioned two teachers other than Mr. Dupree with whom such discussions

and debates happen with some frequency. Of course, Carter himself does not consider instruction in such manners the job of the school. However, whether or not the school felt it was part of their mandate to teach such things, school practices might serve to reinforce these teachings.

Whether teachers' practices were in line with students learning manners necessary to citizenship in general depends on how citizenship is defined. Manners such as those advocated by Gutmann, Barber, Elshaint, and Carter tend toward the participatory pole of democratic theory. Students were not being prepared by the school to exhibit such manners.

Engagement with Social and Political Causes

As Putnam (2000) notes, voting, political knowledge, political trust, and grassroots political activism all have declined recently. The question posed to teachers about how they might help reverse these trends by encouraging engagement with political and/or social causes elicited responses that such practices were neither encouraged nor discouraged at GHS. A few teachers felt that engaging in practices to promote such engagement was beyond the purview of schools.

However, as the *Civic Mission of Schools* notes, such encouragement need not be done in such a way as to direct students to the sociopolitical left or right (Carnegie Corporation, 2003). For example, the school might have encouraged students to volunteer for the political party of their choice near election time. Teachers and administrators might also have taken up relatively noncontroversial topics, such as childhood vaccinations, spaying and neutering pets, or urged students to attend school board meetings and city council meetings to learn what happens in them. They might also have

brought local candidates for the city council or the state senate to debate at the school, had speakers from different political parties debate issues, and so on. Teachers at GHS cited a fear of creating controversy as one reason they avoided tackling controversial topics in class, which substantiates claims made in the *Civic Mission of Schools*.

Furthermore, the student handbook stated the school was an “educational institution, and not a vehicle for social or political change.” While this statement referred to activities such as sit-ins and strikes being disallowed, it implies that learning is value-neutral, as some representative theorists would argue (Farnen, 1996; Dekker, 1996).

Student Voice in and Practice of Self-Government

Neither teachers, nor administrators, nor students reported that students as a whole or the student council had any say in how the school was run. That fact was appreciated by some teachers and students, and bemoaned by others. In addition, there were no reports of any means by which all students could practice activities necessary for citizenship except for a limited number of group activities each semester. Certainly students gained practice in club activities such as Model U.N. and vocational clubs that used parliamentary procedures. However, there was no student representation on disciplinary committees, and neither students nor teachers were aware of how discipline was meted out for infractions more serious than missing classes or dress code violations.

Choice in club-work and class-work could be expected to help students make personal and career choices. It could also help students learn to govern themselves as a group, but none of the students I interviewed were well versed in how club elections or government took place other than that such government was “informal.” Those who

chose to work in clubs received lessons in self-government via voting for officers within them and self-organizing. Others did not.

The research is fairly clear that student voice in self-government helps build civic skills and attitudes (Carnegie Corporation, 2003). However, it is participatory theorists who would hold that the majority of students, and not a subgroup of students explicitly preparing for lives in public service, need to possess these skills for democracies to function. Indeed, viewed through the representative theoretical lens, when citizens have taken the trouble to choose the elites best suited to the responsibilities of government, the complexity of sociopolitical issues means that the system is most stable when elite rule is in place.

The Full Picture

School practices likely to impact students' acquisition of civic skills and dispositions drifted toward the representative pole of the theoretical framework presented in Chapter IV. That is to say, students were socialized for a representative form of democratic government more than they were for a participatory form. This socialization may have been unintentional in some cases. For instance, the school did not promote the idea that dealing with different types of people was bad. However, foregoing direct and persistent engagement with groups and individuals from different walks of life leads to a lack of knowledge of how to do so, especially in a school characterized by racial, ethnic, and religious homogeneity.

Similarly, a desire on the school's part to discourage controversy and to appear neutral in matters political meant that teachers did not encourage students to engage in

social and political causes, as participatory theorists hold is necessary. It was not that the school saw such engagement as negative, rather as out of their jurisdiction.

In some cases the representative model seems to have been chosen more deliberately. For instance, the lack of student (and teacher) input for large decisions alongside the token decisions for which the student council had responsibility indicate that the administration felt that it was best able to make choices for the student body. Because school scores were high and levels of violence were low, this elite decision making model was so unquestioned at GHS that there wasn't even a PTSA council. However, in order to be more fully aligned with representative theory, the school would have had to ensure that future elites were well-trained to take up the mantle of government. An active student council would have been an ideal place to provide such training.

Schools are young people's first and most enduring encounter with government. When schools emphasize the view that it is a matter of individual choice whether or not to obtain the abilities to think critically, to deliberate, to understand the workings of government, and to work with others different from oneself, they not only abdicate responsibility for those who are educated poorly, they promote the view that some citizens (elites) *should* govern others. Although differences in individual ability certainly exist, according to Barber (1992) and Gutmann (1999) educational institutions might promote the idea that all people need to come together to govern themselves in a democracy.

When schools de-emphasize interdependence and collective actions, they serve to isolate students from the larger polity of which they must become part. This promotes low levels of bridging social capital, social trust, and the abilities to compromise, to

accommodate others, and to respect others. In other words, an emphasis on the individual and on choice, at the expense of interdependence, leads to schools promoting low levels of social cohesion.

In a related manner, this lack of emphasis parallels a lack of civility. It is certainly not the case that the school does not promote courtesy and respect for others, but rather that it focuses on negative manners—not harming, not offending, not speaking out-of-turn, and so on. The positive elements of civility, such as doing good, speaking out when necessary even if difficult, disobeying unjust laws, and the like, are not emphasized.

Thus, it seems likely that the school is helping reproduce some of the more negative features of our society. The lack of engagement in the political realm correlates well with (but is not isomorphic with) the apathy for politics in the young of the United States. The lack of engagement with racial/ethnic and religious difference correlates with that of U.S citizens since, in general, we choose to live in segregated areas. It is unlikely that schools alone could change these negative features of our society, but they might work against their reproduction.

Of course, there are a number of excellent teachers at GHS. Some, like Mr. Dupree, helped students to examine and argue for their beliefs. He asked students to study assertions made in the media, by parents, and by teachers. He asked them to think critically, and to make connections between themselves and seemingly distant others. He did not shy away from morals. Rather he asked students to connect their own moral teachings with the decisions they were making.

Recommendations for Administrators and Teachers

The biggest finding in this research project was that the school did not focus on citizenship education, however conceived, across the curriculum. I expected to find well-articulated though differing views from teachers and counselors of what it meant to be a citizen and how to best educate students for the responsibilities of citizenship. Instead, education for the skills and dispositions necessary for effective citizenship was left to the student clubs. Though it is obvious that I sympathize with the participatory ideals of democracy, as a researcher I would have been quite interested to find that the school cleaved to a representative view, that its ideals were discussed, and that there was general agreement about how to educate students in line with it.

What I hope that educators will do with the research presented in this document is to use it as a springboard for discussion of their own school practices for socialization for democracy. Questions they might ask themselves are much the same as those I posed for this project. Some reformulations of these follow. What do we, as a school body, feel that citizenship entails? Do our teachers engage students in critical thinking? How might we ensure that more of our teachers promote this skill? If we agree that it is important to do so, how do we ensure that our students are learning to deal with those who are different from themselves in and out of the classroom? How are they learning to lead and follow in groups? How are they learning to be dedicated to engagement with political and social causes? Are they engaged in the school's governance?

The above questions boil down to two central questions. These are: what school practices are in place to ensure that graduates from our school have the knowledge, skills, and dispositions for citizenship, and how might these practices be improved on. The

answers to such questions would obviously be different for each school. The answers the schools produce for them might be used to guide future school policy.

Recommendation for Future Research

The representative and participatory models guiding this project are based on normative political theory, not empirical theory. By definition, therefore, little research validating these concepts has been conducted. A first recommendation for future research is to remedy this deficiency by developing qualitative and quantitative measures of these concepts. Such measures would need to be used in many settings. It would be interesting to learn, for instance, whether rural, urban and suburban schools, on average, engaged in practices in line with one or the other theory. Similarly, it would be interesting if, on average, schools educating students from the different social classes enumerated and studied by Anyon (1980, 1981) cleaved to one or the other theory.

A second strand of future research is to correlate schooling aligned with particular theories of democracy with students' likelihood of voting, engagement in civic life, civic dispositions, and volunteer work in adulthood. A related strand of this research would need to measure current student knowledge of how government works, trust in government, and trust that it can be positively affected by groups and individuals. Such work, if conclusive, might prompt attention to this often overlooked area of education.

Conclusion

Socialization of students for democratic citizenship is often reported to be a primary objective of elementary and secondary education. Understanding how schools can and do fulfill this function is one key to understanding the actions of citizens in this

country. Such education helps lay the foundation for our future as a functioning, cohesive, and tolerant society.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW GUIDES

Student Interview One

Preface interview by telling saying how much I need and appreciate their help. Discuss my own ignorance of students and teachers realities, as Spradely recommends, noting how long it has been since I was in high school. Ask them to answer questions as if they were talking to someone who knew nothing about America or Greenhurst at all.

Biographical Data (Meant to get general background information, make student and me are comfortable)

- _ How old are you?
- _ How long have you been a student at Greenhurst High School (GHS)?
- _ Where did you go to school before this?
- _ Are in you mostly in regular or honors classes?
- _ Are you participate in any clubs, sports, or groups? Which ones?
- _ Which track are you in, college prep, technical prep, or the technical and college prep combination?
- _ How did you come to be in that track? (Equality of Opportunity Question)
- _ Is tracking fair? Is it a good idea? (Equality of Opportunity Question)

Community Data

_ If you were meeting someone from a foreign country, how would you describe Greenhurst? What is it like to live here, or what is like to live here as compared to where you lived before? (Meant to get student's description of the community, meant as a check on my assertion that is it white middle class)

Student Social Perceptions Data

- _ Is there such a thing as a typical GHS student?
- _ Are there different groups of students here? Please explain what they are.
- _ Do the groups generally get along, or are there tensions between the groups? Please explain, if yes. (Meant to get at bridging and bonding social capital)
- _ Do students belong to more than one group? (Meant to get at bridging and bonding social capital)
- _ Do some students rebel? If so, how? What are the consequences of this type of rebellion? (Meant to get at perceptions of discipline)

Teacher/Student Relations

_ Is there such a thing as a typical GHS teacher. If yes, please describe this teacher. If no, which types are there?

_ Do you and your friends get along with teachers? Are there some students who do/do not? (Meant to get at teacher/student relationships)

_ Do teachers treat different groups of students equally (college prep students, members of groups student mentions in previous question)? Should they treat everyone the same? (Meant to get at equality and equity, perceptions of fairness).

_ When a student gets in trouble, is he or she treated fairly? Are all students who get in trouble for the same kind of thing treated equally? Can you think of an example? (Meant to get at equality and equity, perceptions of fairness)

School Day

_ Grand Tour Question—Can you pick a typical school day from last semester and tell me everything you did from the moment you arrived until the moment you left? If possible, use a day when you attended your club/group/sport. (probes include not only what happens in class, but what happens at lunch, what happens in the hallways).

_ Can you describe what GHS looks like?

_ In Mr. Dupree's class, sometimes he lectures, sometimes there is class discussion, and sometimes there are student presentations. These are all examples of different lesson types. Can you tell me what other lesson types teachers use here at GHS?

_ Which lesson types are the most common?

_ Do you think the lesson types teachers use are different in the college prep track, the technical track, and the technical-college prep track? Are they different for honors and non-honors courses?

_ Mr. Dupree is always talking about critical thinking and the need for students to learn how to judge for themselves. Which classes have really gotten you thinking for yourself? What were they like? How many of these kind of classes have you taken?

_ Do you discuss current events in your classes, such as the debates about what is happening in the country or in your community?

Student Interview Two

Standard questions

_ Was this a typical school day for you? If not, why not?

Context-Dependent Questions

_ This interview will center on asking students to interpret what happened in classes in terms of citizenship, classroom climate, and student-teacher relationships. Therefore, questions are impossible to lay out in advance but will flow from the nature of the classroom experience.

Citizenship Question

_ Do you think to live as a citizen of this country, you need to have certain manners? What are they?

_ Does the school help teach you these manners? If so, how? Do they enforce them? Do the teachers treat students using these manners?

After seeing what comes out of the open questions above, ask the following, if not addressed in flow of conversation from above.

_ When people are debating a political or religious matter, are there certain manners that are necessary? What are they? Does the school give you a chance to practice these manners? When and how? Please give an example. (Meant to get at rules of civic discourse)

_ Does the school help you learn how to work with other people toward a common goal, be it a class assignment, a larger after-school project, or a sports team? Please give an example. (Meant to get at interpersonal tolerance, patience, consensus building, collective action)

_ Does the school do anything to encourage you to get involved with the community? If so, please give an example. Which communities are involved, Greenhurst, the county, or the city? Are there other projects in which students get a chance to work in this community/other communities? (Meant to get at community involvement, possible bonding and bridging social capital, collective action).

_ How does student council work? Do non-council member students ever work with the student council? (Meant to get at political participation).

_ What other kinds of student leadership positions are there, if any? (Meant to get at political participation and leadership).

_ Does the school ever involve students in any important decisions? Can you think of an example? If the answer is no, what decisions do you think students should be able to help make? (Meant to get at political participation and leadership)

_ Does the school encourage you to get involved in larger social or political causes that you might believe in? For just one example, I saw a story on Fox News about recycling at

Forest HS. Which causes and groups does it support, and how so? (Meant to get at political participation and commitment to large social causes.)

_ As you know, we live in a diverse society. How can school teach you how to get along with people who are not like you? Does GHS do [what volunteer suggested]? Please give an example. (Meant to get at living peacefully in pluralist democratic society)

Teacher Interview Guide

Biographical Data

- _ How long have you taught at Greenhurst High School?
- _ Where did you teach before this?
- _ Where did you go to high school? College?
- _ Do you live in this community?
- _ Do you participate in any extra-curricular activities with the students here?

Community Data

_ If you were meeting someone from a foreign country, how would you describe Greenhurst? What is it like to live and/or teach here, or what is like to teach here as compared to where you taught before? (Meant to get teacher's description of the community, meant as a check on my assertion that is it white middle class)

Student Social Perceptions Data

- _ Is there such a thing as a typical GHS student?
- _ Are there different groups of students here? Please explain what they are.
- _ Do some students rebel? If so, how? What are the consequences of this type of rebellion? (Meant to get at perceptions of discipline)

Teacher/Student Relations

- _ Do teachers get along with students? Are there some teachers who do/do not? (Meant to get at teacher/student relationships)
- _ Do most teachers treat different groups of students the same (college prep students, members of groups teacher mentions in previous question)? Should they treat everyone the same? (Meant to get at equality and equity, perceptions of fairness)

School Day

- _ Can you describe what GHS looks like?
- _ Can you tell me what lesson types or teaching strategies you use most frequently, for instance, lectures?
- _ Which lesson types are the most common at GHS?
- _ Do you think the lesson types teachers use are different in the college prep track, the technical track, and the technical-college prep track? Are they different for honors and non-honors courses?

Citizenship and civic disposition questions

_ What is the main purpose of school? Are there any other important things schools are preparing students for?

_ Do you think to live as a citizen of this country, students need to learn certain manners? What are they?

_ Does the school help teach students these manners? If so, how? Do they enforce them? Do most teachers here treat students using these manners?

After seeing what comes out of the open questions above, ask the following, if not addressed in flow of conversation from above.

_ When people are debating a political or religious matter, are there certain manners that are necessary? What are they? Does the school give students a chance to practice these manners? Does the school do anything else to teach these manners? Please give an example. (Meant to get at rules of civic discourse)

_ How does the school help students learn how to work with other people toward a common goal, be it a class assignment, a larger after-school project, or a sports team? Please give an example. (Meant to get at interpersonal tolerance, patience, consensus building, collective action)

_ Does the school encourage students or teachers to get involved with the community? If so, please give an example. Which communities are involved, Greenhurst, the county, or the city? Are there other projects in which students get a chance to work in this community/other communities? (Meant to get at community involvement, possible bonding and bridging social capital, collective action)

_ Does the school ever involve students in any important decisions? Can you think of an example? If the answer is no, what decisions do you think students should be able to help make? (Meant to get at political participation and leadership)

_ Does the school encourage teachers or students to get involved in larger social or political causes that they might believe in? For just one example, I saw a story on Fox News about recycling at Forest HS. Which causes and groups does it support, and how so? (Meant to get at political participation and commitment to large social causes)

_ As a teacher, I'm sure you are trying to make students think critically and learn how to judge for themselves. How do you do this? How do other teachers do it?

_ Do you ever discuss current events in your classes, such as the debates about what is happening in the country or in your community?

_ What are the ways GHS tries to help students with learning how to get along with people who are not like them? Please give an example. (Meant to get at living peacefully in a diverse democratic society)

Focus Group Guide

Focus groups will be used to check my interpretations of what I have learned in interviews. Therefore, their format will not be prescribed. However, the general flow will be for me to start discussions in the following manner.

Several of you told me that:

_ Students from different tracks (and/or other identified groups) are treated the same/differently at school. Is this true? Can one of you give an example?

_ Here are the manners that students say are important for citizens to have, and here are the ones teachers say are important. If different, why are they different?

_ Here are the ways students get to practice these manners, according to teachers. Do you agree that you practice these manners in this way?

The following themes will be discussed in the manner described above: Equality, political participation, consensus building; tolerance; patience, community involvement, collective action, commitment to large social ideals, living peacefully in pluralist democratic society, rules for civic discourse, and bridging and bonding social capital.

APPENDIX B

QSR NODE DISPLAYS

Teachers

- (1) /Teaching Experience/Schooling
- (1 1) /Teaching Experience/Schooling/Education for Teaching
- (1 1 1) /Teaching Experience/Schooling/Education for Teaching/Citizenship
- (1 1 2) /Teaching Experience/Schooling/Education for Teaching/Experience Race
- (1 2) /Teaching Experience/Schooling/Greenhurst HS Teaching
- (1 3) /Teaching Experience/Schooling/Other Teaching Experience
- (1 3 1) /Teaching Experience/Schooling/Other Teaching Experience/Students

Other

- (2) /Teacher's Residence
- (2 1) /Teacher's Residence/Current Residence
- (2 2) /Teacher's Residence/Past Residence
- (3) /Description of Greenhurst
- (4) /Teachers on Students
- (4 1) /Teachers on Students/Residence Patterns
- (4 2) /Teachers on Students/Student Ed Aspirations
- (4 3) /Teachers on Students/Academic Qualities
- (4 4) /Teachers on Students/Student attributes
- (4 5) /Teachers on Students/Student Groups
- (4 6) /Teachers on Students/Student Teacher Relations

(4 7) /Teachers on Students/Student misbehavior/rebellion

(5) /Teachers on HS

(5 1) /Teachers on HS/Race

(5 2) /Teachers on HS/Class

(5 3) /Teachers on HS/Tracking

(5 3 1) /Teachers on HS/Tracking/school_role

(5 3 2) /Teachers on HS/Tracking/Stud_Par_Role

(5 3 3) /Teachers on HS/Tracking/Diffs

(5 3 4) /Teachers on HS/Tracking/Treatment Student

(5 4) /Teachers on HS/Goodness of school

(5 5) /Teachers on HS/Discipline

(5 6) /Teachers on HS/Facilities vs. other HS

(6) /Teacher On Parents

(6 1) /Teacher On Parents/Parental Involvement

(6 2) /Teacher On Parents/Parent Education

(6 3) /Teacher On Parents/FamilyInfluence_tch

(6 3 1) /Teacher On Parents/FamilyInfluence_tch/race

(7) /Teach On Teach

(7 1) /Teach On Teach/Expectations of Students

(7 2) /Teachers on Teachers/Teacher Characteristics

(7 3) /Teachers on Teachers/Principal

(7 4) /Teachers on Teachers/Treat different students

(8) /Citizenship_teacher

(8 1) /Citizenship_teacher/Manners

(8 1 1) /Citizenship_teacher/Manners/Civility

(8 1 1 1) /Citizenship_teacher/Manners/Civility/PracticeCivil

(8 1 2) /Citizenship_teacher/Manners/Discussions

(8 1 2 1) /Citizenship_teacher/Manners/Discussions/Practice Discuss

(8 1 3) /Citizenship_teacher/Manners/Respect

(8 1 3 1) /Citizenship_teacher/Manners/Respect/Authority

(8 1 3 2) /Citizenship_teacher/Manners/Respect/Country

(8 1 3 3) /Citizenship_teacher/Manners/Respect/RespectPractice

(8 2) /Citizenship_teacher/RaceandDifference

(8 2 1) /Citizenship_teacher/RaceandDifference/Lessons

(8 2 2) /Citizenship_teacher/RaceandDifference/RacePractice

(8 2 3) /Citizenship_teacher/RaceandDifference/Instruction_teachers

(8 2 4) /Citizenship_teacher/RaceandDifference/student_rels

(8 3) /Citizenship_teacher/Community

(8 3 1) /Citizenship_teacher/Community/GHStoG

(8 3 2) /Citizenship_teacher/Community/GHStoGreater

(8 4) /Citizenship_teacher/Civic Education

(8 4 1) /Citizenship_teacher/Civic Education/Coursework

(8 4 2) /Citizenship_teacher/Civic Education/Extracurricular

(8 4 3) /Citizenship_teacher/Civic Education/InClassPractice

(8 5) /Citizenship_teacher/Social Causes

(8 5 1) /Citizenship_teacher/Social Causes/Social Cause Practice

(8 6) /Citizenship_teacher/Extracurricular practice
(8 7) /Citizenship_teacher/School-level Decisions/Participation
(8 8) /Citizenship_teacher/WorkWithOthers
(8 9) /Citizenship_teacher/Administrative Guidance
(8 10) /Citizenship_teacher/CriticalThinking
(8 10 1) /Citizenship_teacher/CriticalThinking/CurrentEventsDisc
(8 10 2) /Citizenship_teacher/CriticalThinking/encouragement
(10) /StudentChoiceLeader
(10 1) /StudentChoiceLeader/School-level student choice
(10 2) /StudentChoiceLeader/Class-level student choice
(10 3) /StudentChoiceLeader/StudentLeaders
(12) /TeachingPhilosophy
(12 1) /TeachingPhilosophy/classroom mgmt
(12 1 1) /TeachingPhilosophy/classroom mgmt/Tree Node
(12 2) /TeachingPhilosophy/respect
(12 3) /TeachingPhilosophy/constructivism
(12 4) /TeachingPhilosophy/ExtraCurrPartic
(12 5) /TeachingPhilosophy/teaching strategies

Students

(1) /Not yet used
(2) /Students' Residence
(2 1) /Students' Residence/Past Residence
(2 2) /Students' Residence/Current Residence

- (3) /Description of Greenhurst
- (4) /Students on Students
 - (4 1) /Students on Students/Academic Qualities
 - (4 2) /Students on Students/Residence Patterns
 - (4 3) /Students on Students/Student attributes
 - (4 4) /Students on Students/Educational Aspirations
 - (4 5) /Students on Students/Student Groups
 - (4 7) /Students on Students/Student rebellion
- (5) /Students on HS
 - (5 1) /Students on HS /Class (Economic)
 - (5 2) /Students on HS/Discipline
 - (5 3) /Students on HS/Goodness of School
 - (5 4) /Students on HS/Race
 - (5 5) /Students on HS/Tracking
 - (5 5 1) /Students on HS/Tracking/Diffs
 - (5 5 2) /Students on HS/Tracking/School-Role
 - (5 5 3) /Students on HS/Tracking/Stud_Par_Role
 - (5 5 4) /Students on HS/Tracking/Treatment_Student
 - (5 5 5) /Students on HS/Tracking/StudentsOwnTrack
 - (5 6) /Students on HS/Grand Tour Q
 - (5 7) /Students on HS/InterestingExpQ
 - (5 8) /Students on HS/Lesson Styles Used
 - (5 9) /Students on HS/Comparisons with other schools

(5 10) /Students on HS/Parental involvement

(6) /Students on Self

(6 1) /Students on Self/General Description

(6 2) /Students on Self/Background

(6 3) /Students on Self/Classes

(6 4) /Students on Self/Extracurricular

(6 5) /Students on Self/Ed aspirations

(7) /Students on Teachers

(7 1) /Students on Teachers/ExpOfStudents

(7 2) /Students on Teachers/TeacherChars

(7 3) /Students on Teachers/Dupree

(7 4) /Students on Teachers/Student-Teacher Rels

(8) /Citizenship_Student

(8 1) /Citizenship_Student/Manners

(8 1 1) /Citizenship_Student/Manners/Civility

(8 1 1 1) /Citizenship_Student/Manners/Civility/PracticeCivil

(8 1 2) /Citizenship_Student/Manners/Discussions

(8 1 2 1) /Citizenship_Student/Manners/Discussions/Practice Discuss

(8 1 3) /Citizenship_Student/Manners/Respect

(8 1 3 1) /Citizenship_Student/Manners/Respect/Authority

(8 1 3 2) /Citizenship_Student/Manners/Respect/Country

(8 1 3 3) /Citizenship_Student/Manners/Respect/Respect Practice

(8 2) /Citizenship_Student/RaceAndDifference

(8 2 1) /Citizenship_Student/RaceAndDifference/Lessons

(8 2 2) /Citizenship_Student/RaceAndDifference/RacePractice

(8 2 4) /Citizenship_Student/RaceAndDifference/Student rels

(8 3) /Citizenship_Student/Community

(8 3 1) /Citizenship_Student/Community/GHStoG

(8 3 2) /Citizenship_Student/Community/GHStoGreater

(8 4) /Citizenship_Student/Civic Education

(8 4 1) /Citizenship_Student/Civic Education/Coursework

(8 4 2) /Citizenship_Student/Civic Education/Extracurricular

(8 4 3) /Citizenship_Student/Civic Education/InClassPractice

(8 5) /Citizenship_Student/Social Causes

(8 5 1) /Citizenship_Student/Social Causes/Social Cause Practice

(8 6) /Citizenship_Student/Extracurricular Practice

(8 7) /Citizenship_Student/School-level Decisions/Participation

(8 8) /Citizenship_Student/WorkWithOthers

(8 9) /Citizenship_Student/Critical Thinking

(8 9 1) /Citizenship_Student/Critical Thinking/ClassDiscussion

(8 9 2) /Citizenship_Student/Critical Thinking/Active Learnng

(8 9 3) /Citizenship_Student/Critical Thinking/WhereLearned

(8 10) /Citizenship_Student/StudentChoiceLeader

(8 10 1) /Citizenship_Student/StudentChoiceLeader/School-level student choice

(8 10 2) /Citizenship_Student/StudentChoiceLeader/Class-level student choice

(8 10 3) /Citizenship_Student/StudentChoiceLeader/StudentLeaders

APPENDIX C

STUDENTS' SCHOOL DAYS

In this appendix I summarize my field notes for one day for each of two students, one of whom was an honors student (Karen), and one of whom was not (Caleb). Because some of Caleb's classes were unusual in that large parts of the class period were spent on a test, going to an art show, or watching a movie, I am combining different class days for Caleb. His second class includes an incident that was the only obvious Hawthorne Effect I noticed. I discuss this incident below the descriptions.

Caleb

Caleb came to school ten minutes early to meet up with his friends in the gym lobby. They spoke quietly among themselves. He then went to his first block class, which was a social science class with Ms. Rodman. This day, however, class had started a little late because of bad weather the previous evening. A few minutes into the class, students and the teacher talked about why they were late, about the bad weather, and other personal topics.

When class began, it did not appear that there was any lesson plan for the day. Students and the teacher discussed Greenhurst's water police and how they are allowed to patrol and check for life preservers. (Many GHS students have boats on the nearby river.) The Today Show and Al Roker were then discussed, and the students and teacher talked about the spring break New York trip during which some students were in line outside the show.

After this discussion one of the students did a report on Italy (each student had a country on which to do a report and for which they had brought representative food for a previous class period I visited). The student said Italy was a parliamentary democracy and that its citizens had basic rights. It was fun to travel there. It was the fashion capital and wines and art were very popular there. The population was 57 million. The official religion was Catholicism, the Pope was in Vatican City, and Italy was a “major place in World War II.” The teacher asked about the importance of the family in Italy and the respect Italians have for families. The teacher told the students that if she did a little more work she would get a better grade.

She then asked if anybody else wanted to do their oral report and said “it doesn’t look too hard,” in reference to the student’s performance in the previous presentation. Ms. Rodman then apologized to the student-presenter, gave her a hug, and said she hoped the student learned something from the culture report. She went on to say that we in this country take our liberties for granted, and we can talk about Bush and Mr. Checker here if we want to, and anybody who wants to can get a good education and go to college.

Ms Rodman then spoke about transportation in the United States and the freedom students in the U.S. have as a teenager. She talked about the drinking age in Italy being younger and said if alcohol was not forbidden fruit in the U.S. “we might not have such a problem.”

She then lectured on the fact that in some countries there were arranged marriages and she asked who the students’ parents would pick for them. She noted that our society used to have arranged marriage, and that women were encouraged to go to college in the past but only to be nurses, secretaries, or teachers. They were then expected to marry and

give up their careers. She asked if the students thought that a woman would ever be president, and asked, “why are women having fewer kids now,” to which she answered “it’s because they cost so much.” She wanted to know what the students had cost their parents just that year.

One girl in the class was married and spoke of how hard it was financially. She then went on to say quite a few things in rapid succession, that God was working in her life because she was sick after running herself into the ground doing two school projects but she got better, that God was working in the other students’ lives whether they knew it or not, that sometimes her parents and in-laws gave them money when they needed it, that no one knows how hard married, independent life is until they are married, that the other students would start appreciating their parents when they were in college.

The teacher then asked why women were sometimes waiting too late to have children, and answered that they sometimes have other things to do now, and that birth control methods are readily available. This was followed by a brief discussion of the fact that Catholics don’t necessarily approve of birth control. A student then asked about gay people (as, I believe, a reason why families have fewer children now than in the past). The teacher responded by saying that that some people make other choices and that the reason that people were gay was not simply to avoid having children. People used to have children to work on the farm and help in businesses, she said.

She went on to talk more about the following topics, without many breaks for questions or answers from the students: people getting married later; women’ biological clocks running out; how students should stop and think about how our society is different and notice how it’s changed from the past; whether students got along with their parents;

whether students thought teachers could be nice all the time; how women have changed over time; how have men changed in their roles as husbands; how there was more divorce now than ever before; how it was much easier to obtain a divorce now than it used to be; how now sometimes men stay home; and how Mr. Moms are more common these days.

The teacher asked what students thought about how roles have changed, and the married girl said that her husband cooks more she does. The teacher ended the class by stating that the “adult years project” was due a week from today and that students needed to figure out what they wanted in a spouse and kids, and that they could say as much as they wanted to in it. She mentioned when the test would be, the fact that they have a lot of projects coming up, that students needed to put forth an effort to make sure they pass the class. She said “Tell me something, where are you going to college, what you’re going to major in, [for the adult years project].” Class ended at 9:35.

Caleb went on to Dupree’s standard American government class. During this class Dupree was handing out progress reports and talking about the cases on which students would be presenting that day. He spoke about the prom and a guy who had written a love poem to his car, and then the case presentations started. It was *Board of Education v. Earls*, about drug testing and extracurricular activities. This case dealt with the Fourth Amendment and whether suspicion of individuals was necessary to perform drug testing. One of the students presenting on the case was female and the other was male. They went back and forth, describing how the urine samples were collected in the case at issue, privacy issues, Clarence Thomas’s statement about needing to stop drug problems before they happen, the *Verona v. Acton*, *Griffin v. Wisconsin*, *New Jersey v. TLO*, and the *Skinner v. Oklahoma* cases, the safety of students, whether there was a compelling

government interest to drug-test students, drug use and abuse, education about drug abuse, schools' custodial responsibilities for students, the involuntary nature of schooling, tax payer dollars, and more. Dupree jumped in and spoke of an amicus curiae brief submitted for this case. After the presentation ended, students voted on who they thought won. Two people voted for the male (who argued for the legality of random drug-testing of students involved in extracurricular activities) and the others for the female.

Dupree then discussed the outcome of the case and why the Supreme Court would feel it would be okay to test students involved in extracurricular activities, and why the conservative and swing votes on the bench might want to give the school more control. Dupree noted that the decisions in Supreme Court cases regarding students over the last 40 years went from conservative to more liberal and were now swinging back to conservative. He spoke of how the schools were often seen as a fix to all social problems and that the Supreme Court currently wanted the government to have greater power in schools.

Dupree then wondered out loud if in 10 years all students would be required to do urine tests. He did not like the prospect and made that known, but he also made it known that the principal did like the prospect. However, GHS did not have money to perform random testing at the present. Dupree said that Mr. Checker felt the threat of them helped students not do drugs.

A discussion of the Iraq war ensued, and Dupree wondered why citizens will give up rights for better protection. (One of Dupree's favorite quotes, posted on the chalkboard during the first weeks of class, was the statement perhaps incorrectly

attributed to Franklin, that "Those Who Sacrifice Liberty For Security Deserve Neither.") Dupree also said, "While we're at it, where are the weapons of mass destruction?" He talked about the fact that the right to challenge government is basic and wondered what we would have if that right were taken away.

While this was happening, several students passed around a photo album, of what I could not see. Another of the students asked Dupree, "If there [would] be another revolution if we all lose rights" and Dupree replied that he used to think there would be, but he was no longer certain.

It was then time for two more students to present a Supreme Court case, this one on Ellsberg's leak of the Pentagon papers during the Vietnam war. Another male and female were paired for this debate. They each outlined how and when Ellsberg leaked the Pentagon Papers to the New York Times and how the Nixon administration sought to stop their publication. A parallel was made to Iraq, amicus curie briefs were discussed, as were the freedom of press and its role in a democratic government and the needs of the government to keep certain information secret. Dupree then spoke about what happened to Ellsberg, and then outlined the Tonkin Gulf incident a little more fully. The students in the class then discussed their pro- and anti-war opinions. During this discussion and debate, most of the students were looking at the people who were giving the case, though three students did have their head on their desk.

After this discussion the daily announcements came over the loudspeaker (these consisted of announcements about who won in recent sports games and administrative issues), and students talked amongst themselves. Dupree spoke to a student who had asked a question before. The bell rang and students were dismissed.

The next class I had with Caleb was Coach Taylor's Math IV (which was the sequence to Algebra II). I counted 26 students in this class. Eleven or 12 were girls, two were black, and one was Indian or Hispanic. This was a large class. Virtually every seat in it was filled. Like many of the other classrooms in here, there were a lot of inspirational posters on the wall, such as a skier with the following statement: "Believe in yourself and keep going."

Right after I went into the room, there were a few minutes of student talking and then the coach passed out bubble sheets for an extra credit worksheet/quiz. A few students needed pencils. They went and got some and/or sharpened them. Coach walked out for a minute. Students talked, and three or four of them walked around. The coach then passed out the 30-question extra credit questions that went with the bubble-sheet. The coach then spoke about the extra credit and said that some students were right on the bubble grade-wise and would need to pass the final exam to pass the class.

After passing out the extra credit sheet, the coach sat down at his desk. Then he walked around the room once, looking at the students. The teacher went on to station himself in front of the class and leaned on the science desk. Students asked the coach questions. He walked down the aisle and answered them. One guy left after talking with coach and left the door open, and quickly came back. A few seconds later a couple students finished the assignment and started playing cards. Coach answered a few more questions and almost an hour after the class began he collected two or three bubble sheets from each student. Caleb was finished and was looking down at his paper. The coach said "you have about a minute—finish up" to those still working and then collected a few

more papers. At this point one girl had her head on her hands sleeping, while others were chatting.

The coach then handed out a sheet about solving systems of equations and then said that the students could come up and see the extra-credit answer key in a little while. He went over Question No. 23 on the systems of equation sheet, outlined how to plug in variables and numbers in these systems of equations, and talked about the three ways to solve them.

A possible Hawthorne effect happened at this point. A male student started complaining that the teacher never gave this kind of explanation before. He stated that these explanations were being given because I was in taping the session in the room. At this, the coach grinned a little and glanced down, and thus ended the interaction between the coach and the student.

The coach then created a graph on the board, and asked what the point was, literally. Coach then said that substitution was the recommended solution to the problem. I noticed at this time that one boy in the front of the class had his head down and his eyes closed and so did two girls. Coach said, "Dallas, I'm looking at you," to a male sitting where I could not see him. Coach went back and drew some more lines on the board and wrote some examples of solutions to these systems of equations. After he was finished going over those systems and worksheet with problems, he handed out more worksheets and then sat down. It was a practice worksheet. At this point the coach patted the girl who had her head down who was sleeping next to me.

Most of the students did work on this sheet but three or four of them did not. They were talking. Caleb, however, was filling in his answer sheet. A girl asked "Do we have

answers for these?” The coach answered, “No, I can’t remember if these are the ones we read out of in the green book.”

After this exchange Coach sat down after this and sorted through papers. One girl was helping another in the second row and another girl in the third row asked the coach a question, which he answered. One boy passed a magazine that looked like it was called “Boarding” to another boy. One of the students, a male, joked with the coach, possibly for the benefit of the tape, “Are we going to play cards again or gamble today?” The coach frowned at this question.

Shortly afterwards, however, students moved desks and one asked me if I wanted to play cards. The coach looked on from his desk. A few students at this point were still working on their sheets, including Caleb. One of the students was reading the “Boarding” magazine. Two boys at the back of the class were talking. One girl had her head down and coach helped one boy with a problem. Coach then walked over to the girl next to me who had been sleeping and said, “You got it okay?” She nodded.

The coach talked to me a little bit after this class and noted how embarrassed he was of the students’ behavior. He said that the male student who had joked about playing cards, etc., didn’t usually act that way and had not meant it. The next day I had scheduled to shadow Caleb, the coach stopped in to Mr. Dupree’s class to request that I not visit the class until he had a “heart-to-heart” with the problematic students. I obliged. Due to timing issues, I thus only had the chance to follow Caleb to one more of these classes, during which the students did not misbehave and the seating arrangement had been changed. The bulk of that next visit was taken up by a pop quiz.

Caleb had senior project for his fourth block, and did not stay at school for it on any of the three days during which I accompanied him to class.

Karen

Karen arrived at 7:30, as was her practice. She wanted a good parking spot at school. Her first class was honor's Shakespeare, with Coach Raymond, and I joined her there several minutes before the class began.

All desks were in rows facing forward, as in every classroom I had seen so far. There were posters on the wall, including rock band posters, such as Pink Floyd.

The teacher was a little late that day. Boys were talking on one side of the room about France, and some girls were talking about possible prom dresses. The teacher came in and talked about an upcoming event, which was the beginning of a section on *The Taming of the Shrew*, and he wrote on the board notes on the passages from which a short quiz on *King Lear* that was to be given later in the period. He then sat three people at desks outside to do a makeup test on *Macbeth*. The notes Coach Raymond wrote on the board were mainly about who said what, and in which act. The students chatted while he was writing, and then they started looking up the passages.

When he was done, students moved around the room to look up the passages with each other and checked each others' books. There were, for example, three or four students working together in the desks immediately behind me on these passages. While students did this, the teacher took turns answering students' questions about where passages started and ended, and the like.

The coach went out of the room at around 8:30 without notice and without stating when he would return. At this point, I noticed that the students' books were all different

editions, and I ask whether it was typical for students to buy their own books. The answer was that it was typical in upper level English honors classes.

While the coach was gone, the students were talking, but more or less quietly. They were not rowdy, though some were walking around a little bit. One student left for the library. She told others to tell the coach where she was. I then asked students if this was an elective class for everybody who was taking it. It was.

The coach then came back to class at about 8:40 and asked if anybody needed help. He joked a little with students about nonscholastic topics, like hair color and growth of hair. He then asked me a question about what I was doing. I told the coach that I was interested in where students learned to be citizens, and that I thought it could happen in all classes, and not just in civics and government classes. The coach replied that he was not big on citizenship education in the curriculum. He thought civic education should be a by-product of what he would consider to be character education in middle school. He did not really think it was an issue for high school students. At this point some students were still looking up items for the *King Lear* test, but several boys were on one side of the room discussing TV and movies.

Karen and two other girls moved together after one came back from her library errand a few minutes after the coach returned. She had been taking a makeup quiz for another class. The three girls began looking up passages in a big book on Shakespeare.

The quiz then took place, and it took approximately 15 minutes. A second quiz, after a similar review period, was scheduled for the next day. More passages would be looked up then.

After the test, the students watched a short clip of *King Lear* with Lawrence Olivier. One student said something snide about Olivier (which I could not hear clearly) while the coach was standing behind her. He looked down at her slightly but ignored the comment.

The coach left again at 9:20 without saying where he was going or when he would return. At this point, I noticed that there was a student asleep along the wall. Others were chatting or looking out the window. Karen and one other girl looked at a *King Lear* text. Class ended at 9:35.

There was a good break in between each of the four blocks at Greenhurst High School. Before Karen's next class (standard English with Ms. Blum), some boys came into the classroom talking about war, which was imminent at this point in Iraq. The classroom walls in this room were covered with posters, many of which were inspirational, such as "Attitude is a little thing that makes a big difference." There was a "safe hotline" on one poster, a cheerleader poster, a calendar, and a 9/11 poster. Other than that, this was a standard classroom with florescent lights, tiles, desks. On the board the teachers had written a few words about *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, which students were supposed to read on their own. There was to be a test on it the next Thursday. In this class, three girls sat directly in front of me on the south side of the room. The boys all sat in other rows.

When class began, Miss Blum stood at a podium and told the students to come up with 10 open-ended questions and to put the answers on a separate piece of paper. They were to perform this task individually, not together. The students were quiet. Like

Karen's honors class, this class was reading a Shakespeare play, and the questions they came up with for this assignment were not supposed to be "act or scene" questions.

Following the instructions, students start writing questions, but a few started talking about the war again. One of the students did not expect it to come to pass. At this point, the teacher was sitting in a high chair in front of the room writing something.

I then noticed that a student went out and came back in without asking permission, and in response to this a few students near me had a short discussion of Mr. Checker and the fact that he did not want people in the hallways during classes. To the students, it seemed that he thought there was an implied threat to the school, though the students did not think it was likely in Greenhurst. Still, one of them commented, terrorists needed to pick somewhere to attack.

A few minutes later many students were talking, and the teacher stated that they needed to get busy on their assignment. The students in this class were working out of a Prentice Hall textbook called *Literature, Timeless Voices, Timeless Scenes*.

About 15 minutes into the task, four students had finished with it and had put their heads down. Five minutes later students were asked to come up in groups of three or four and ask their questions. Karen and three boys went first, each reading two questions. Karen's questions were "What were three ways the witches greet Macbeth, and what did Macbeth think was dangerous?" One of the boys asked what the first apparition warned *Macbeth* about. The teacher followed up by asking what this apparition was actually saying about MacDuff. Most questions related to who said which phrase, what the name of the forest was, and the like, though this was not what the teacher had asked for. This assignment took a long time (approximately 50 minutes). At one point during the task,

Karen got up and went in the hall without permission. Karen was not the only one who did this during the period—three others did so too.

After the students finished with this task, the teacher started to question them one by one, going down rows. She asked such questions as “What does fair and foul day mean,” and “What was the strongest argument used to convince Macbeth to kill.” One student answered someone else’s question, but the teacher said she did not ask him to speak.

At this point many of the boys in the class were squirming, and one said that he was bored. The morning announcements, which came on at 10:50 each day, interrupted the teacher’s questions. This announcement contained information about the state tournament at Middle State University on an upcoming day. For the state tournament all students, if they had a note, could leave at 1:20. The announcer went on to say that there was no school on March 24th and that the next day was black and gold day, during which students and staff were expected to wear the school colors to show their school spirit. There were sports announcements, sports events cancellations, and congratulations to the teams who had won. There were announcements about scholarships that seniors had been awarded and the fact that May 23rd was the graduation date. Class ended just after the announcements. After I turned off the tape recorder, Miss Blum told me and Karen that she was going to refer a matter to the administrators. She said that there was “trouble brewing.” She mentioned one student’s name, and I asked her if this had to do with a kid some others had called “carrot-top,” and who had red hair and a bad case of acne. She said yes. She added that the trouble makers were known to the administration, though she worded it differently. She also said something to the effect that students like “carrot-top”

were the ones that you had to worry about, as they had been bullied. She also noted that he was now talking back to the bullies. It seemed that she saw that as a first step towards a violent encounter.

I also talked to Karen a bit about religion after I turned off the recorder. She was a Baptist, but she had not been participating of late. She was going to go to Middle Tennessee State University next year, in part because her boyfriend went there and she spent a lot of time with him. I talked a little bit about the metaphors of school over time, from church, to factory, to shopping mall. She stated that the factory paradigm fit GHS most closely and that it was mind-numbingly dull.

Karen's third block period was with Mr. Dupree's honors economics class. During this class they were having a discussion of an article they had read called "The Twilight of the CD," which was about how music downloads were changing the music industry. The class then moved on to cover rational choice theory, cost-benefit analysis, and the questionability of the assumption that people will always make "the rational choice."

For the latter topic students discussed a reading from the book about being in Target and changing lines, and the fact that one can never have all the information necessary to truly choose the right line.

The class moved on to an informal discussion of the fact that many students won't succeed in college, of the high expectations at college, and the costs versus the benefits of college. Dupree then began a discussion of the fact that the manufacturing base was disappearing in this country and that no one really knew what the consequences of this would be. Students mentioned that in Close County there was a distribution plant about to

close. The students and Dupree then moved on to a discussion about the rise of service and other lower end jobs, and about how both lower end and higher end jobs were going to immigrants. Most people change jobs three to five times in a lifetime, Dupree noted. He mentioned the economic costs of continual job training that people had to undertake.

After this rapid discussion, the class watched a video on Italy's Mamoni (young men who were choosing to stay with their mothers because they will launder and cook for them while young wives will not necessarily do so). The video sparked Dupree to ask the students a question of what the economic impact of the Mamoni might be on Italy, and then he discussed labor shortages in that country. Dupree then asked whether female students were going to give up their careers when they had husbands and children. One or two stated that they would. Dupree then spoke of the debt load of 18 to 26-year-olds from student loans. He mentioned how long people were single in the U.S., the risks of birth defects when women were older mothers, women's roles in the family and how they were changing, daycare costs, and how sometimes one parent ends up sometimes working only for the daycare cost.

Dupree moved on to a discussion of the role of immigrants in the marketplace in the U.S., about how they sometimes have different religions, and the fact that this rubs some citizens of our country the wrong way. He asked the class if they thought people in the U.S. were "too good" for certain jobs. He mentioned a local Laotian family and their family run dry-cleaning business. The problem this family might face in the future, he said, was that it was hard to sustain their level of hard work through successive generations.

At this point, one student gave a presentation on Wal-Mart, how employees who voted for a union there were fired, and on Wal-Mart's business model. He discussed how Wal-Mart kept labor costs low, how they bought in bulk and so there were fewer choices but also less expensive products. Dupree wondered aloud if it should matter to consumers whether something was made in a sweat shop. Some of the students said yes, others said no. Those who argued that it should not matter pointed out that some laborers in sweat shops would not have jobs at all if they were not making Wal-Mart's products. Dupree asks the students if we in this country have a moral connection to those people working in sweat shops. Dupree clearly had an opinion on this topic, but the question was truly posed as a question.

Dupree then talked about an article students had read that detailed many Wal-Mart stores' practice of forcing employees to work unpaid overtime, and the fact that Wal-Mart did not offer workers paid insurance. He wanted to know why you could work full time and still be below the poverty line. He noted the economic impact on emergency rooms when workers had no insurance. He then lectured for a few minutes about how opportunity costs were subjective. The class concluded with a discussion of a graph on the board about costs and benefits.

Karen's fourth period class was a senior project. She was supposed to be working for a teacher during this period, but the teacher seldom had need of her help. Karen usually went home during this period, but we had our first interview in this time slot. It is recorded elsewhere.

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