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Kathryn M. Obenchain Purdue University

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AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY

OF THE QUALITIES AND CHARACTERISTICS

OF DEMOCRATIC ELEMENTARY CLASSROOMS WHICH MOTIVATE

STUDENTS TO CIVICALLY PARTICIPATE

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty

of

Purdue University

by

Kathryn M. Obenchain

In Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree

of

Doctor of Philosophy

August 1997

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PURDUE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL Thesis Acceptance

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Complies with University regulations and meets the standards of the Graduate School for originality and quality
For the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Signed by the final examining committee:
Mence J. Matherle Co-chair
Anthony Co Card J. Wo-chay
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Approved by: Russell June 17, 1997.
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This dissertation is dedicated to my parents,

Nannabelle Howell Obenchain and the late Keith Glen Obenchain,
who, I believe, raised me to be a participatory citizen in this world.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to both acknowledge and thank those who have provided support and encouragement to me throughout this process. They have truly helped to make this doctorate possible.

My Committee

Dr. Denee J. Mattioli has been my major advisor since I returned to graduate school and was a co-chair for this dissertation. Her comments, critiques, and support on this dissertation have been very helpful. Denee has encouraged my growth and commitment to social studies and to citizenship education. She is a wonderful mentor and friend; and I am so pleased she is in my life.

Dr. Anthony G. Rud, Jr. has been on my doctoral committee since the proposal phase and was a co-chair for the dissertation. Early in the process, he encouraged my exploration of moral education; and I believe that has influenced my view of education in general and citizenship education in particular. His timely comments and suggestions were extremely helpful; and I must also thank him for helping me to keep this process in perspective. He has encouraged me and provided many "pats on the back," for which I am grateful.

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Mrs. R. and Mr. L.

Mrs. R. and Mr. L. both graciously allowed me to enter the communities of their respective classrooms. There are so many exciting and wonderful things going on in their classrooms, I wish everyone could spend time with them to see what truly wonderful teachers do on a daily basis. Without their invitations, and eager acceptance of my presence and proposed study, this dissertation would not have been done. I extend to them and their students my heartfelt thanks.

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ABSTRACT

Obenchain, Kathryn M. Ph.D. Purdue University, August, 1997. An Ethnographic Study of the Qualities and Characteristics of Democratic Elementary Classrooms Which Motivate Students to Civically Participate. Major Professors: Denee J. Mattioli and Anthony G. Rud, Jr.

This study described two self-contained, upper elementary, democratic classrooms in order to determine if there were specific qualities and characteristics in these classrooms which would motivate students to be more participatory citizens. The two classrooms were ethnically and geographically diverse, one in Southern California and the other in the Midwest. The participating teachers expressed a commitment to citizenship education and it had been determined that democratic elements were present in their classrooms. The study was based in the theoretical frameworks of constructivism and interpretivism, and an ethnographic methodology was utilized to describe the classroom environment. Analyses of the data were completed through within-case and cross-case approaches.

Findings generated from the study included two major assertions. First, in classrooms where democratic elements such as providing student choice, shared responsibility, shared decision-making, and deliberate opportunities for civic participation are present, students begin to accept more responsibility for their immediate community. Second, when the school principal makes student civic participation a high priority, as

opposed to a low priority, those classrooms striving to include democratic elements and civic participation have more success with that inclusion.

This study has implications for teachers and teacher educators. Teachers who wish to nurture democratic citizenship education should strive to create a democratic classroom in which students have real responsibilities and opportunities to participate. It is also important for these teachers to be aware that there may be barriers to democratic citizenship education when their school principal has other priorities and/or does not encourage and nurture the efforts of the teacher. Social studies teacher educators may wish to examine how they present social studies education to their pre-service teachers. If they wish to encourage a commitment to democratic citizenship education, it is necessary that pre-service teachers are exposed to available literature. It may also be important to model democratic classrooms to pre-service teachers as most will have come from undemocratic school experiences.

1

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The primary purpose of this research study is to determine if specific qualities and characteristics of democratic elementary classrooms might motivate students to become participatory citizens. I examined two different self-contained elementary classrooms which possess democratic elements to see if unique qualities or characteristics in these classrooms might motivate the students to become more active and participatory citizens in their classrooms, schools, and wider communities. Democratic classrooms contain opportunities for decision-making and student participation, as well as defined responsibilities and consequences of not fulfilling one's responsibilities (VanSickle, 1983, p. 49).

Participatory citizenship, community service, and participation in the life of the community were interests of mine long before the search for a dissertation topic began. Participation in the community had been a part of my life and of my family history since earliest memories. My father and his two brothers served in the military during World War II, along with various other relatives who served at various times and in various branches of the armed services. For many of these family members, this was service, defined as "a public duty or function" in Webster's Dictionary (1992, p. 883). The church to which my family belonged hosted a community Thanksgiving dinner each year and many of my Thanksgivings were not spent at home, but instead serving the community by serving food, cleaning tables, delivering meals to shut-ins, or whatever other task was required. I am not sure if these attitudes instilled in me by my family were reinforced

during my schooling or not. I never recall a service project in any class and I wondered if the impact may have been more substantial if I was not only exposed to service and participation at home, but also at school.

As I grew older and began my career as a high school social studies teacher, I decided to implement some sort of community service into my senior level American Government course. My students chose specific governmental or social agencies in the community and spent a six week period studying and working with those agencies. Some students spent more time studying than serving, and although I would have preferred more service, I felt any positive contact might be helpful. For the most part, students and community members felt this was a positive experience. I don't know, however, if this impacted my students to continue to serve their community.

I moved on and left teaching for a time, moving to Florida to begin a different career in the business world. While I am sure my experience was not what happens to everyone, I also felt it was not completely unique. What I faced were professional colleagues who felt very little sense of responsibility to their community. This was manifested in a variety of ways. Little sense of responsibility was felt toward the preservation of the community's environment, especially if environmental preservation would reduce a profit. Monetary contributions were given on occasion to different political parties, but for a self-serving purpose. When a friend and I chose to spend our Saturdays working for a group that helped build affordable housing, we received looks of disbelief and questions of why would we want to work on a weekend and do something for which we received nothing. I wondered why my perspective and my desire to do

something for the community, however limited, was seen to be such a phenomenon to many of my colleagues and friends.

I finally concluded that this particular setting was not the right place for me and returned to graduate school with the intent of returning to teaching secondary school at some point. In terms of careers, I thought that teaching was a form of community service, albeit one for which we are paid, and a place where I would find more personal and professional fulfillment. I also thought that if I returned to the classroom, I might be able to expose my secondary students to participatory citizenship and service to the community, and to understand its importance. Maybe I could also instill in them the desire to make a long term commitment to their communities. However, while in graduate school, I began to explore the possibility of continuing my education through the doctoral phase. In this way, I thought, I could influence not just my students, but my students' students. Maybe I could help to instill in the pre-service teachers in my classes not just the importance of their participation and service as a citizen, but also instill in them the desire to pass this sense of responsibility on to their students in the elementary, middle, and secondary classrooms. During graduate school, I was also introduced to "A Code of Ethics for the Social Studies Profession" (National Council for the Social Studies, 1980). This document confirmed my understanding of the purpose of social studies, citizenship education. It also affirmed my responsibility as an educator to prepare students for active democratic citizenship, whether my students were 16 or 22.

As soon as I made the decision to prepare to enter the doctoral program, I began the quest for a dissertation topic. It only seemed natural that this very personal interest of mine somehow be reflected in my dissertation. I have a concern about the survival and prosperity of the United States if the citizens of the nation do not fulfill their obligations to the country and to its citizens. This may sound melodramatic, but it is an accurate reflection of my concerns. The daily bombardment of news stories that remind us of what appears to be a lack of caring or a lack of responsibility to our fellow humans, to our environment, and often to ourselves, should cause concern in all of us. What, then, should be done? How can we instill this sense of responsibility to serve, to care for, to participate in our communities? Many believe that civic education is at least a part of the answer (Butts, 1988; Dynneson, & Gross, 1991; White, 1996; Woyach, 1991).

Rationale

Most students are citizens of the United States well before their 18th birthday, when they are entrusted with the right and responsibility of voting. Defined by Webster's Dictionary (1992), a citizen is "A native or naturalized person owing allegiance to, and entitled to protection from, a government" (p. 186); and, citizenship is "The status of a citizen, with its rights and duties..." (p. 186). From these two definitions, it appears that while a citizen may be somewhat passive, the very definition of citizenship implies action as it refers to both the rights and the duties of being a citizen. The education of citizens, preparing these young people to fulfill the rights and duties of the office, is in part the responsibility of the field of social studies education, as democratic citizenship education is its primary purpose.

Social studies education grew out of the Progressive movement and was heavily influenced by the philosophy of John Dewey. Active participation by the citizens of a democratic society was promoted by Dewey, as was his belief that education in such a society must give its citizens a personal stake in their society. Dewey promoted the development of the "habits of mind" (Dewey, 1916/1944, p. 99) to affect necessary social change. Social studies has been charged with the primary responsibility of educating effective democratic citizens (Barr, Barth & Shermis, 1977; Engle & Ochoa, 1988; National Council for the Social Studies, 1992; Parker & Jarolimek, 1984). Effective democratic citizens (i.e., good citizens) are defined as citizens who are not just patriotic and law-obeying, but also those who are informed critics of the nation and participate in its improvement (Engle & Ochoa, 1988). While voting, knowing the Pledge of Allegiance and obeying the laws of the nation and community are all important, the democratic form of government requires for its success the reasoned, rational and educated participation of its citizens. According to George Wood (1988, p. 169), democracy is, in essence, "...a way of living in which we collectively deliberate over our shared problems and prospects." In preparation for this deliberation and participation, students must have access not only to content knowledge, but opportunities to critically evaluate and use that knowledge and actively practice citizenship skills. The creation of a democratic and participatory environment within a classroom may be one way of providing experiential citizenship education. In such an environment, students are given a sense of worth and membership through practice opportunities (Angell, 1991).

Theorists and researchers concur that there is a definite need for research in the area of citizenship education, and to specifically see what democratic citizenship looks like in the classroom (Angell, 1991; National Council for the Social Studies, 1992; van Sledright & Grant, 1994). Van Sledright and Grant, whose recent study of three classrooms focused on the difficulties of creating a democratic classroom environment in a decidedly undemocratic educational system, remark on the need for research in three specific areas. First, they call for additional context-specific classroom studies to provide descriptions of citizenship education in practice. Second, van Sledright and Grant propose additional effort in terms of both empirical and theoretical studies in citizenship education to provide a specific grounded theory. Third, conversations from a variety of perspectives are needed to discuss the meanings and applications of citizenship.

Purpose

The primary purpose of this study is that through the description of classrooms which embrace experiential democratic citizenship, it might be possible to better determine what specific qualities and characteristics in these classrooms promote motivation for civic participation. A secondary purpose of this study is to determine what effects the broader social world in which the classrooms reside have on motivating civic participation. In addition, an important goal of this study is to contribute to the body of knowledge available which focuses on citizenship education in the classroom and to provide the additional classroom studies that have been called for by van Sledright and Grant.

Guiding Research Questions

The research questions for this study reflect the study's purpose. The principal research question is: What are the qualities and characteristics of a democratic elementary classroom in which students develop the motivation to civically participate beyond the classroom? The guiding research questions are:

- 1. What are the characteristics of an elementary classroom that values civic participation?
 - 1a. What democratic elements are evident in the classroom structure?
- 1b. How do students interact with the teacher and with one another in ways that reflect the democratic nature of the classroom?
 - 1c. How, and by whom, are opportunities for civic participation introduced?
- 2. How does the broader social context surrounding these classrooms influence the civic participation of the students?

Definitions of Frequently Used Terms

In reporting this study, several terms are used which may have multiple or differing definitions. It is important for the researcher and readers to work from common definitions.

Democratic Elementary Classroom

The terms democratic classroom and democratic elements of a classroom are used interchangeably and refer to a particular set of characteristics seen in the classrooms

under study. It is important to note that a democratic classroom is not a classroom in which students have the freedom to do whatever they wish to do. Democratic classrooms are structured classrooms and Ronald VanSickle (1983, p. 49) assigns five major characteristics to these classrooms.

- 1. Each and every student in the classroom has an equal opportunity to learn.
- Each person in the classroom, including the teacher, knows that his or her well-being is of extreme importance to others in the classroom.
- Rewards and penalties are in place, and are applied consistently with each individual's fulfillment of their responsibility to the classroom community.
- Each person in the classroom has a responsibility to the other members of the classroom and is held accountable for shirking that responsibility.
- 5. "Knowledge, skills, and attitudes are taught" which help students fulfill their responsibilities to themselves, their classmates, and to the larger society in which they live.

In summary, a democratic classroom is one in which students have the freedom and responsibility to influence decisions and the decision-making process that affect their lives (VanSickle, 1983). Rules and procedures are in place; however, students have the opportunity and obligation to create, define, and use those rules and procedures.

Civic Participation

Civic participation, citizenship participation, citizen participation, and participatory citizenship are used interchangeably to describe the behaviors or actions of individuals

(elementary school students in this study) that serve the purpose of making a contribution to the social world. The contributions may be school-based or may extend into the larger community.

Citizenship Education

In this study, citizenship and civic education both describe the formal lessons, strategies and methods used in the classroom to teach the knowledge, skills, and values necessary for a citizen of a democracy.

Overview of the Chapters

Chapter 1 serves the purpose of explaining why student civic participation is an important issue both for the researcher and the field of social studies. The purpose of the study is also stated, as are the guiding research questions.

Chapter 2 contains a literature review of the research and is anchored by the theories of John Dewey and experiential education. Research regarding political socialization and classroom climate, which includes the knowledge and values associated with citizenship education are examined. In addition, research regarding the role of the classroom teacher and the school principal is examined.

Chapter 3 begins with a discussion of the substantive theoretical framework in which this study is placed. The chapter also includes a description of the methodology and specific methods used in collecting and analyzing the data. Descriptions of the role of

the researcher, the participants, and the settings are also included. Finally, the multiple sources of primary and secondary data and the data analysis strategies are discussed.

The results of the study are presented in two chapters. Chapter 4 includes the presentation of the data and the two major assertions which emerged. These assertions are discussed and supported with the data collected. Chapter 5 includes the two case studies detailing the two sites. The case studies are presented through the view of a typical day in each of the two classrooms under study.

Chapter 6 contains a summary of the findings of the study along with conclusions of the study and implications. Implications for further research are presented, as are potential implications for teachers and teacher educators.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE

Every stage of this study required an exploration of relevant literature. It was necessary to ground the research questions, the theoretical framework, and the methodology in literature in order to place this study in context with the work and the thought that had preceded it.

The first part of the review covers John Dewey's thoughts on democratic and experiential education. This inquiry into Dewey is important to the study as it provides a basis for the researcher's views. The researcher's beliefs of the importance of education in general, and social studies education specifically, as preparation for effective democratic citizenship appear to complement Dewey.

This discussion is followed by a review of the literature related to political socialization. Classroom climate and the role of the classroom teacher in a democratic classroom or open climate are explored, as is the influence of the school principal and his/her style of leadership.

John Dewey's Thoughts on Education for a Democracy

A primary purpose of this study was to describe qualities and characteristics of democratic classrooms that may motivate students to civically participate. It may be prudent to first discuss why motivation for civic participation in the schools is important, and this might be partially accomplished through a story. It has been told that there was a conversation between a young woman and an aged Benjamin Franklin after the

Constitutional Convention and the drafting of the United States Constitution. According to the story, the young woman asks, "Dr. Franklin, what have you given us?" Franklin replied, "A republic, if you can keep it." Like other founders, Franklin was concerned about the ability of the people of the United States to govern themselves wisely. Thomas Jefferson called for public education early, which would help to provide for an educated citizenry, able to participate through reasoned thought. Although there is criticism that both Franklin and Jefferson were referring to the public education of an elite few, in their thoughts and words rested an idea (Wood, 1988). John Dewey reflected these thoughts in his writings about education more than a century later.

The research questions for this study reside in the theories of John Dewey regarding child-centered and experiential education, specifically as they relate to a democratic society. According to Dewey (1916/1944),

"A society which makes provision for the participation in its good of all its members on equal terms and which secures flexible readjustment of its institutions through interaction of the different forms of associated life is in so far democratic. Such a society must have a type of education which gives individuals a personal interest in social relationships and control, and the habits of mind which require social changes without introducing disorder" (p. 99).

Several items of importance are embedded in this quote by Dewey. A democratic society is prepared for and expects the participation of all of its members on equal terms. This participation will assist in the changes and adjustments that occur in society over time without violent conflict. For this type of society to succeed, its citizens must not only be educated, but they must have a stake in or commitment to the society to which they belong. Democratic education can gives its members a commitment to society, one in

which members are valued, and are provided opportunities to engage in real issues of public concern (Beyer, 1988). If the school or classroom has created a community or specific environment, what Dewey calls an "embryonic society" (Dewey, 1956/1990, p. 18), these opportunities to form commitments and engage in meaningful actions have a place in which to occur. In this setting, students have the opportunity to act in ways that allow them to make a real, not contrived, contribution to their community, whether that be the classroom or school.

Dewey (1916/1944) also referred to the "habits of mind" (p. 99) that he believed must be a part of education as they prepare students to participate in change and progress in a non-violent way. But habits alone are not enough and are not primary. Dewey called for the development of dispositions prior to the development of habits (1916/1944, p.48). Habits are partly instinctual and free of reasoned thought. In a participatory and effective democracy, dispositions precede habits and speak to the ability to live with others in a social world. Dispositions require that individuals react not just out of habit or instinct, but with rational thought of prior experiences and the effects of those experiences on self and others. Citizens need to have much knowledge and many skills to live successfully in a democracy. Citizens also need to be "...disposed to use their knowledge and skills democratically (White, 1996 p. 1). Through the development of dispositions consistent with a democratic society, habits may develop. According to Wood (1988, p. 176). "... the value of engendering a democratic disposition among youth in schools cannot be underestimated." Although Wood notes the importance of social, cultural, and economic factors in addition to education, school life may be very important. In addition, when

paired with Dewey's beliefs about experiential education, it may be reasonable to then assume that in order to develop democratic dispositions, school should be experiential.

There are choices in democratic education. Students in a democracy may be prepared for a participatory life, or they may be prepared for one which is not. George Wood (1988) refers to two types of democracy: protectionist and participatory. A protectionist democracy is one in which citizens participate only when their personal interests are at stake and generally do not possess the knowledge or attitudes necessary for effective self-government. The democracy Dewey wanted to prepare citizens for was a participatory or empowering democracy, also called a strong democracy by Barber (1984) and critical democracy by Goodman (1992). A participatory democracy is one which calls on Dewey's words that democracy is "a mode of associated living" (1916/1944, p.87). It requires the participation and "collective deliberation" (Wood, p. 169) that occurs in lives that are truly shared. To be able to live effectively in this type requires certain skills and understandings, including:

- 1. "believing in the individual's right and responsibility to participate publicly;
- 2. having a sense of political efficacy....:
- 3. coming to value the principles of democratic life...:
- 4. knowing that alternative social arrangements to the status quo exist and are worthwhile; and
- 5. gaining the requisite intellectual skills to participate in public debate" (Wood, p. 176).

These five points all refer to certain knowledge, values or attitudes, and skills necessary for the effective democratic citizen. If society desires an education that prepares active citizens, then education should promote these points through its curriculum, both written and unwritten.

Civic Education Research

There has been very little research on civic education methods, particularly on methods related to civic participation (Wade, 1995). For this reason, it becomes necessary to explore related areas of literature. Parker and Kaltsounis (1986) reviewed research related to citizenship and law-related education. They found that research in this area generally falls into one of four categories: political socialization, cognitive development, moral development, and classroom climate (p. 16). In the following two sections of this review, political socialization and classroom climate will be examined as they more closely relate to the guiding research questions addressing civic participation and the classroom environment in which students in this study learn about citizenship.

Political Socialization

Political socialization may be generally defined as the acquisition of political values, attitudes, and behaviors (Ichilov, 1990). This particular definition is not exclusive to any particular type of political system or regime as citizens of any regime may be socialized according to the values, attitudes, and behavior consistent with that regime.

Research in political socialization has consistently concluded that the school has a major impact on the political socialization of children (Ehman, 1980; Hepburn, 1983; Hess & Torney, 1967; and Oppenheim, Torney, & Farnen, 1975). A concern, however, is that most of this research is fairly dated. There has been little new research in the political socialization of children in the United States in the last 20 years, partially due to a lack of significant findings and the complexity of the topic (Niemi & Hepburn, 1995; Torney-

Purta, 1992). Ehman's comprehensive review (1980) included research from the 1960s and 1970s into political socialization in American schools, and his review continues to be frequently cited in more recent research (Blankenship, 1990; Hahn & Tocci, 1990) and research reviews (Angell, 1991; Harwood, 1992; Parker & Kaltsounis, 1986; Wade, 1995). Ehman's (1980) review came to seven generalizations:

- 1. "Compared to other factors such as family and the media, schooling is an important agent for transmitting political information...and increases in importance from grade school to high school. It is somewhat less central an influence in shaping political attitudes and behavior...
- 2. The regular secondary school civics and government curriculum has no noticeable impact on the political attitudes of students except for racial minorities.
- 3. Systematic and carefully aimed curriculum treatments can result in considerable political information transmission at both the elementary and secondary school levels.
- 4. The teacher has some modest impact on the political attitudes of youth...
- 5. The teacher helps to determine a powerful influence on student attitudes, [that being] classroom climate.
- 6. Participation in school governance and extracurricular activities is related positively to political attitudes of students.
- 7. School organizational and governance climate is related to political attitudes of students" (pp. 112-113).

In sum, the transmission of political knowledge occurs through the schooling process; however, political attitudes do not seem to be greatly influenced by a traditional social studies curriculum. Both the teacher, through the establishment of an open classroom climate, and the school climate may positively influence student attitudes and behavior.

As Oppenheim and Torney's (1974, p.13) pilot study of the civic attitudes of children in several nations notes, civic education includes knowledge, but it also includes the aim of "...inculcating certain shared attitudes and values, such as a democratic outlook..." However, citizenship education in the United States has tended to emphasize

the "legalistic and structural" (Ichilov, 1990, p. 22) components of government, encouraging the verbal support of democratic principles. This verbal support is seen as obligatory and passive, rather than voluntary and active. This concurs with the research by Torney, Oppenheim, and Farnen (1975) who further conclude that when citizenship education is presented in terms of rote memorization or through patriotic ritual, it does not appear to be successful in encouraging democratic attitudes, specifically a supportive attitude toward civic participation. In the study by Torney et al (1975), which included 10 countries and 30,000 students (ages 10, 14, and pre-university), surveys regarding the nature of citizenship, political processes and institutions, economic processes and institutions, and social processes and institutions were utilized. A conclusion of this research is that printed drill, stressing facts, and patriotic rituals may have a counterproductive effect on a civic education that wishes to nurture democratic values and political interest. Further, the acquisition of knowledge does not highly correlate with support for democratic values or appear to have an automatic and positive effect toward civic participation. This conclusion should not negate the importance of knowledge in civic education, as the next section addresses.

Citizenship Knowledge and Values

Competency in academic disciplines and a thorough understanding of democratic values (e.g., justice, equality, patriotism, individual rights, common good) are imperative in order for citizens to make informed decisions (Butts, 1988; Oppenheim & Torney, 1974; Parker & Kaltsounis, 1986; Wade, 1995). Subject matter from the social science

disciplines of history, geography, government, economics, law, anthropology, sociology, psychology, as well as the humanities and the physical and natural sciences are all required in a thorough social studies program. The presentation and study of these and other disciplines should be included for their contributions to the "education of student citizens, rather than as an end in themselves" (Parker & Jarolimek, 1984, p. 7). While the study of these disciplines may not always provide immediately useful information, it should contribute to the body of knowledge required by an informed citizen. The effective and appropriate use of this knowledge and these democratic values as displayed through student behaviors is a necessary and companion focus for citizenship education (Kaltsounis, 1988; Oppenheim & Torney, 1974; Parker & Kaltsounis, 1986). Similar conclusions were reached in fields outside of education, such as psychology and political science. Lyon and Russo's (1990) study of student concern and action regarding nuclear threat concluded that students who self-reported that they were more likely to take action and monetarily support citizen action groups generally had more political knowledge and a stronger sense of political efficacy. Among other characteristics, these students believed they knew more about the political system and the nuclear threat and felt they had the power or ability to do something about their concerns. Although this study was specifically interested in political action and nuclear threat, it may be inferred that both factual knowledge and procedural knowledge (skills) are necessary if civic participation is a desired part of the civic education curriculum.

To summarize, political socialization research has indicated that knowledge may be successfully transmitted through the traditional social studies curriculum. However,

research indicates that [democratic] attitudes and skills for active participation are not transferred through the traditional social studies curriculum. The following parts of this review will address classroom and school climate, and their potential effects on the attitudes, values, and skills required for the civic participation of students.

Classroom Climate

Classroom climate refers to the ways that teaching is carried out and can vary from open climates to closed climates (Ehman, 1980, p. 108) or from democratic to undemocratic (VanSickle, 1983, p.52). Open or democratic climates are characterized as those where students have a say in both the structure and management of the classroom and feel comfortable enough to discuss controversial topics. Closed climate or undemocratic classrooms are those where students do not have these opportunities. Open climates are more consistent with Dewey's theories on experiential education as students have the opportunity to apply the knowledge they have learned, and practice skills, such as decision-making, which are deemed important in a democratic society. Research indicates that students who perceive they are learning in an open classroom climate indicate more positive political attitudes and a stronger sense of political efficacy (Blankenship, 1990; Chilcoat & Ligon, 1994; Ehman, 1980; Hahn & Tocci, 1990; Harwood, 1992; VanSickle, 1983). Positive political attitudes can include specific attitudes toward civil liberties, the democratic process, law, and politicians. Political confidence can includes faith and belief in a particular system or elected official.

Blankenship's (1990) study tested the hypotheses that "perceptions of an open climate are positively correlated with political attitudes of efficacy, confidence, and interest" (p. 367). Using a questionnaire revised by Harwood, and administered to over 200 secondary students in International Studies/World Affairs classes, Blankenship concluded that there was a "moderate positive relationship" (p. 378) between classroom climate and global knowledge, global attitudes, and political attitudes. Although the purpose of this study was to examine the effectiveness of an open classroom climate in global studies, more positive political attitudes and a sense of political efficacy were also noted. These findings are very similar to those of Ehman (1980) and Harwood (1989).

The Chilcoat and Ligon (1994) historical study focused on the Mississippi
Freedom Schools Project of the 1960s. This summer school project was designed to
provide African-American students with a richer academic experience and encourage the
development of these students as social change agents. The overall goal of these schools
was to "...promote a new power structure, one based on equity and social justice..."

(SHSW, in Chilcoat & Ligon, p. 137). This goal was to be achieved by focusing on
critical thinking about existing issues, meaningful academic knowledge, respect for
diversity, self-identify, and active social participation. There were additional curriculum,
instruction, evaluation, and classroom management goals which included critical thinking
and discussion as important and primary classroom strategies. Classroom management
centered on democratic principles and mutual respect; and classroom issues were to be
resolved by all members of the class, rather than the teacher as authority figure. These
qualities are indicative of an open or democratic classroom climate. Chilcoat and Ligon

conclude that many students, as well as many teachers and volunteers became more active participatory citizens because of this experience. Although Chilcoat and Ligon do not present evidence of long-lasting effects, students contacted for the study believed that the Freedom school experience helped them "...develop active concern for the well-being of their communities and state" (p. 167). Short-term positive effects of the project were documented, including a variety of community projects and publications.

Hahn and Tocci (1990) conducted a five nation study to determine, in part, if there were correlations between student political attitudes and their perception of classroom climate. A questionnaire created from combining prior study items (Torney et al, 1975), new items, and previously developed classroom climate scales (Ehman and Gillespie, in Hahn and Tocci), was distributed to over 1,400 secondary school students (aged 13-18) in five nations. Hahn and Tocci found that student perceptions of an open classroom climate had statistically significant correlations with political attitudes (i.e., political efficacy, political confidence, political trust, and political interest). Their conclusion is that in classrooms where students feel comfortable in expressing their views (open climate) on controversial topics, they are more likely to acquire the political attitudes which may foster or influence civic participation later in life.

Each of these studies profiled found that in a more open or democratic classroom climate, where students believed they were encouraged to participate, to discuss, and to critically think about issues of importance, student political attitudes were more positive. Students in these classrooms reported a stronger sense of political efficacy; researchers have taken this as evidence of civic participation. What none of these researchers has been

able to determine is whether or not these positive political attitudes are long term or short term effects. Blankenship (1990) reported that the Freedom School students he contacted did report a long term positive effect; however, he contacted just a few students and was unable to make generalizations from those conversations. What should also be noted is that the majority of this research focused on students over the age of 12, older than students in this research study (Blankenship; Chilcoat & Ligon; Ehman; Hahn & Tocci; Harwood).

The Role of the Teacher in Classroom Climate

The climate of a classroom may be influenced by the make up of students in that classroom, but the teacher is the main agent for establishing the classroom climate, whether it be open or closed (Hepburn, 1983). While there has been research on the teacher and his/her influence in the academic realm, additional research is needed regarding the teacher's influence on the development of social and political attitudes (National Council for the Social Studies, 1992; Solomon, Watson, Delucchi, Schaps, Battistich, 1988).

Dynneson and Gross (1991) completed field studies which affirm the vital importance of the teacher, along with parents and friends, in the citizenship education process of students. This process, when separate from the traditional curriculum, is often mentioned as part of a hidden curriculum. Beery and Todd (1984, p.78) define the hidden curriculum as the "set of assumptions that structure personal and social life in the classroom and in the school." Educators agree that teacher behavior and modeling can

influence student attitudes and behavior (Beery & Todd, 1984; Hepburn & Radz, 1983; Kubelick, 1982). What may be called for is to remove this modeling from a hidden curriculum to a conscious "curriculum of justice" (Power, Higgins, Kohlberg, with Reimer, 1989, p. 24) where the teacher and students deal with real issues relevant to the students in a fair, respectful, and equitable manner. Kohlberg believed that if students were asked to understand justice and to act justly, they must be treated justly in the classroom (Power, et al).

In summary, classroom climate which may vary from open to closed has an effect on students' political attitudes. Those students who believed they were in a more open or democratic classroom had more positive political attitudes than those students who were in more closed classroom climates. Setting classroom climate is an important function of the classroom teacher and the modeling and behavior of the teacher can influence student attitudes and behaviors. Teachers who wish to nurture active, participatory, critical thinking citizens should provide an environment reflective of and conducive to those qualities.

School Climate

Every teacher and student in a school operates within the context of that school, and the principal is the major factor in establishing school climate (Hallinger & Heck, 1996; Porter, Lemon, Landry, 1989). The principal decides how and if power will be shared, the ability and willingness to provide necessary information and resources, and leadership styles all influence school climate, which influences classroom climate (Blase &

Blase, 1997; Ehrnan, 1980). School climate, like classroom climate, operates on a continuum from closed to open (Halpin & Croft, in Hepburn, 1983). A closed climate school is characterized by a closed relationship between teachers who are dissatisfied with their jobs and principals who are impersonal and provide inadequate leadership. The other end of the continuum describes an open climate that is characterized by teachers and principals who work well together to achieve common goals. Teachers work hard, are satisfied, and believe in the goals of their school. Principals in an open climate school are involved and show compassion; he/she provides direction while genuinely sharing leadership with teachers. Principals in an open climate do more than share leadership and power with teachers, they "multiply it" (Blase & Blase, 1997, p. 2). In terms of the effectiveness of principal power strategies, Porter et al (1989) concluded that teachers who perceived their principals using strategies of rationality (explanations and rationales) were significantly related to lower disengagement (use of rote and routine in performing duties) and greater esprit (morale) by the teachers. These teachers indicated that they were more involved, innovative, and enjoyed their jobs more when their principals took the time to provide a rationale for a task or to explain a decision.

The leadership styles of principals are an important area to examine, in terms of their effects on school climate, and ultimately classroom climate. Eagly, Karau, and Johnson (1992) conducted a meta-analysis of 50 studies of the leadership styles of principals. The three aspects of leadership style analyzed were interpersonal oriented, task oriented, and democratic versus autocratic. Predictions for this study were in line with gender stereotyping; "to the extent that male and female principals carry out their roles in

a manner consistent with gender stereotypes, they would differ in leadership styles" (pp. 79-80). Studies in the meta-analysis included those which included measure(s) that assessed leadership styles. In addition, they included at least five principals of each sex; and results were sufficient enough to calculate a "sex-of-principal" effect size (p. 81). Results from the meta-analysis indicated little difference in gender in terms of interpersonal oriented or task oriented; however, gender differences in leadership style were evident in democratic versus autocratic styles. The findings suggest that female principals are more democratic than male principals. They are "more likely than men to treat teachers and other organizational subordinates as colleagues and equals and to invite their participation in decision-making" (p. 91). This suggests that male principals are less collaborative and more dominating than women. Shakeshaft concurs, stating that women view the job of principal as more of "a master-teacher or educational leader whereas men more often view the job from a managerial-industrial perspective" (1987, p. 173).

In addition to the principal, the demands of the school curriculum, parents, and other administrators have an effect on the classroom climate. VanSledright and Grant (1994, p. 309) analyzed three case studies of elementary classrooms and found certain "impediments" to teaching citizenship education in elementary schools. One impediment centered on curriculum design and who would decide what learning opportunities would be designed for the students. How large of a role do teachers have in this process with respect to district guidelines, colleagues, and administrators? A related concern was over who should have the authority to decide which of these opportunities would be most appropriate for the classroom. The degree that teachers have control over these processes

or believe they have control may affect classroom climate. VanSledright and Grant conclude that as long as teachers share these decisions with parents and administrators, teachers lose their autonomy and are unable to directly involve students in a meaningful and responsible way, especially if the decisions of parents, administrators, and teachers are not compatible. It may be inferred that teachers who desire to promote an open climate, with a focus on decision-making and critical thinking opportunities, may be impeded by curriculum, parents, and/or administrators whose goals are different. Goodman (1992) concurs with this statement, including not only classrooms striving to be more democratic, but schools as well.

In summary, the principal is the primary factor in establishing a school climate. His/her leadership style can influence that climate and research has indicated that most teachers relate more positively to more open or democratic leadership styles. Further, democratic leadership appears to be more typical of female administrators than of male administrators. In addition to the principal, other factors such as other administrators, and parents influence school climate. In addition to the involvement of other people, district guidelines may also affect school climate. If the goals of all of these other factors are not concurrent with those of the teacher, then there may continue to exist impediments to the teacher's ability to create a desired classroom climate.

Summary

John Dewey (1916/1944) stated that if a society wanted to be truly democratic in its processes, it must provide an education which would prepare citizens to flourish in

such a democracy. Such an education must provide students ample opportunities to learn the knowledge, develop the attitudes, and practice the skills necessary. It is hoped that all of these will assist a person in developing the dispositions which are positive in a democratic society. Lyon and Russo (1980, p. 18) state that "...there is a critical need not just for the declarative knowledge that informs, but also for the procedural knowledge that enables individuals to transform knowledge and concern to purposeful action."

Unfortunately, research in participatory civic education is extremely scant. Related research in political socialization and classroom climate is available and generally supports. Dewey's assertions for the need for knowledge, attitudes, and skills. What is important to note in this research is that just knowledge, or just attitudes, or just skills, is not sufficient. Students need a civic education that addresses all of these components in order to provide them with adequate content knowledge, and the attitudes, and skills necessary to make use of that knowledge.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the methodology used to study two elementary classrooms and the qualities and characteristics held by each which may motivate the students in those classrooms to civically participate. The substantive theoretical framework guiding this study is described, as well as its relationship and influence in the design of the study. The data collection and the subsequent data analysis procedures are also explained. This chapter also contains a description of the role of the researcher and a description of the participants and settings for this study.

Inquiry Paradigm

According to Lincoln and Guba (in Denzin & Lincoln, 1994), a paradigm is a world view; a belief system based on ontological, epistemological, and methodological assumptions and therefore a belief system accepted by the inquirer on faith. According to Lincoln and Guba (p. 107), however well argued and examined the beliefs are, there is no way to "establish their ultimate truthfulness"; therefore they must be accepted on faith. This paradigm provides the theoretical setting for the study as it contains beliefs from which the researcher determines a topic, questions, and methods. In this study, the researcher is interested in participatory citizenship and the educational experiences that may promote it. The questions are intended to help the researcher understand what it is like to be a member of a democratic classroom community. Appropriate methods should be determined from the choice of topic and the particular questions. In determining the inquiry paradigm for this study, it is necessary to ask questions about the ontological.

epistemological, and methodological assumptions of the researcher for this study.

Ontological questions revolve around the nature of reality and what can be known about reality. Epistemological questions are concerned with the relationship of the inquirer to knowledge sought. Finally, methodological questions ask how the inquirer should go about answering the questions of interest. Lincoln and Guba stress that answering questions in any one of these areas requires concurrent thought about the other two areas (in Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 108). Employing this technique and asking questions about the aim of the inquiry helped to determine that there were two very related theoretical frameworks supporting this study: constructivism and interpretivism. Both of these frameworks hold that in order "... to understand this world of meaning one must interpret it" (Schwandt, 1994, p. 118). Both frameworks also support the goal of understanding the world of the participants from their point of view. At times, constructivism and interpretivism are used interchangeably; however, Schwandt points out that there are subtle differences.

Constructivism

A researcher subscribing to a constructivist approach believes that in order to understand a very complex world, it must be understood from the point of view from those living that reality (Schwandt, 1994). Social interaction observed through the language, history, and the action of the people that are the focus of the inquiry are the basis for the reality constructed. A constructivist framework also accepts that the reality constructed depends on the range and scope of information available (Guba & Lincoln,

1989). This may underscore the importance of collecting both a large amount and variety of relevant data. The teachers and studients in the two classrooms under study create and give meaning to what happens in their classroom and specifically in the development of their civic attitudes. Their interactions with one another, and in particular their action as a part of the citizenship education curriculum, hold meaning. The researcher, by her observations and interactions with the members of these classrooms, also creates meaning.

In answering ontological questions regarding the nature of reality, it is believed that the members of the classroom communities, which include both teacher and students, construct their realities based on their experiences in and out of the classrooms (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). Although these participants belong to other communities that influence their behaviors and actions, life in the classroom is another community. The classroom community often holds many connections to other communities, but is also distinct in its own right, creating and observing norms and mores specific to the particular classroom.

Epistemological questions addressing the relationship of the inquirer (researcher) to the classrooms acknowledge that they are "interactively linked" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 111). The meaning of the knowledge sought and found is created through the relationship between the inquirer and classroom members.

In consideration of the ontological and epistemological assumptions, the methodology employed requires that the researcher and participants must interact with one another and the participants must interact among themselves in order to construct meaning.

Interpretivism

A second theoretical framework supporting this study is interpretivism. Similar to constructivism, interpretivism is characterized by the belief that the actions of both the members of a particular culture and the researcher studying that culture construct meaning (Schwandt, 1994). Interpretivism is called an earlier cousin of constructivism as it was a reaction to scientific inquiry. Interpretivism argues that human inquiry is very unique and different from scientific inquiry requiring different assumptions and methods (Schwandt, 1994). Ontologically, interpretivists believe that members of a culture construct meaning; a belief consistent with the researcher exploring and understanding what meaning students in the two classrooms make of a citizenship education curriculum perception.

The epistemological question regarding the relationship of the researcher (Guba and Lincoln call the researcher the "knower or would-be knower" (1994, p. 108)) and what is to be known transcends mere description. Interpretivists struggle with balancing subjectivity and objectivity (Schwandt, 1994). Similar to constructivism, interpretivists acknowledge the importance of the first person experience of the researcher in the setting. However, interpretivists continue to struggle with maintaining an objective eye in the field. This is a specific difference between interpretivists and constructivists, as constructivists believe that objectivity implies a real world that can be known. The real world, constructivists believe, is a matter of perspective (Schwandt, 1994). This particular concern for balance between subjectivity and objectivity reinforces the importance of the triangulation of data sources for the study.

The last question regarding methodological assumptions takes into account the ontological and epistemological questions addressed. Because it is necessary to interpret a multitude of actions and behaviors of the participants as they interact with one another and with the researcher, methods requiring the involvement and interaction between the participants and the researcher in the field are appropriate.

Methodology

A constructivist/interpretivist perspective indicates that a "qualitative-naturalistic-formative approach" (Patton, 1990, p. 53) is the most suitable where, among others the researcher is exploring the effects of a particular program or environment on the participants. An ethnographic approach is deemed appropriate as the description of the cultures [democratic classrooms] is the primary goal (Fetterman, 1989; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1993). More specifically, an appropriate research design for the questions asked in this study is holistic ethnography.

Holistic Ethnography

As defined by Jacob (1987), holistic ethnographers analyze and describe the culture of the classroom by looking at its beliefs and practices. The behaviors and interactions of the students and the teacher with one another in their classroom, in terms of the students' motivation for civic participation, as well as the beliefs and practices of students and teacher, are the focus of this study. The purpose of this study, describing the environment of the democratic classroom, is compatible with the goals of the holistic

ethnographer, which includes the exploration and description of a culture in order to understand its uniqueness (Jacob, 1987). Holistic ethnography allows the researcher to look at the entire culture and all of the perceived influences (e.g., the social context) on the participants (students and teacher) in that setting.

Purpose

The primary purpose of this study is that through the description of classrooms which embrace experiential democratic citizenship, it might be possible to better determine what specific qualities and characteristics in these classrooms promote motivation for civic participation. A secondary purpose of this study is to determine what effects the broader social world in which the classrooms reside have on motivating civic participation. These first two purposes are connected as the context in which these classrooms are situated, the prior experiences of the teachers and students, and the school settings are reflected in how these democratic classrooms function. A tertiary purpose of this study is to contribute to the body of knowledge available that focuses on citizenship education in the classroom; to provide the additional classroom studies that has been called for by van Sledright and Grant (1994).

Guiding Research Questions

The research questions for this study reflect the study's purpose. The principal research question is: What are the qualities and characteristics of a democratic elementary

classroom in which students develop the motivation to civically participate beyond the classroom? The guiding research questions are:

- 1. What are the characteristics of an elementary classroom that values civic participation?
 - la. What democratic elements are evident in the classroom structure?
- 1b. How do students interact with the teacher and with one another in ways that reflect the democratic nature of the classroom?
 - 1c. How, and by whom, are opportunities for civic participation introduced?
- 2. How does the broader social context surrounding these classrooms influence the civic participation of the students?

Pilot Study

In preparation for the full study, a pilot study was conducted during the spring of 1996 in the fifth-grade classroom with a teacher who was also a participant in the full study (Obenchain, 1996). Since the pilot study and full study were done in two separate years, the students in the two studies were completely different. A purpose of this pilot study was to look at one self-contained elementary classroom that embraced experiential democratic citizenship. A second purpose of the pilot study was to determine the most appropriate data collection strategies, interview formats, and the researcher's role. As required by Purdue University, any study involving humans required informed consent from the participants, which was obtained.

The pilot study included approximately 27 hours of classroom observation (six and one-half days), as well as interviews with both students and the classroom teacher. From the analyses of the field notes and the interview data of the pilot study, an observation strategy and initial interview guides and questions were formulated for students and teachers in the full study.

The researcher took fieldnotes during the observation periods. As Fetterman (1989, p. 107) points out, fieldnotes are the "brick and mortar" of an ethnography and contain information from both observations and interviews. An attempt was made to not record everything that occurred during the site visits, rather to note in a very abbreviated fashion those behaviors or actions which may be interpreted as significant to the questions asked in the study. In attempting to record everything one sees, two important cautions about the taking of fieldnotes must be noted. If the researcher attempts to record all that is observed, an assumption may be made that there may be one "best" or "correct" recording of events. This assumption is contrary to a constructivist framework which promotes the belief that meaning is constructed by the participants (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995). Second, if the researcher attempts to write down everything that occurs, more time may be spent taking notes and less time spent observing the participants and setting. It is accepted that the researcher must make decisions on what is and is not important enough to note (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1993). To avoid an inclination to record everything, and to maintain a focus for what to record, the researcher relied on a daily reflection of the guiding research questions as a criterion for the recording of fieldnotes. By a consistent reflection on these questions, the researcher was able to target

actions and behavior that may be important in answering the questions. An attempt was also made to not observe too narrowly. There is an important and delicate balance to achieve in recording enough, but not so much that the opportunity to observe and participate is compromised (Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw, 1995).

In addition to the regular classroom, observations were also made during the physical education class. A limitation to the pilot study was that the researcher did not observe students during other special classes, lunch, or recess. Observations in the special classes did not occur for two reasons. One, the music teacher was uncomfortable with other adults present during her time with the students. Two, the other special classes did not meet on the days the researcher was in the classroom. The researcher chose not to observe the students during the lunch and recess periods. Aides, usually parents of school students, were hired to supervise the students during lunch and recess; no other adults (including teachers) were present. It was believed by the researcher that her presence in these settings might create discomfort both for students participating in the study and other students at the school. Although not attending these specific occasions with the students, the researcher did walk to and from these places with the students. Quite by accident, it was discovered that students were comfortable during these times and some students would initiate conversations, providing valuable data.

Several artifacts were collected during the pilot study, including school documents and copies of student work. These artifacts provided support to assertions made as a result of observation fieldnotes and interview transcripts. The artifacts that came from the school provided information regarding the broader context in which the classroom was

situated. Included among these artifacts was the mission statement of the school.

Classroom artifacts consisted of classroom newsletters and weekly assignment sheets prepared by the teacher. These artifacts provided an additional source of information about the teacher and her philosophy and goals in establishing a democratic classroom.

Student artifacts consisted mainly of posters related to citizenship education that students had prepared, as well as citizenship essays. Information from these artifacts were used in two ways. The content was used as probes during the interviews with both the teacher and students and to provide support for behaviors or actions observed in the classroom.

In order to determine the most appropriate interview strategies, four combinations of interview strategy were attempted during the pilot study.

	Group	Individual
Unstructured	X	X
Semi-Structured	X	X

Figure 1: Pilot Study Student Interview Combinations

Because of the ethnographic nature of the study, it was felt that unstructured or semi-structured formats would be the most appropriate interview methods (Fontana and Frey, 1994). Interviews were formal in the sense that they were conducted in a new setting and were audio-taped. These interviews were conducted on the last two days of the researcher's site visit. Questions in both formats were very open-ended. The unstructured interviews for both the group and individual were centered around the question, "Can you tell me what it is like in Room 23?" The interview questions are attached as Appendix A. Follow-up questions were asked dependent upon the answers given, while continuing to keep the research questions in mind. Results of these

interviews during the pilot study indicated that an unstructured individual interview was not as telling as was hoped. Two individual interviews with two different students were conducted during the pilot study. These two students seemed somewhat uncomfortable in the setting and were unable to participate in the interview as full participants/conversants. Students in the semi-structured individual interview format were more comfortable, but were still hesitant and cautious in their answers. Both unstructured and semi-structured group interviews provided rich data, as the students were able to enhance and expand upon one another's ideas. This was especially true of the semi-structured interview format. The experiences in the pilot study influenced the researcher's decision to use semi-structured group interviews during the full study.

Informal conversations with the participating teacher were held daily. These conversations were valuable in clarifying or explaining things that had occurred during the day; and they also provided the opportunity to hear the teacher's impression of researcher observations. These conversations became a part of the full study and were documented with the researcher's fieldnotes. In addition, one semi-structured interview was held with the participating teacher after the site visits were completed. Primary questions for this interview are attached as Appendix B and were determined by the research questions. Probes to these questions were determined after initial analysis of the fieldnotes and student interviews.

Due to time constraints, the researcher did not formally interview parents, administrators, or community members during the pilot study. Because one of the research question deals with the social context in which the democratic classroom is

placed, the lack of these additional interviews hindered the analysis of the data. The researcher believed that these individuals might be able to place the classroom in a larger setting and shed light on additional influences on the members of the classroom. The full study included interviews with a parent from each site, an administrator, and individuals from area social services or volunteer agencies.

Data Collection

In consideration of the research questions and the experiences in the pilot study, the researcher collected primary data for the study proper through fieldnotes taken during periods of classroom and school observation and through semi-structured group interviews with the participants (participating teachers and students). Secondary data consisted of semi-structured interviews with the school principals, selected parents, and social service agencies in the communities. Additional secondary data consisted of site artifacts collected from a variety of sources.

In preparation for the study, the researcher obtained consent from those participating in the study. Consent forms for the participants were approved by the Purdue University Human Subjects Committee, the classroom teacher, and the appropriate administrator from each of the two schools in which the classroom was located. An explanation of the informed consent procedures, as well as sample consent forms are contained in Appendices C(1), C(2), and C(3).

The following paragraphs describe the sources and types of data collected for this study. Also included is a timeline that details when the data was collected.

Primary Data

Fieldnotes

Fieldnotes are the traditional and one of the most common methods of collecting data in an ethnography (Fetterman, 1989; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1993). The researcher entered the two research settings with a notepad and pen and as unobtrusively as possible recorded the social environment of the members of the classroom. Whenever possible, notes were made as the observations occurred, rather than at a later point in time. It is important to record not only the events or interactions as they occur, but also the perceptions of the researcher (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995). Due to the nature of the settings of the study (school classrooms), it was fairly easy to make notes as events occurred and to insert researcher comments. Most fieldnotes were taken as the researcher sat at a desk in the two classrooms under study. A notebook and writing utensil were not unusual in either classroom, and their presence and use was fairly unobtrusive. On occasions when the researcher did not have her notebook, or it would have been disruptive to write fieldnotes, a serious attempt was made to jot the nctes down as soon as possible. This was usually done within 15 to 20 minutes. However, one student in the first setting served as a reminder that the researcher and her note-taking were not as unobtrusive as hoped. The student teacher in the room, Mr. C, had prepared a lesson for the students on writing an autobiography. The students were allowed to write in the role of someone or something else (i.e., someone famous) if they were uncomfortable writing

about themselves. The researcher's notebook was the central character in Lily's autobiography, predicting what might be contained in it (fieldnotes, 9/23/96).

Some fieldnotes were also taken after casual conversations, which could also be characterized as informal interviews, also appropriate in ethnography. These casual conversations occurred with study participants, as well as a variety of individuals associated with the participants of the study. This included other teachers, other school staff, parents, and various members of the community.

As recommended by Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw (1995, p. 12), fieldnotes should be written in a conscious attempt to "preserve [the] indigenous meanings" and not to insert any preconceptions the researcher may hold about the participants or the setting. A purpose of the pilot study which proceeded the full study was to provide the researcher with the opportunity to practice data collection strategies, including the writing of fieldnotes (Obenchain, 1996). The pilot study also allowed the researcher to practice her focus on the research questions in order to not attempt to record everything in the fieldnotes that occurred in the settings.

Fetterman (1989, p. 107) recommends the daily typing of fieldnotes to insure that as many of the day's events can be recalled and expanded upon during the transcription.

When possible, the fieldnotes for this study were transcribed into a computer file the same day as they were taken. Additional notes and researcher comments were added at this time as well.

Semi-Structured Interviews - Teacher and Students

Formal structured and semi-structured interviews serve a purpose of allowing the researcher to compare responses and place these responses into common themes or categories (Fetterman, 1989). The interview questions are determined by the guiding research questions of the study. As determined through the pilot study, the semi-structured interview format was determined to be an appropriate interview strategy for all of the interviews. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with the participating teachers, 10 students at the first site, and 15 students at the second site Interview questions for the study are included in Appendices D(1) and D(2) respectively. The semi-structured interview, which may also be called a focused interview, calls for a more general introduction of the topic followed by more specific questions as the discussion proceeds (Rubin & Rubin, 1995, p. 5). The interview questions for the study begin with a very general "what is it like" or "what do you think" type of question, followed by more specific and probing questions which are designed to provide information which will attend to the guiding research questions of the study.

Secondary Data

Semi-Structured Interviews - Principals, Parents, and Social Service Agencies

Semi-structured interviews were also conducted with the two school principals, a parent from each site, three social service agency representatives from the first site and two social service agency representatives from the second site. These interview questions are also contained in Appendices E(1), E(2), and E(3), respectively. These interviews are

considered secondary sources of data as they reside outside of the classrooms under study and are designed to help place the perceptions of the participants into a social context.

Interviews of a variety of participants also aid in the triangulation of the data as multiple participants are interviewed with the same focus provided by the research questions.

Ouestionnaire

Each of the participating teachers, prior to the beginning of the study, completed a questionnaire which requested a variety of information including educational background, length of time in the field, and a brief socio-cultural description of the school and classroom. This questionnaire helped the researcher choose two teachers which would insure some diversity between the two settings.

Archival Data

Both of the participating teachers had attended the James F. Ackerman Center for Democratic Citizenship summer institute in 1995 and had submitted an application in which each teacher explained his or her beliefs about the need for citizenship education in his or her own school. These applications are an additional source of data for understanding what the two participating teachers believe about citizenship education and democratic classrooms.

Artifacts

The researcher collected a variety of artifacts to support or dispute the primary data. According to Denzin, triangulation is an important way to strengthen the study as "...no single method ever adequately solves the problem of rival causal factors... (as cited in Patton, 1990, p. 187). Data triangulation is achieved in this study by the collection of data through fieldnotes, interviews, and artifacts. A variety of types of artifacts relating to the research questions were collected.

Classroom Artifacts

Classroom artifacts consist of student work as well as items produced by the teacher. Student work includes essays, posters, class constitutions and class newspapers.

Those items produced by the teacher include schedules, homework packets, and newsletters.

School Artifacts

Although some school artifacts, like newsletters, were distributed by the classroom teacher, the larger school was the original source. In addition to newsletters, school artifacts include parent-teacher organization information, club flyers, and fund-raising information. For both schools, an important artifact is the school mission statement document as it provides a triangulation point along with the principal and teacher regarding the school's focus.

Community Artifacts

For the purpose of placing each of the two classrooms under study into an appropriate social context, artifacts from each of the two communities were collected. These items primarily include demographic data and volunteer and community agency information.

Fall, 1995 and Spring, 1996	Collection and review of archival data and teacher questionnaire
Spring and Summer 1996	Negotiate access and consent to sites
Week of August 26, 1996	Fieldnotes and artifacts data collection in Room 23 at Charles Lindbergh Elementary School
Weeks of September 3, 9, 16, 23, 1996 (19 school days)	Fieldnotes and artifacts data collection in Room 11 at Las Flores Elementary School
September 10, 1997	Interview with Mr. L., participating teacher at Las Flores Elementary School
September 19 and 20, 1997	Interviews with Las Flores parent, Mr. Valdez., principal at Las Flores Elementary School and social service agency representatives
September 25 - 27, 1997	Interviews with students in Mr. L.'s classroom and Mr. L.
October, November, and December 1996 (20 school days)	Fieldnotes and artifacts data collection in Room 23 at Charles Lindbergh Elementary School
February 1997	Interviews with Mrs. R., participating teacher at Charles Lindbergh; Dr. Simmons, principal; and, participating students
March 1997	Interviews with Charles Lindbergh parent and social service agency representatives

Figure 2: Dissertation Data Collection Timeline

Data Analysis

Both within- and cross-case analyses were used to analyze the multiple sources of data as the researcher inductively looked for patterns, themes, and categories (Patton,

1990). Both the primary and secondary data were subject to analysis which was done with all of the data from both cases, and then on a case by case basis. According to Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 25), a case is a "phenomenon of sort occurring in a bounded context." Each of the two democratic classrooms is the phenomenon under study and each is placed within the context of the school and community. Each classroom is a separate case; and, each case is a separate unit of analysis. The first case is room 11 at Las Flores Elementary School and Mr. L. is the teacher. The second case is room 23 at Charles Lindbergh Elementary School and Mrs. R. is the teacher.

Informal data analysis occurred during the data collection phase as the daily transcription and review of fieldnotes allowed the researcher to constantly compare previously collected data to the new data. Both primary and secondary data were subject to this analysis. The data were continually reviewed to ascertain if patterns were developing, if additional questions were raised, and to see if the multiple sources of data supported or contradicted one another. This "constant comparative method" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 62) allowed the researcher to continually refer back to the research questions and previously collected data in order to begin to generate assertions while the data collection was ongoing.

A more formal data analysis began with the review of the primary data from both sites after data collection was completed. The transcripts of the fieldnotes and the teachers' and students' interviews were read multiple times without making notations. In three subsequent readings, the researcher began to make marginal comments and notations as questions arose or categories developed. These comments and notations in the primary

data assisted the researcher in seeing the emergence of five main categories of concepts and allowed the researcher to discard data deemed irrelevant to the guiding research questions. This stage of open-coding included the "... breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing, and categorizing [of the] data" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 61). The main categories/concepts were color-coded for easy reference and viewing.

After the emergence of these main categories, the researcher then reviewed the secondary sources of data to ascertain their relationship to the primary data already analyzed and categorized. The next step was to review the entire set of data again to ascertain if the categories still seemed appropriate and consistent. The researcher then physically separated the data according to the color coding and reanalyzed each category for consistency and to determine if sub-categories emerged, which generally occurred.

The data were also analyzed on a case by case basis and the analysis procedure was the same for both cases. First, the raw data from each case were collected and organized for easy access and reference. Second, a case record was created which included the condensation, further organization, and classification of the raw data. The data for each case were continually reviewed and analyzed during and after data collection to insure that sufficient data were available in order to construct a case record and subsequent case study. The case study is presented in the study as a typical day in the classroom, with the unit of analysis being the classroom and its participants (Yin, 1994, pp. 21-22).

Role of Researcher

The researcher assumed the role of both participant observer and observer for this study. Participation as opposed to just observation status was necessary because of the ethnographic nature of the study (Patton, 1990). As a participant observer, the researcher became immersed in the culture (the two classrooms) under study. In order to understand what was going on, the researcher needed to be able to enter the culture, rather than just observe from the periphery. Patton (1990) details several advantages of the participant observer status. Among them:

- 1. The researcher is better able to understand the context of the culture and is often able to observe things that may escape either a casual observer or a participant. This appeared to occur in both sites as the students were very comfortable saying and doing things in front of the researcher that were not done in view of the teacher.
- 2. Participant interviews are likely to be open and receptive to someone seen as a participant. In two of the formal student interviews, different students put their hands over the tape recorder and asked if the teacher would be listening to the tape before answering. After an assurance of confidentiality, the students proceeded with their response.
- 3. In informal interviews (casual conversations), it was also easier for the researcher to ask, "What do you think about...?" This opportunity to encourage reflection and introspection with all participants added an important dimension to the data that may not have been present if the researcher was not able to ask these questions and had to rely solely on visual observations and artifact collection.

In both sites, the researcher was in the classroom, the halls, the playground, and at several "specials" (i.e., physical education, music) with the students. The researcher also spent before and after school, lunch, staff meetings, and back-to-school night with the teachers. Although students did not seem distracted by the researcher's presence, one of the participating teachers twice mentioned that while maybe not distracted, he was aware of the presence of the researcher (fieldnotes, 9/3/96 & 9/5/96). The researcher also served as an observer in the study as she was responsible for all data collection and data analysis.

Description of Sites, Context, and Participants

The following paragraphs contain a description of the site selection procedures and a description of the two sites. The site selection procedure is fairly detailed as it sets the two participating teachers into a citizenship education context. A constant in this study is that both teachers participated in a summer institute for teachers, and have incorporated that experience into their classrooms (interview with Mr. L., 9/10/96 & interview with Dr. Simmons., 2/18/97).

Site Selection Procedure

The two elementary self-contained classrooms were chosen to participate in this study based upon each teacher's commitment to a strong citizenship education component in his or her classroom. This commitment was determined in part through the participation of the teachers in a two-week intensive summer institute sponsored by the *James F*.

Ackerman Center for Democratic Citizenship ("Ackerman Center") held at Purdue University in West Lafayette, Indiana, during June of 1995. The goal of the Ackerman Center is to use its programs, institutes, and resources to provide classroom teachers the knowledge, skills, and resources necessary to develop citizenship education programs in their home communities which focus on three major principles:

- 1. A knowledge and understanding of democratic core values which are considered central to citizenship in the United States. The specific values under study were: patriotism, justice, diversity, common good, individual rights, equality of opportunity, and truth. These values were culled from the writings of various scholars through their analysis and evaluations of founding documents of the United States, such as the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution (Butts, 1988 & Council for the Advancement of Civic Education, 1991).
- 2. The development of a strong sense of community is seen as a central component in each citizenship education program. According to the Ackerman Center (1994), "citizenship implies membership and shared values and concerns for the good of the total community."
- 3. Active participation in the community is also a central principle. The community in which students participate may be defined as the classroom, school, city, or globe, depending on the focus which may be developed by the students or teacher, or both together. Service-learning which promotes academic learning combined with needed service to the community is the method promoted by the Ackerman Center.

The decision to use Ackerman Center teachers was based in part on convenience and availability, not unheard of in ethnography (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1993). These teachers did, however, represent a very definite and deliberately selected sample of K-8 teachers in the United States. Teachers at the Ackerman Center summer institute were partially self-selected through their decision to make application for the institute. Over 1,200 applications had been distributed across the United States through direct mailings to administrators and through distribution at national, regional and state conferences. Of the approximately 100 teachers who applied, the director and outreach coordinator of the Ackerman Center selected the 20 teachers based on their applications and recommendations. According to the director, the section of the application requesting a narrative detailing each teacher's vision of what his or her citizenship program would look like, and what it might accomplish, was a significant factor in determining the institute participants. In addition, each teacher had to submit a letter from his or her school administrator promising support.

Of the 20 teachers attending the 1995 institute, 12 teachers were in self-contained classrooms. The choice of self-contained classrooms was important in order to make the most efficient use of the researcher's time. Also, Hammersley and Atkinson (1993) state that it is often just as important to observe the ordinary as the extraordinary. By being in the participant classrooms all day, the researcher was able to observe both. Ordinary events may include line up procedures, opportunities to study together, and casual conversations among students. More extraordinary events may include specific lessons designed to encourage or motivate students to civically participate.

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Five elementary classroom teachers were identified by the researcher and her major advisor as possible sites. Criteria for this selection were based primarily upon each teacher's continuing focus on citizenship education through the 1995-1996 school year, elements of democracy in the classroom, and an interest in participating in the study. This continuing focus was indicated through the teacher's participation and/or leadership in implementing a citizenship program in his or her school or classroom, development and use of lessons and activities which promoted the three components of the *Ackerman Center*, and each teacher's interest in citizenship education.

During the spring of 1996, formal contact was made with each of the five teachers through a letter of intent and questionnaire. At this stage, one teacher dropped out because of other commitments. Formal contact was then made with the appropriate administrators of the four remaining possible sites, and initial approval was given by all. At this stage of site selection, fate and funding constraints intruded and the proposed selection of three sites was narrowed to two sites.

Setting and Participant Descriptions

The following descriptions are meant to introduce the reader to the two teachers, their students, and to the communities in which each reside. A more detailed examination of each setting and the study participants are included in Chapter 5 which includes the two case studies. In the descriptions contained here and in Chapter 5, pseudonyms are used for all participants, including the schools and cities.

Mr. L.'s Classroom

The first site was located in room 11, the classroom of Mr. L., a sixth-grade teacher in the city of Edinburgh in Southern California. Data were primarily collected the first four weeks of the 1996-1997 school year. Mr. L. is a veteran teacher, having taught for 11 years, all in the same school district. Mr. L. is the bi-lingual teacher at Las Flores elementary school and in his first year of teaching sixth grade. He has also taught second, fourth, and fifth grades. Mr. L. is a white male, in his mid-thirties, and recently married. His undergraduate degree is in liberal studies (Great Books Program) from the University of Notre Dame. He earned his teaching credential and a master's degree in curriculum and instruction from San Diego State University.

Las Flores Elementary School was built in 1962 and its campus style design is typical of schools in warm climates. Las Flores is a neighborhood school in the northern part of Edinburgh, and with the exception of a few disabled students, most of its 606 students walk to school. The school is in an older and well-established neighborhood with a diverse population. The mission statement of Las Flores, printed in both English and Spanish, states that the school's mission is to "ensure that all students receive every educational opportunity to prepare for all future challenges, including life-long learning, and to build responsible citizens..." (Room 11 artifact collection).

Many parents accompany their children to school in the morning and wait near the playground chatting with one another, their children, or teachers until students are led into their classrooms. The administrative offices are at the center of the campus with primary grades to the east and north and upper grades to the west of the administrative offices.

The school has two playgrounds with a variety of standard equipment. There is also a library, computer room and multi-purpose gymnasium/lunch room. Mr. L.'s room is in a building that houses eight upper grades classrooms and is situated behind the gymnasium/lunch room. Room 11 is an end room and is adjacent to the school garden which is offered some financial support by the local arboretoreum. Mr. L. has been in room 11 since he came to Las Flores five years ago. There is a wall of windows at the back of the room near the door, a sink, and drinking fountain. One wall contains storage cabinets and a bulletin board, and the remaining two walls have chalkboards. Mr. L. has decorated the room with a variety of large college flags, faded pictures of national monuments and historic sites, and large posters displaying the seven core democratic values introduced at the Ackerman Center. Room 11 is very crowded with approximately 35 student desks, a round reading table, and a desk and supply table for Mr. L. Student desks are placed in a variety of configurations, but are usually in groups of four to six. This room is very warm and stuffy during September and is practically bursting with people, furniture and supplies. Fifteen of Mr. L.'s 34 students have Spanish surnames; three are non-English speakers; and, at least six others speak English as a second language. In the 1995-1996 school year, over 50% of sixth grade students at Las Flores tested above the 50 percentile in Reading Comprehension and Language. Thirty nine percent of the students tested above the 50 percentile in Math Concepts.

Mrs. R.'s Classroom

The second site is located in room 23, the classroom of Mrs. R., a fifth-grade teacher in Lassen, a small Indiana city. Data were primarily collected in the months of October through December of the 1996-1997 school year in Mrs. R.' classroom at Charles Lindbergh Elementary School. Mrs. R., also a veteran teacher of 13 years has spent much of her teaching experience in fifth-grade. Mrs. R. has taught fourth grade and in a previous position was a gifted education coordinator. Mrs. R. is a white female, in her mid-thirties, and married. Her undergraduate degree is in elementary education and her master's degree is in educational psychology, both from Purdue University.

Charles Lindbergh Elementary School was built in 1995 and is in its second year of occupation. A part of the school's vision statement promotes the belief that "...learning should never be confined to the school walls or traditional school schedules, and that service learning should be a part of every learner's educational program in which learners can examine relevant issues and acquire skills and processes which support the development of continuous learning" (Room 23 artifact collection). Charles Lindbergh is a neighborhood school, but some students are bussed. The majority of the 370 students walk to school or are provided transportation by family. The school is situated in a growing area of Lassen, and there is an abundance of new housing surrounding the school, which was built to accommodate the growing population of the area. Charles Lindbergh Elementary School has a great many advantages as a new school in terms of facilities and supplies and each room contains a television, video-cassette recorder, multiple computers, a compact-disc player, and telephone. Administrative offices are in the center of the

building; lunchroom, gymnasium, art and music rooms are to the east; the library, computer lab, and classrooms are to the west. Room 23 is one of two fifth grade classrooms and is situated between the other fifth grade classroom and the classroom for disabled students. Two walls in room 23 are occupied by teacher storage and student closets; another has two windows with a permanent bulletin board and table of computers in the middle; and, the last wall has a white board. Most of the room is carpeted, but there is a tiled section near the sink and storage cabinets. The room is tidy and uncrowded and student desks are placed in a variety of combinations, although single desks have been the norm during the 1996-1997 school year. The room is decorated with a variety of colorful cartoon-like motivational posters with sayings such as "get organized," "plan ahead," and "pay attention" on them Student work is also displayed, including art work and a project which includes "shields" of the seven core democratic values presented at the Ackerman institute. This year room 23 has 24 students; two speak English as a second language (Spanish and Hindi). In the 1995-1996 school year, Mrs. R.'s students tested at the 66th percentile in Reading Comprehension and Language. The students tested at the 48th percentile in Math Concepts.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

The findings of the study are presented in both chapters 4 and 5. Chapter 4 includes the findings generated from the analyses of the entire collection of data from both sites regarding the democratic elements in elementary classrooms which may motivate students to civically participate. Chapter 5 provides an in-depth picture of each of the two sites through the presentation of two case studies and the view of a typical day in the classroom. The same types of data were collected and analyzed from both sites, which led to the overall assertions. However, the two sites are distinctly different and those differences require exploration and discussion as they further influence the major assertions of the study. Although the two participating teachers are similar in age and teaching experience, and have similar goals for citizenship education, they are very different people. They live and teach in very different communities, geographically and ethnically; and they also teach with two very different principals. The distinct differences between the sites necessitated the development of the separate case studies.

The analyses of the data suggest the following two assertions. One, in classrooms where democratic elements such as providing student choice, shared responsibility, shared decision-making, and deliberate opportunities for student civic participation are present, students are beginning to accept more responsibility for their immediate community. Figure 3 displays assertion one which is based on the analysis of all of the data, both primary and secondary, from both sites.

In classrooms where democratic elements such as providing student choice, shared responsibility, shared decision-making, and deliberate opportunities for student civic participation are present, students begin to accept more responsibility for their immediate community.

Figure 3: Assertion One Accepting Community Responsibility

Assertion two deals with the influence of the broader social context surrounding these classrooms. In this study, and the subsequent analyses, the social context is represented by the school environment as determined by the building principal and his/her priorities in the school. When the school principal makes civic participation for students a high priority, as opposed to a low priority, those classrooms striving to include democratic elements and civic participation have more success in implementing those elements.

Figure 4 includes assertion two which was generated primarily from the cross case analysis of the two cases in this study.

When the school principal makes student civic participation a high priority, as opposed to a low priority, those classrooms striving to include democratic elements and civic participation have more success with that inclusion.

Figure 4: Assertion Two Influence of the School Principal

The remainder of this chapter includes the evidence to support the two assertions of the study. It includes the categories and sub-categories generated by the data analyses, data excerpts to support these categories, and a discussion of the categories.

Assertion One: Accepting Community Responsibility

The first assertion generated is that in classrooms where democratic elements such as providing student choice, shared responsibility, shared decision-making, and deliberate opportunities for student civic participation are present, students are beginning to accept more responsibility for their immediate community. The categories supporting this assertion answer the overall question of: 1. What are the qualities and characteristics of an elementary classroom which values civic participation? Sub-questions also answered in this assertion are: 1a. What democratic elements are evident in the classroom structure? 1b. How do students interact with the teacher and with one another in ways which reflect the democratic nature of the classroom? 1c. How, and by whom, are opportunities for civic participation introduced? Democratic elements evident in the classroom and the ways students and the teacher interact with one another include opportunities for student choice, shared responsibility for the classroom and others in the community, and shared decision-making. Civic participation opportunities are introduced deliberately by the teacher.

Category One: Student Choice

Allowing multiple opportunities for student choice is evident in both of the classrooms under study. Opportunities for students to make choices occur often, usually numerous times in a day, and in a variety of ways. Student choice is usually offered to the students in one of two ways, deliberately or with less deliberate intentions. Both

teachers offer choice in both of these ways, although Mrs. R. offers deliberate or structured choice more often than Mr. L.

Deliberate Choice

Opportunities for deliberate choice include those times when the teacher creates a situation which requires student choice and/or those opportunities where the teacher's choice of words specifically presents choice to a student or students. Examples of this include Mrs. R.'s distribution of a Seating Preference Form (Room 23 artifact collection) and the presentation of an opportunity to choose where one would like to sit. This form includes the following: "These are people who might distract me if I sit by them. These are people who might cause me to get into trouble if I sit by them. These are people who will probably encourage me to do my best work if I sit by them." Also included are preferences of single, double, or group seating, as well as where in the room (e.g., front or back). Mrs. R. has created a very specific opportunity for students to recognize and exercise a choice. By the questions/items placed on the form, she encourages students to think carefully and to make wise choices that will help them be successful in room 23.

More often than the above described example, choice is offered on what work students will do and in what order. This occurs in both classrooms as the teachers offer the students a choice of class work. Typical examples include Mrs. R.'s question of "What would you like to work on now?" as student finish seatwork (fieldnotes, 11/13/96); and Mr. L.'s presentation of two options in presenting their work on Ancient Greece - a fan-fold display or a play (fieldnotes, 9/23/96). These choices are fairly

structured as the teacher tends to provide two or three alternatives from which the students can choose. In other words, doing nothing is not a viable choice. In another example, Mr. L. states, "I'm going to give you a choice of organizing your binder, cleaning your desk, or doing your homework" (fieldnotes, 9/10/96). Mr. L. deliberately tells the students that he is giving them a choice and he also limits the alternatives from which to choose.

Less Deliberate Choice

Less deliberately structured opportunities for choice also occur often in both classrooms and tend to consist of comments to individual students. Mr. L. uses this type of choice frequently with the classroom jobs held by the students. Students are asked to set up their tutoring and gardening schedules with the direction of "Do whatever you think is best" (9/10/96) or "I'll leave it up to you" (fieldnotes, 9/3/96). Less deliberate choices presented to the entire class are also used by both teachers, who allow certain parameters on assignments to be left to student choice such as writing utensil, length, use of pictures, and presentation style (fieldnotes 10/18/96, 9/3/96, & 10/8/96). These choices are presented casually and without a deliberate tone. It may also be noted that in some cases students do not recognize these less deliberate choices as choices. In one instance, Mr. L. asks the students if they get to make decisions at school. They bring up choosing who to play with and what to eat for lunch, but not decisions they have made related to choice. Mr. L. reminds them that on this particular day, he has given them choices (requiring them to make a decision) on both a math and social studies assignment (fieldnotes, 9/5/96).

In summary, one democratic element included in both of these classrooms is the opportunity for students to make multiple and meaningful choices as they go about their day in the classroom. Students are given the opportunity to make decisions that will have consequences and that may affect their classroom life. By choosing to do one assignment over another, they risk a poor grade on the assignment that may not get finished. By choosing to complete an assignment in pen instead of pencil, they acknowledge that mistakes may be non-correctable. Students who are provided these choices throughout their school career have the opportunity to learn from the consequences of their wise and untwise choices.

Category Two: Shared Responsibility

A second category to emerge from the analyses of the data is one of shared responsibility. This category differs from student choice in the way it is presented to the students. Shared responsibility is presented in much more of a community spirit than when choices are offered, which tend to be more of a personal as opposed to community matter. In the category of shared responsibility, the teacher and students share the responsibility to keep the classroom running smoothly, to help themselves and one another learn, and to accept responsibility for others in the community.

Classroom Operation

In order to help the classrooms run smoothly, both of the teachers participating in the study rely on their students to share the responsibility for making this happen. In Mrs.

R.'s classroom this is generally done through the establishment of classroom jobs within a mini-economy. During the first week of school, students are advised there will be a minieconomy in the classroom; students will apply for jobs; and they will be paid. They are also advised there will be expenses such as rent, utilities, and taxes (fieldnotes 8/27/96). In the Room 23 mini-economy, students are trained to perform jobs that are meaningful in the sense that they help and contribute to the success of the classroom. Examples of jobs include: physical education assistant, audio-visual technician, payroll clerk, message runner, Mrs. R.'s personal assistant, bank teller, librarian, lunch count person, and phone message taker, among others. Students understand that their jobs are important now and that they are preparation for adulthood. In the interviews with Mrs. R.'s students, students in all six interviews said that the jobs required responsibility and did help the classroom run better. Wayne and Garth (students chose their own pseudonyms, which accounts for the reference to the main characters in the movie, Wayne's World) spoke about their respective jobs of recycler and bank teller #2. As with all of the other students interviewed, both students were able to describe their job, its responsibilities, and the consequences of not performing their job well. According to Garth, if there was no bank teller, "...you wouldn't get your money, you wouldn't pay your rent..." and Wayne stated that if there was no recycler, "The recycling bin would be all filled up and be overflowing like a dump" (student interview #4, 2/17/96). Students also remarked that these jobs helped Mrs. R. so she would not have to do all of these things. According to Scotty, knowing one's specific jobs also helps to prevent problems in the classroom because when it is time for papers to be passed out, or some other job, everyone knows their

responsibility ahead of time and there are no fights about it (student interview #3, 2/17/96). The students in Mrs. R.'s classroom (four of six interviews) also mentioned that the mini-economy was good preparation for adulthood, whether it be learning how to write and deposit a check, how to perform a certain job, or helping them learn the responsibilities of good citizenship. This is best summed up by Samantha, who stated that the mini-economy jobs were related to citizenship because they require responsibility. According to Samantha, "...you can't just lean back and let everybody else do the work if you're a good citizen. You have to help out" (student interview #5, 2/18/96).

Mr. L.'s students also have the opportunity to have classroom jobs; however, most of the jobs are related to the service-learning component of his citizenship education program, which will be discussed later in this chapter. Students in Mr. L.'s classroom do share responsibility in the classroom operation, but in a less structured way. Students are asked randomly to pass out papers, record grades, decorate the room, and settle new students into the classroom (fieldnotes 9/3/96, 9/5/96, 9/6/96, 9/10/96, 9/12/96, 9/23/96, 9/24/96). As the need for a particular task arises, Mr. L. will ask for a volunteer or will choose someone to assist. Some of Mr. L.'s students have requested jobs such as grader or attendance taker, but perform these jobs inconsistently. Unlike the students in Mrs. R.'s classroom, students in Mr. L.'s classroom do not see this shared responsibility as something important, or even as a responsibility and did not mention it in any interview. This is contrary to Mr. L.'s belief that he is offering his students, in a "concrete way," the opportunity to volunteer and serve their community, including the classroom (Mr. L. interview #1, 9/10/96). The researcher suspects that helping out in the classroom is a

typical occurrence for elementary students but without the structure of a mini-economy or some other type of structure, the impact is missing, as well as the potential to encourage responsibility. The mini-economy also gives Mrs. R.'s students a vocabulary to use as they refer to the particular responsibilities of their jobs.

In summary, both teachers encourage students in their respective classrooms to share the responsibility in helping the classroom to run smoothly. Mrs. R., however, encourages this responsibility in a more structured way through the use of a minieconomy. This is noted by Mr. L.'s students who do not see helping out as a form of shared responsibility.

Helping Themselves and One Another Learn

With an overall goal of community, both Mr. L. and Mrs. R. encourage shared responsibility for helping themselves, their classmates, and the teacher learn. Checking one's behavior and use of time are used consistently by both teachers and done by implying a responsibility to learn. Both teachers encourage students to accept responsibility for their learning by monitoring themselves. Mrs. R. does this by asking students to make wise choices in choosing study partners (fieldnotes 10/14/96 & 11/18/96); and Mr. L. does this by asking students to "take stock of what you have accomplished in the last 15 minutes" (fieldnotes, 9/19/96). Students are encouraged to see themselves as individuals with the ability and responsibility to have an effect on their learning. This is also reflected in both of the classroom constitutions with references to

"being the best learner you can be" (room 11 artifact collection) and "We will do our work without bothering others" (room 23 artifact collection).

Also reflected in the classroom constitutions, both teachers also often and consistently ask their students to help a neighbor, offer some assistance, explain something to a neighbor, or if you need help finding the answers, ask a neighbor. In a typical example, Mr. L. was teaching a math concept that was very difficult for many of his students. He tried a variety of verbal, physical, and written clues to help the students and when they began to understand he asked them to "explain the concept to a neighbor" and to "make a suggestion to your neighbor" to help them understand (fieldnotes, 9/18/96).

Mr. L. also makes a point of letting his students know that he does not know everything and that they are all learners. He stated that "I try to be honest with the students and I don't try to trick them...or make them think they are lesser than me...I try to treat them as equals in the learning environment" (Mr. L. interview #1, 9/10/96). This intent is noted in the classroom as Mr. L. asks students to help in answering questions or finding solutions to problems. A typical example was a discussion on capitalization for "god" when describing Greek gods (fieldnotes, 9/17/96). Although not observed, the researcher believes Mrs. R. also promotes the belief that they are all learners in the classroom. One example is the class constitution which was written by the students, but with Mrs. R.'s guidance. It begins, "We the learners of room 23..." (room 23 artifact collection). Mrs. R.'s status as a learner with her students does not appear to be that she consciously asks for student help, but appears to be more of a modeling behavior. In the student interview with Robyn and Samantha, they brought up that Mrs. R. takes classes in

the summer and said "...she is trying to be a better teacher..." and "She is taking pride in her time...so she can teach us better" (student interview #5, 2/18/96). Mrs. R. regularly shares with the students information about her life, including the books she reads and the classes she takes.

Both Mr. L. and Mrs. R. are attempting to nurture a community of learners where the teacher and students encourage, help, and support one another in the learning process. This is also supported in the classroom constitutions both classes created. The teachers provide multiple opportunities for the students to help one another and to learn together. Students are encouraged to assist classmates, and in Mr. L.'s classroom they are also encouraged to help Mr. L. learn.

Responsibility to Others in the Community

Responsibility to others in the community includes the classroom community as well as the larger school or geographic community and is categorized separate from the previously discussed sub-categories because it does not deal directly with academic learning behaviors. It is also different from service-learning opportunities which will be discussed in the next category. This responsibility was observed being encouraged in Mrs. R.'s classroom only. It was not discouraged in Mr. L.'s classroom, but there were no observed occurrences. In Mrs. R.'s classroom this typically consisted of reminders by either Mrs. R. or students of a responsibility to others. This usually took the form of encouraging considerate behavior toward others. This sense of responsibility was also noted in the classroom constitution with references to be considerate and responsible

(room 23 artifact collection). One example of responsibility to the community occurred in November near the end of the day when the safety patrols in room 23 were preparing to leave for their posts. The class was noisy and the daily check-out procedure was not progressing. Mrs. R. reminded the students that "we have got to work together to meet our responsibilities," referring to the responsibilities of the patrols to the school (fieldnotes, 11/15/96). Another example was related by Mrs. R. in her interview (2/26/97) with her reminder to the fifth-graders to be responsible for the younger children on a particularly icy day as school dismissed. One instance of this type of consideration was modeled by Mr. L., but in a very quiet and discreet manner. Near the end of the first day of school, he knelt by each of the new students and asked how they were doing (fieldnotes, 9/3/96). It did not appear that Mr. L. was using this as a conscious modeling opportunity.

In sum, creating a sense of community is central to this category of shared responsibility. Students are encouraged to be responsible to themselves, to their classmates, and to the community. Students are asked to monitor themselves and to accept responsibility for others and to provide assistance when needed because they are all members of the same community. Both teachers attempt to create this sense of community in the ways described above, as well as through deliberate community building activities which encourage students to learn more about one another and to trust one another. During the first week of school in both classrooms, the teachers used community building activities. Mrs. R. took her students to the gymnasium to create a "friendship web" that required Mrs. R. and the students to stand in a circle, say something positive

about a classmate, and toss a ball of yarn to that classmate (fieldnotes, 8/28/96). Mr. L. took his class to the playground where the students all joined hands and wound themselves into a tight corkscrew without letting go of one another (fieldnotes, 9/3/96).

Category Three: Shared Decision-Making

In both classrooms participating in this study, the teachers shared decision-making with their students. Shared decision-making was observed less often in the classrooms under study in terms of frequency than either of the two previously discussed categories. However, in the instance of classroom rule-making that occurred only once in each classroom observed, the importance of this shared decision-making may carry more weight as this shared decision remains evident in the classroom well after the decision is made. The decisions shared with the students generally occur in one of three subcategories: the establishment of classroom rules, academic shared decision-making, and non-academic shared decision-making.

The Establishment of Classroom Rules

In the two classrooms observed, Mr. L. and Mrs. R. took time during the first few weeks of the school year to establish the rules for the classroom with input by the students. Both teachers began this process by asking the students what would be the best environment in which they could all learn. Mr. L. introduced this by asking students what their goals were for the year (fieldnotes, 9/3/96) and Mrs. R. asked for students to think of things that would "help us work together to learn" (fieldnotes, 8/27/96). In both classes,

this discussion was time consuming and frustrating. Mr. L. encouraged his students to come up with big ideas as opposed to "little ideas" such as "raise [your] hand" and "correct your mistakes" (fieldnotes, 9/3/96). According to Mrs. R., she took about 20 minutes each morning for approximately three weeks in which she encouraged discussion around the questions of "How do you want to be treated?" and "What do you need to have happen in class in order to learn?" (fieldnotes, 10/7/96). Both classrooms eventually settled on a class constitution which reflected their discussions. The student involvement in this rule-making was something mentioned by the students in most of the interviews. In three of the four interviews with Mr. L.'s students (10 students), making the class constitution was mentioned when asked if the students thought they had a say in their classroom. In all six of the interviews with Mrs. R.'s students (15 students), the class constitution was mentioned in answering the questions of what was unique about the classroom or did the students think they got to have a say in what happened in their classroom. In the interview with Katrina, Paco, and Jeff (Mrs. R.'s students), the students responded to the question asking if they thought they had a say in the classroom. Katrina stated that they get to have a say "all the time," which was echoed by Paco and Jeff (student interview #2, 2/17/96). In further discussing the constitution, Katrina said, "...we got rules that tell not what you should be like, but what you can be like. You know what I mean like you have to be responsible, you have to try your best, you have to be fair to other people, you can't use put-downs or anything like that" (student interview #2, 2/17/96). This response was typical of the other interviews as students responded

that they had a say in making the class constitution (which contained rights and responsibilities/rules) and were able to recall those rules in the interview.

Academic Shared Decision-Making

This second sub-category of academic shared decision-making looks somewhat different in the two classrooms under study. In Mr. L.'s classroom, this is evidenced by student participation in scoring much of their own work and in creating the scoring criteria for several assignments. According to Mr. L., "...it creates community when they're participating in grading and they're participating in assessing, and when they're participating in planning assessment of work that they do" (Mr. L. interview #2, 9/27/96). In Mr. L.'s classroom, students have weekly homework packets that are distributed on Monday and turned in completed on Friday. Beginning in the third week, Mr. L. asked the students to include three lines on the folder containing their homework. There was to be a line each for Mr. L., Mr. C. (the student-teacher), and the student. A scoring guide was placed on the chalkboard and students were asked to evaluate their work, to be followed by an evaluation by both Mr. L. and Mr. C. In both weeks, the teachers remarked that students tended to be right on target with the evaluation and that the work tended to be of better quality in the second week (fieldnotes, 9/20/96 & 9/27/96). In addition to assessing themselves, students were also asked to work with the teacher in creating a scoring rubric to assess their own work (fieldnotes, 9/16/96, 9/17/96, & 9/27/96). The class first discussed what the criteria for assessment should be, followed by what an excellent, average, and poor example would look like.

In Mrs. R.'s classroom, academic shared decision-making looks different, as students do not participate in academic assessment. However, as a class the students and Mrs. R. worked together to generate questions for the class mascot, Rover, to take along on his various trips. Rover is a small stuffed dog and has been room 23's mascot for two years. His purpose is to "rove" the world learning about citizenship. He does this on behalf of the students in room 23 who cannot go to many of these places. In the 1996 - 97 school year, Rover has been to Germany, the gubernatorial and presidential inaugurations, and to observe a space shuttle launch. Mrs. R. and the students work together each time to generate questions relevant to the person and place Rover is visiting. This requires academic inquiry into the person or place that Rover is visiting. In one instance, when the researcher was present, Mrs. R. began the lesson by reminding the students that Rover was going to visit Vice President Gore and they needed to come up with questions. They first talked about what they already knew about the federal government and campaigning. and then moved on to deciding what new things they would like to know. Two questions that were generated included asking the Vice President what he would do if he were not elected and what had been his hardest decision as Vice President (fieldnotes, 10/8/96). In the letter the class received from the Vice President, these two questions were not specifically answered; however, he did explain his primary duties as Vice President and why he decided to go into politics (Room 23 artifact collection). Like the letter the students had received earlier from the President (Rover had also visited him), the Vice President's letter was framed and placed in the main hall of the school so all of the students could read it.

Shared Decision-Making for the Good of the Classroom

The last sub-category of shared decision-making appears only in Mrs. R.'s classroom and includes opportunities for shared decision-making which benefit the good of the classroom. The good of the classroom is defined as those decisions which are nonacademic and/or which deal with the management of the classroom. One example of a non-academic decision was the decision of the students to not choose a citizen of the week. The citizen of the week could be chosen weekly in Mrs. R.'s room and anyone could nominate a fellow student as long as they could cite a specific example of this person being a good citizen. Although instituted in August, the students decided in September that as a group they weren't really being good citizens and the award should not be made. This decision occurred at the end of a particularly difficult week during which the students in room 23 had twice received lunch detention. On that Friday, when Mrs. R. brought up the good citizen award and asked for nominations based on the criteria of the constitution, no one was nominated. Eventually, Samantha said she did not think anyone deserved to be nominated for the week. Mrs. R. stated that she told the students to let her know when they were ready again (follow-up interview, 4/23/97). In December, Wayne asked Mrs. R. if the citizenship award could be reinstated; and she in turn asked the rest of the class if they felt it was time. The students agreed and the award was reinstituted (fieldnotes, 12/11/96). Another example was the researcher's request to borrow the class constitution to show her undergraduate social studies methods class and was first required to explain to the class why it was being borrowed and then to ask permission of the class. More frequently, shared decision-making occurs in areas related

to the management of the classroom. Each Monday, Mrs. R. distributes a Weekly Plan Sheet ("WPS") which details the academic and social calendar for the upcoming week. Time is taken each Monday to go over the WPS and to discuss any questions or suggestions for change. The white board also holds a daily schedule and students can suggest changes in the order (Mrs. R. interview, 2/26/97). Mrs. R. can also suggest or request changes to both, but asks for the students' permission. Three examples include a switch in library times with Mrs. T., another teacher in the building, the establishment of a time to review the pictures from Rover's latest trip, and a discussion of what type of candy the class will sell (fieldnotes, 11/18/96 & 12/9/96). In all of these cases Mrs. R. presented the alternatives and asked for the students to comment and discuss them, or to suggest other alternatives. As she stated, "I want them to get used to discussing issues. finding alternatives, listening to other people's ideas and then as a group having to decide which approach we're going to take" (Mrs. R. interview, 2/27/96). Students in Mrs. R.'s classroom also share in deciding the physical arrangement of the classroom (fieldnotes, 10/7/96; Mrs. R. interview, 2/27/96, Seating Preference Form from artifact collection). Students have an influence on where they sit and with whom (which was discussed earlier in the category of student choice), as well as where Mrs. R.'s desk, the class library, reference materials, etc., should be placed. In general, student responses support the fieldnotes and Mrs. R.'s comments about shared decision-making (student interviews #1, #2, #4, 2/17/96; & student interviews #5, #6, 2/18/96). As Jill stated, "Just about everything we do as a class, she helps, she decides with us instead of just saying, 'We're doing this" (student interview #2, 2/17/96).

In summary, both teachers share decision-making with their students in several ways. Both teachers believe that sharing decisions with their students is a part of their citizenship education program and will benefit their students in terms of their growth as participatory citizens. Sharing decision-making provides opportunities for the students to practice decision-making, a citizenship skill as defined by Parker & Kaltsounis (1986).

Category Four: Deliberately Created Opportunities for Civic Participation In both of the classrooms under study, students participated in service-learning projects which provided deliberate opportunities for civic participation. Service-learning is a "method by which young people learn and develop through active participation...[to] meet actual community needs" (Alliance for Service-Learning in Education Reform, 1993). By definition, students participating in service-learning projects help to determine a need in their community and work to help fill that need. Both teachers stated a commitment to service-learning for their classrooms as a part of their citizenship education program (Mr. L. interview #2, 9/27/96 & Mrs. R. interview, 2/27/96). The most observed and structured type of service-learning project in both classrooms was the establishment of a buddy class with a younger grade. Mr. L.'s students worked with a second grade class once a week on their reading. Each sixth grader was paired with a second grader by the teachers and spent approximately 30 minutes reading a book that the second grader provided. Prior to beginning the project, Mr. L. asked the students how someone is taught to read and students listed things such as reading aloud and following along with a finger (fieldnotes, 9/19/96). The project was then introduced to the students with the

explanation that they would be helping a second grade class. In the instances of sixth graders with limited English, a strong second grade reader served the role of tutor. Upon returning from each tutoring experience, Mr. L. asked the students how things went and to talk about any difficulties. They were also asked to journal the experience. While this experience certainly provides opportunities for civic participation, it is not service-learning in its purest sense as the students are not allowed to determine the need. Instead, it is presented as a task. In the student interview only 5 of 10 students mentioned that they enjoyed working with the buddy class. Ralph actually resented working with the buddy class because it took away from his time to get homework done (student interview #1, 9/25/96). This is a contradiction to the reaction in Mrs. R.'s classroom in which 12 of the 15 students interviewed stated that they enjoyed the experience and were able to provide a rationale for being a buddy (i.e., they need our help). In Mrs. R.'s classroom, working with the buddy class was initially presented as an opportunity, rather than a task. Early in the year, Mrs. G., a kindergarten teacher, commented at a staff meeting that it was very difficult to take her students to the computer lab because many knew so little about computers. After talking with Mrs. G. about the possibility of a fifth grade buddy class, Mrs. R. then broached the subject to her students by saving, "Mrs. G. needs some help and she was telling me about a problem she has [kindergartners in the computer lab]. I wondered if we could help her solve it?" (Mrs. R. interview, 2/27/96) This is also an example of another decision-making opportunity Mrs. R. shared with her students. There are also other opportunities for Mrs. R.'s students to interact with the kindergartners through Christmas and Valentine's Day parties, which may influence the more positive

student attitude. Another related and potential influence may be that Mrs. R.'s students were interviewed later in the school year and had had more time to develop a relationship with their buddy class. This is a limitation of the study and will be further discussed in Chapter 6.

Mr. L. encourages other service-learning opportunities through classroom jobs. As mentioned earlier in assertion one, Mr. L. does not have a structured mini-economy for classroom jobs. Instead, service-learning opportunities are presented as ways students can have a classroom job and can participate in their school and/or classroom. Students are told that there are an infinite number of jobs to help every community and that they needed to choose the community and decide how they could help (fieldnotes, 9/6/96). Students chose a variety of jobs, both within the classroom and to benefit the entire school. In class jobs included grader, attendance taker, and fish feeder. One group of students also chose to work in the garden adjacent to the classroom. This group was told to organize the garden into plots for each class and then to decide what their goals and purposes for the garden were going to be (fieldnotes, 9/12/96). Another group of Spanish speaking students chose to work with a Spanish speaking first grade class and rotated in and out of that classroom in groups of three during the morning. The overall reaction to these jobs was more positive than to the buddy class with 8 of 10 students interviewed (two chose not to have jobs) enjoying their jobs and able to provide a rationale for doing the job chosen.

Summary of Assertion One

Assertion one states that in classrooms where democratic elements such as providing student choice, shared responsibility, shared decision-making, and deliberate opportunities for student civic participation are present, students are beginning to accept more responsibility for their immediate community. Four categories emerged from the analyses of the data. Category one includes the element of student choice. In both of the classrooms under study, students are provided multiple opportunities to make choices which affect their school day. Choices are presented to students in two ways: deliberately and less deliberately. Deliberate choices are those in which the teacher makes a conscious and usually verbal choice available to students. Less deliberate choices tend to be casual, and include comments such as "I'll leave it up to you." All of the students interviewed recognized that choice existed; however, the students in Mrs. R.'s classroom saw the opportunity for choice as more pervasive and real than the students in Mr. L.'s classroom. Category two includes the teachers' attempt to encourage students to accept and share responsibility for themselves, the classroom and its members, and the larger community. Students are encouraged to help one another and the teacher as needed. This is more structured in Mrs. R.'s classroom due to the presence of a mini-economy which includes specific jobs and responsibilities. Category three details how both teachers share some real decision-making with their students. These opportunities include participating in assessment in Mr. L.'s classroom and participating in the physical set up of the classroom in Mrs. R.'s classroom. The most notable example of shared decision-making in both classrooms is the development of classroom rules. A fourth category describes how both

teachers deliberately set up opportunities for their students to civically participate in their communities. The classrooms under study have buddy classes they work with as service-learning projects and Mr. L.'s students are encouraged to find other service-learning opportunities of their determination and choice.

Each of these categories exist because Mr. L. and Mrs. R. believe that citizenship education includes student interaction and student involvement (Mr. L. interview #1, 9/10/96, interview #2, 9/27/96 & Mrs. R. interview, 2/26/97). It is important to acknowledge that every one of these categories exists because the teacher allows and/or encourages these opportunities. An attempt to instill commitment to one's community is pervasive as students practice making wise choices, being responsible, and being active. Students in both classes frequently mention how they help others and their community. And whether or not students enjoy working with buddy classes, all students interviewed see themselves as role models to the younger children, noting that this is a responsibility which requires commitment from them.

An important comment about the differences between these two classes and how these categories present themselves is that the students in Mrs. R.'s classroom were more confident of their choices, responsibilities, and decision-making opportunities than the students in Mr. L.'s classroom. The students in Mrs. R.'s classroom used words reflective of these categories more frequently as well. They talk about "having a responsibility" and "making choices" more often than the students in Mr. L.'s classroom. These two teachers have varying degrees of success with developing this commitment. An attempt to provide some reasons for that varied success is included in Assertion Two and in the case studies.

Assertion Two: Influence of the School Principal

The second assertion generated from the analyses of the data is that when the school principal makes student civic participation a high priority, as opposed to a low priority, those classrooms striving to include democratic elements and civic participation have more success with that inclusion. This assertion addresses the guiding research question: How does the broader social context surrounding these classrooms influence the civic participation of the students? When the original proposal for the research study was made, the researcher hoped that the data, especially the secondary data sources, would illuminate some large community factors affecting these classrooms. What emerged instead was the important influence of the school principal in establishing the school climate for civic participation. Having been a teacher under different principals, the researcher believed the principal would be an important factor; however, the influence in these two schools and on these two classrooms was larger than expected. The school principal became the representative for the broader social context. The influence of these two principals is discussed through an examination of their stated goals for their respective schools. Observations by the researcher, as well as the perceptions of the teachers participating in the study, serve to both support and question the stated goals of the principals. There is also an indication that the perceived leadership styles of the two principals influenced what Mr. L. and Mrs. R. do in the classroom in terms of citizenship education

Mr. Valdez is the principal of Las Flores Elementary School, Mr. L.'s school; and, Dr. Simmons is the principal at Charles Lindbergh Elementary School, Mrs. R.'s school. Mr. Valdez and Dr. Simmons both state that citizenship education is important to them and is encouraged at their respective schools by them and supported by the district office.

Mr. Valdez

Mr. Valdez sees citizenship education as a way of meeting his priorities for Las Flores, namely safety and achievement (interview, 9/20/96). The goal of safety can be met by encouraging the students to develop a sense of responsibility to others. To encourage this sense of responsibility, Mr. Valdez is "pushing" (interview, 9/20/96) the continuing development of a few programs, specifically service-learning, the buddy program, and peer helpers. One program combines service-learning and buddies into "sparkle buddies." Sparkle buddies pairs a lower and upper elementary class which take on the responsibility of cleaning an area of the playground or school. The peer helper program involves fourth and fifth graders organizing games at recess and monitoring hallways and restrooms (Room 11 artifact collection). He feels that each of these will encourage the students to feel more responsible for one another and give them the sense that they can participate in the school and its improvement. Mr. Valdez intends to monitor the service-learning and buddy programs to insure their inclusion by teachers. Teachers will be asked to fill out a sheet documenting their program. As Mr. Valdez states, I've got to "put a little pressure on people" to insure these programs are included (interview, 9/20/96). The goal of safety is more directly addressed by adherence to rules and procedures set by Mr. Valdez. One

example is the recess procedure. When the bell signaling the end of recess rings, students freeze in place. The only students allowed to move are those who have playground equipment, such as basketballs, to return. When the equipment has been returned and all students are observed as immobile, the recess aide blows a whistle to signal students to line up. Students then wait until their teacher takes them to their respective classrooms (9/9/96). This procedure and other rules such as running in the hallways are strictly enforced and reinforced by Mr. Valdez who is a daily presence throughout the school. Las Flores also holds a monthly assembly to recognize student achievement and good citizenship. Every month each teacher chooses two students for an academic award and two for a citizenship award. At the assembly observed, teachers presented the awards to their students. Mr. Valdez's remarks focused on a reiteration of the school rules, including playground procedure, clothing, and conduct in the halls (fieldnotes, 9/27/96).

The goal of achievement can be met through attention to issues of equity in education, according to Mr. Valdez. This can be addressed through the encouragement of community and working together (interview, 9/20/96). This belief regarding achievement does not correspond with the observations of the researcher or in interviews with Mr. L. Observations indicate that achievement equates with improved test scores. At a faculty meeting, Mr. Valdez stresses the importance of the standardized tests to be administered in May (fieldnotes, 9/18/96). He encourages teachers to spend a great deal of time in preparing students for these tests by using available materials such as reading inventories and test sample items. The areas of math and language are specifically encouraged as they are the focus of the standardized tests. This goal of test preparation

has been made a priority for staff grade level meetings (staff bulletin, 9/26/96). Teachers are to be "prepare[d] to discuss" (staff bulletin, 9/26/96) student scores from the previous year and how each grade level will use time and available materials to improve these scores. This focus on achievement test scores is further reinforced by Mr. L. who states that while the principal and district support citizenship education, "... there is also a lot of pressure from the district and principal to accomplish a high level of skill - testing skill development and practice - rote practice of skills that requires a lot of time..." (interview #2, 9/27/96). Mr. L. sees this focus on testing as a barrier because it limits his time and the curriculum on which he can focus in his classroom. The focus on adherence to rules and standardized tests by Mr. Valdez may be partly influenced by concerns over previous administrators and their perceived lack of leadership. Las Flores has had three different principals in three years; Mr. Valdez was the last to arrive and has been on site for two years (archival data). He states that the school was a "mess" (fieldnotes, 9/18/96) when he arrived and he still has much work to do.

To summarize, Mr. Valdez believes that safety and achievement are his priorities for Las Flores Elementary School. While he states that these can be met through democratic citizenship education, observations indicate otherwise. Mr. Valdez's leadership style is more authoritarian than democratic. He speaks of "pushing" and putting "pressure" on teachers to meet his educational goals for the school. Mr. Valdez appreciates and supports civic participation, but places them secondary to the more immediate goals of academic achievement through high test scores. Safety issues are frequently addressed through adherence to rules and procedures, and achievement issues

are addressed through standardized testing. Neither teachers nor students were observed participating in addressing these issues. Further, civic participation while stated as being an important focus, is not an observed priority. Mr. Valdez does expect community service, but not defined service-learning, and only if there is time. Mr. L. believes this lack of focus is a barrier to some of the citizenship curriculum he would like to include.

Dr. Simmons

Dr. Simmons' priorities for Charles Lindbergh Elementary School are curriculum and instruction (interview, 2/18/97). In terms of curriculum, Dr. Simmons wants it to be dynamic and reflective of the latest research (interview, 2/18/97). In terms of instruction, she indicates support for including a variety of strategies and resources which allows the teacher to become a guide, as opposed to a "dictatorial expert" on things. "Are we using 'best practice' in every classroom here at the building? ... I mean all the proven things...that are showing hard evidence... that they improve student learning" (Dr. Simmons interview, 2/18/97). Democratic citizenship education is one of the best practices that Dr. Simmons supports, and observations seem to concur. Participation in school life is one aspect of citizenship education because "...if we expect people to participate in government, then we must give people a chance to participate..." (Dr. Simmons interview, 2/18/97). Teachers and students are offered multiple opportunities to participate in the school, including teacher involvement in the planning of the new building and student involvement in choosing the school colors and mascot. Teachers participated in designing the physical facilities and developing a school wide approach to students and

learning. The policy is that the school is run with "... a sense of due process... fairness... mutual respect" (Dr. Simmons interview, 2/18/97). This policy is reinforced by Dr. Simmons in a variety of ways. In an early assembly, Dr. Simmons begins by welcoming the students for the year and letting them know that everyone gets a fresh start; grades and behavior problems from previous years are not a concern. She continues by telling the students that Lindbergh is a great school, in part because people respect one another and are nice. As the assembly ends and students begin to return to class, Dr. Simmons remarks to the fifth graders that they should help the little kids whenever they can (fieldnotes, 8/27/96). Mutual respect is often addressed during morning announcements at which time Dr. Simmons, or any teacher, can comment on student successes such as choir or publication of a poem (fieldnotes, 10/21/96). Student work (e.g., poetry, stories, drawings) is also published in a bi-weekly newsletter that updates parents and provides students with a sense of ownership (interview, 2/18/97 & artifact collection, 11/27/96 & 2/3/97). The students also have a student council, called spirit council at Lindbergh. Mrs. R. is the faculty sponsor, and this representative council meets on a regular basis to discuss issues of concern and plan spirit activities. As Dr. Simmons says, "The lunch and recess issues are very real to them, so they do have a sense that this group of adults really does value their opinion" (interview, 2/18/97).

Dr. Simmons also shares power with her staff by providing challenges and encouraging them to take on leadership roles. Her belief is that a sense of efficacy "...comes from being trusted and being given responsibility..." (interview, 2/18/97). Further, she states that, "I let people believe that I truly believe they will rise to it [the

challenge] and then you ring about this sense of efficacy and this sense of pride...

(interview, 2/18/97). This is also the strategy she specifically encourages her teachers to use with their students, and it is evident in Mrs. R.'s classroom, as described in the shared responsibility present in room 23 and described earlier in this chapter. Mrs. R. also believes that she has the support of Dr. Simmons and feels that her only barriers to trying anything in her classroom are those barriers presented by the particular behavioral concerns of her 1996-1997 class (interview, 2/26/97).

The establishment of a school climate at Lindbergh which includes democratic elements may be partly due to support from the faculty, the administration and the local university. When Lindbergh Elementary School was being planned and the faculty was being recruited, the employment posting contained a paragraph that made it clear that Lindbergh was going to be different. Lindbergh was designed to "look at reform issues," "alternative means of assessment," and would work in "full partnership" with the nearby university (Dr. Simmons interview, 2/18/97). Therefore, the faculty at Lindbergh has deliberately chosen to work at this school and with this principal. Many have also committed to working with faculty and staff of the nearby university, and the presence of university faculty and students in the school is common. Dr. Simmons believes that she has the support of the administration because of the "support and positive comments about what we're doing" (interview, 2/18/97).

In summary, Dr. Simmons works to create a genuine sense of community at Charles Lindbergh Elementary School, and believes that she nurtures an environment free from "power struggles" (interview, 2/18/97). Her style of leadership is observed to be

more democratic than authoritarian. This is also the perception of Mrs. R. Students and teachers are encouraged to participate in the leadership and decision-making required of members of the school community. The sense of community and decision-making modeled by Dr. Simmons, as well as her statement regarding the validity of democratic classrooms as a solid instructional practice which can improve student performance, indicate that civic participation is a high priority. She also supports the programs and projects initiated by Mrs. R. and has given her support to Mrs. R.'s teaching of the seven core democratic values. Mrs. R. is also encouraged to share these experiences with other teachers at Lindbergh.

Summary of Assertion Two

Assertion two states that when the school principal makes student civic participation a high priority, as opposed to a low priority, those classrooms striving to include democratic elements and civic participation have more success with that inclusion. Both principals work to create a learning environment at their schools which will encourage the success of the teachers and students. Their priorities and actions, however, indicate a much different approach to achieve this success, and the quality of civic participation differs. The researcher's observations and conversations with Mr. Valdez lead her to believe that his leadership style is more authoritarian than democratic. Student and teacher participation in the school appears to be under the direction of Mr. Valdez, rather than as collaboration. Opportunities for civic participation are encouraged, but under the direction of Mr. Valdez and after standardized test preparation.

Conversations with and observations of Dr. Simmons lead the researcher to believe that her style of leadership is more democratic than authoritarian as faculty and students make decisions with Dr. Simmons on a variety of academic and social issues. Civic participation is consistent throughout the school as faculty and students take on leadership roles and as Dr. Simmons models and reinforces the importance of civic participation.

Conclusions

The analyses of the data suggest that in classrooms where students are provided real and meaningful opportunities to participate in the decisions and responsibilities of the class, and are provided choices and opportunities to serve their communities, they begin to accept more responsibility for those communities. Participating in these decisions, sharing responsibilities, having choice, and civic participation opportunities are all at the discretion and interpretation of the classroom teacher. How these teachers present or nurture these opportunities may have an effect on how much of a sense of responsibility the students accept. In the classroom where these opportunities are offered in a more structured and deliberate way, but with student input, students recognize and are beginning to accept responsibility for their communities. In the classroom where the opportunities have less student input and less structure, students accept less responsibility for their communities.

The priorities and leadership of the school principals may also affect student civic participation. When the principal's stated and observed priorities include civic participation, teachers appear to have more success in establishing and maintaining support for these programs. When civic participation is a low priority of the school

principal, the teacher believes he must attend to those items of high priority, and civic participation is of less importance.

Participatory democratic citizenship education does occur in classrooms in varying degrees. The degree to which democratic elements are present is dependent on both school and classroom climate. The teacher's commitment to democratic education appears to be represented by how deliberate the teacher structures democratic and civic participation opportunities; and to what degree those opportunities are supported by the school principal. When the opportunities are structured, including a common vocabulary and consistent reinforcement, students appear to respond and are beginning to accept responsibility for their communities. This attempt to be deliberate is reflected in a comment by Mr. L. that he is not doing different things, but is doing things differently in order to reflect his belief in the importance of participatory citizenship education (fieldnotes, 9/5/96).

CHAPTER 5: THE CASE STUDIES

Results of this study are presented in both chapters 4 and 5. Chapter 4 contains the major assertions with supporting data. In this chapter, the results of the study are presented through two case studies, one for each site. After these case studies were completed, they were forwarded to Mr. L. and Mrs. R. for review. Both teachers concurred with the results of the case study completed on each of their respective classrooms. The classroom environment, including the interactions of the participants, is the case; and each case is a unit of analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 25). Because of the focus on the classroom environment and interactions, an appropriate way to present each case is through an examination of a typical day in the classroom, highlighting those events which address the guiding research questions.

A Day in Room 11, Mr. L.'s Classroom

By 8:05 a.m. several students are on the upper grades' playground area chatting or playing with one another on the swings, the handball courts, or one of the other pieces of equipment. Mr. Valdez, a few teachers, and the playground aides are around, talking with students and supervising the morning activities. Off to the side of the playground in the picnic/lunch area, several parents who have brought their children to school this morning are chatting with one another, teachers, and students. There were some concerns about a previous principal several years ago, and since that time parents are a very large presence at the school, and are very involved (fieldnotes, 9/6/96 & Mr. Valdez interview, 9/20/96).

It is common to see several parents around the school. More are here before and after school, but many parents volunteer time during school hours to help in various classrooms.

Down in room 11, Brenda is working and, when asked about her task, replies that Mr. L. asked her to copy some notes from the previous day's discussion on the class constitution (fieldnotes, 9/6/96). It is typical in the mornings to find one or more of the room 11 students performing a task at the request of Mr. L. Sometimes it is stapling papers, preparing charts, putting up bulletin boards, or any number of things. Students seem comfortable with this, and some say it is better than being on the playground because as sixth graders, they find themselves bored (student interview #4, 9/26/96).

The first bell rings at 8:15 a.m. and students "freeze" in place, waiting for playground equipment to be returned and the aide to blow the whistle to line up. Students in each class proceed to a pre-determined spot on the playground to line up and wait for their respective teachers. No class proceeds to their classroom until they are escorted by their teacher. Mr. L.'s class is lined up in two lines, and this varies from class to class. On the first day of school, Mr. L. offered a choice to his students of their preference of one line or two. The chorus of "two" won and Mr. L. agreed that he also liked two lines and that is how they now line up (fieldnotes, 9/3/96). This particular morning, Mr. C., the student teacher, brings the students to the room and follows behind the two lines.

Following from behind is typical of most teachers at Las Flores and is encouraged by Mr. Valdez who believes that following behind the students is an effective way to monitor their behavior (fieldnotes, 9/18/96).

As students enter room 11, each one stops at the door to move their assigned clothespin from their name slot to their lunch choice. This process was explained on the first day and is standard procedure. Stephanie is then able to take attendance and do the lunch count, one of her classroom jobs. Stephanie also works in Mrs. Gonzalez's classroom helping the teacher with a variety of tasks. She says she chose this particular job because she really likes Mrs. Gonzalez and that she might want to be a teacher in the future so this is good practice (student interview #2, 9/26/96). Comments of a job being fun or somehow beneficial to a student's future are a common part of their job choice rationale. In addition to Stephanie, several other students are passing out papers or collecting assignments. Although a few students have requested paper passing as a job, Mr. L. often asks for volunteers and with several raised hands, Mr. L. chooses some helpers. While this administrative work is going on, there is a note on the chalkboard: "While you're waiting, work on report." This refers to the Ancient Greece report students were assigned the first day of school. Today's directions also include several 5" x 8" note cards with note-taking directions (fieldnotes, 9/4/96). Most students are busily working and there is some quiet conversation. Once the administrative work is done, Mr. L. asks, "Have we forgotten anything?" Someone remarks that they have forgotten to say the Pledge of Allegiance, and the class proceeds to recite the Pledge (fieldnotes, 9/3/96).

Social studies is the first academic scheduled for the day, and Mr. L. begins with a brief lecture on the three ages of Ancient Greece. The study of Ancient Greece is part of the mandated social studies curriculum for sixth grade and prior to beginning an in-depth study, Mr. L. spoke with the students about the rationale for this particular topic and how

they will be studying it (fieldnotes, 9/3/96). In sum, Mr. L. told the students that their study will allow the students to inform others about Ancient Greece and its influence on their world. As the lecture begins, three students, Junior, Daniel, and Juan, leave the classroom and go to Mrs. Canter's first grade classroom for their scheduled 30 minutes. These three boys, along with six girls, have chosen to make their classroom job that of helping Mrs. Canter with her Spanish speaking students. All nine of the students who volunteered to work with Mrs. Canter are Spanish speakers, which was a job requirement. Student choice of this job is consistent with Mr. L.'s directive to the students that there are an "...infinite number of jobs in every community...choose your community and decide how you can help" (fieldnotes, 9/6/96). Many of the jobs are left for the students to determine; however, Mr. L. does advise students of jobs that previous classes have explored or mentions particular needs. Mrs. Canter mentioned to Mr. L. that she could use help with her class in the mornings while she works with small groups. Mr. L. then asked his students if there was any interest. Those students who are helping in Mrs. Canter's room essentially express the same job rationales as Stephanie. They find the job fun, it helps them with their own language skills, it gets them out of class, or they want to be teachers (fieldnotes, 9/24/96; student interviews #1, 9/25/96 & #3, 9/26/96). In general, job choice appears to be self-serving. The students set up a volunteer schedule with Mrs. Canter, and while in her classroom, the sixth graders perform a variety of tasks in the three 30 minute segments they have set up for the morning. The first graders are put into groups of approximately five by Mrs. Canter and rotate through different learning stations. The sixth graders work at the stations not monitored by Mrs. Canter. They

primarily work with students on reading (Spanish and English) and math, helping them with oral assignments and completing worksheets or puzzles. All but one of the sixth grade volunteers speaks Spanish as a first language, and a part of their job is to help the Spanish speaking first graders learn English. This opportunity to volunteer is a definite part of Mr. L.'s citizenship education program and consistent with the school district "Citizen Education" policy, which states, "... citizen education involves providing students opportunities for valuable service to their community..." (artifact collection, Citizen Education Committee Report, 2/29/96, p.1). Mr. L. was a major contributor to the district policy, which reflects the goals and purposes stated by the Ackerman Center. Although this policy is still under development, it appears that it will be very reflective of Mr. L. and the Ackerman Center. The potential for Mr. L. to influence citizenship education in his district is limitless because of his involvement in creating this policy. However, allowing students to leave the classroom during lessons to perform their jobs, such as the first grade helpers or those students working in the garden, continues to be a dilemma for Mr. L. (fieldnotes, 9/19/96). He has concerns about whether these opportunities meet the requirements for service-learning because they do not have a structured reflection component, although adding this component could be accomplished. Reflection is a standard part of the buddy class project, as students either orally discuss or journal their thoughts about working with the buddy class after each visit. Mr. L. has less reservations about meeting the academic component of service-learning, especially with those students in the first grade classroom who are acting as academic tutors. Mr. L. does believe, however, that parents may not see the academic benefits. This concern about

academics is also expressed because some of the classroom jobs take students out of the classroom during instruction time. An additional concern about the students coming and going from the classroom to participate in these opportunities is that it may be a distraction to Mr. L. and the other students. Mr. L. prefers an orderly and distraction-free classroom, which is evidenced in part by his straightening of desks while reading aloud to students and attention to straight and quiet lines when students are entering and leaving the room (fieldnotes, 9/3/96, 9/5/96, 9/11/96, 9/20/96). Mr. L. believes that this potential for distraction, as well as his academic concerns, requires his constant monitoring of some of the classroom jobs (interview #2, 9/27/96).

Back in the classroom, Mr. L. is finishing his lecture on Ancient Greece and asks how students would prefer to use the time until recess, reading Greek myths or working on the report that is due at the end of the week. A hand count indicates that they want to work on reports and students busy themselves (fieldnotes, 9/5/96). While students work, Mr. L. addresses individual questions students bring up. In many cases, Mr. L. responds with answers that require a student decision, such as, "I'll let you decide," "Whatever you think is best" (fieldnotes, 9/10/96), and "It's up to you" (fieldnotes, 9/16/96). At one point during this period, one of the students gets up to get a drink from the water fountain in the classroom and leaves the water running. Mr. L. waits for a few moments to see if anyone addresses the problem. With no action, Mr. L. asks Ralph, who sits near the fountain, if he will be responsible for monitoring the fountain. Ralph agrees (fieldnotes, 9/5/96). Mr. Valdez stops by the room, but just observes from the door. He says nothing and leaves in a few minutes (fieldnotes, 9/17/96). As questions subside about the

assignment, Mr. L. calls up the garden committee who have been having some organizational difficulties. He tells them that it is up to them to decide what they want to do with the garden this year, but first they must decide their goals and purpose for the garden. He gives some examples, such as certain items being planted for specific reasons, sunflowers for beauty and lettuce for food. He also tells them that one purpose can be for a project with the buddy class, teaching them how to garden. Specifically, the students are told that the purpose of the garden is for service-learning and that they [the students] must examine that purpose and how they wish to plan the year (fieldnotes, 9/18/96). This is an important conversation with these students, as they have been floundering somewhat in the garden. They have been spending morning and lunch recess in the garden, and have made little progress, half-heartedly turning over dirt and pulling weeds, but with little direction or purpose. Even after this conversation, the garden does not move ahead efficiently until two parents begin volunteering their time to direct and supervise the students. Over the following several months, the garden gains structure and students working on the committee change as those with less dedication decrease their participation and other students take over some leadership (Mr. L., 4/19/97).

Students in the class are busy on their Greek reports until recess, at which time they line up in two lines and proceed to the playground. Before recess dismissal, Mr. L. tells the students that those who gave themselves below a "5" (scores range from 0 to 9) on last week's homework packet are to get their packet and bench themselves to work on their incomplete or incorrect homework (fieldnotes, 9/23/96). The homework packet is distributed every Monday morning and contains an explanation of the week's homework

assignments, worksheets, and project directions, and usually a few words of wisdom from Mr. L. (Room 11 artifact collection). When returned on Friday, the packet is to be complete and contain a parent signature. During the "Back to School Night" visitation, those parents attending commented that they liked having this packet for the entire week, as well as the amount of homework assigned (fieldnotes, 9/12/96). Students routinely participate in assessment of their homework packet and daily work and this request for students to bench themselves, based on their own assessment, does not appear to be much of a surprise to students. On the playground, there are several equipment and game options on the playground including swings, basketball, four-square, and handball courts. Students occupy their time with these activities, working on homework, or visiting with one another. They also have the option of using recess as snack time, and several students have chosen to sit at the picnic tables with their snacks. Recess ends with a bell and students follow the "freeze" and line up procedure. Mr. L. brings the students back into the room, and as they settle he tells them to clear their desks and prepare for math. Mr. L. teaches a lesson on multiplying decimals. During the lesson, students solve sample problems and at various times Mr. L. asks students to check one another's work, his work, help their neighbor with any difficulties, or explain the problem to a neighbor (fieldnotes, 9/11/96 & 9/19/96). Mr. L. uses this technique frequently in the academic disciplines and believes that it contributes to the sense of community he strives to create by encouraging responsibility to one another (interview #2, 9/27/96). After the math lesson, the homework assignment is made and students are told they can work on any of the math assignments in this week's homework packet. In this instance, students are

offered the choice, but without the deliberate language that was used for the morning social studies assignment (fieldnotes, 9/17/96). One of the choices is a practice test over the math concepts they have been studying. Mr. L. previously told the students that there were a variety of ways to study, that some students would only need to study at school, while others would also have to study at home. He is deliberate in this conversation and told the students that it was an individual decision, and they must decide the best way to prepare. Mr. L. also explained the reason for this being a multiple-choice test: standardized tests in the spring are multiple-choice, and this was practice (fieldnotes, 9/24/96).

While most students are doing their seatwork, Mr. L. uses this time to re-teach the math lesson in Spanish to the non-English speaking students. They work at a small table in the front of the room where Mr. L. can work with this group, as well as being able to see the rest of the class so that their questions can be addressed and behavior monitored. Students work on their math homework until time for lunch. Lunch dismissal includes the standard line-up procedure with Mr. L. following the students to make sure they line up appropriately at the lunch room. As students finish lunch, they move out onto the playground for 15 to 20 minutes. Several girls on the garden committee, with the researcher as their adult supervisor, proceed down to the garden to work. All of the students grab either a rake or hoe and work at removing weeds. They seem to enjoy this time, talking with one another, but getting little accomplished at this stage. Brenda says she has chosen to work in the garden because it is fun and she could not help last year because she had a different teacher who did not participate in the garden project

(fieldnotes, 9/12/96). Believing that working in the garden is fun is the main reason all of these girls have chosen it as their job.

As lunch recess ends, students on the playground line up and the girls in the garden begin clean up. Once back in the room, the afternoon is spent on language arts, with oral language being first. The first book this year is The Giver by Lois Lowry, a futuristic tale of a community characterized by conformity. Mr. L. chose this book at the suggestion of the school librarian, but said as soon as he began to read it, he saw a connection to citizenship (fieldnotes, 9/5/96). Today's chapter is about the concept of "Sameness," and how there are no opportunities for individual thought, appearance, or action in the community. After the chapter is read, Mr. L. asks if the students see any advantage to "Sameness." Daryl says that you would not have to worry at school about being different; and Ralph says there would be no prejudice (fieldnotes, 9/25/96). This discussion is typical, and Mr. L. usually pauses at some point during the chapter, or after they have finished the day's reading, to ask a question which in some way compares their (i.e., the students') community to the community in the book. During the reading of this book. they have talked about general comparisons, definitions of citizen, rules, and, volunteering (fieldnotes, 9/4/96, 9/5/96, 9/9/96, 9/11/96). This opportunity for comparison is consistent with Mr. L.'s belief about what his citizenship education program is like. He does not believe that citizenship education should be a separate part of the curriculum, taught during a particular time of day, but should instead be in "mindset" for the teacher and should affect everything he or she does in the classroom (interview #2, 9/27/96 & 4/19/97). Mr. L. worries that this may make citizenship education appear incoherent or

inconsistent because it is not taught separately or distinctly, but is infused throughout the curriculum. He does believe this approach is the best one for him.

After oral language. Mr. L. directs the students to retrieve a picture poem assignment they worked on yesterday. Mr. L. tells the class that they are going to help come up with the criteria to grade this assignment (fieldnotes, 9/16/96). Students have had a few experiences with creating scoring rubrics; and, as stated in Chapter 4, Mr. L. believes that their participation in assessment is an important part of decision-making. Mr. L. asks for criteria suggestions and students volunteer "correct compound sentence," "neat," "creative," and "appropriate size" (these were done as posters to display for "Back to School Night"). A few additional suggestions are discussed and once the final criteria are agreed upon, Mr. L. asks the students to give themselves an "E," "G," "S," or "N" (4 to 1 points) for each criteria. After finding their average, students are asked to trade with one another to check the math and evaluate whether or not the students have graded themselves fairly. After this is done and the posters turned in, students prepare for a spelling test. Mr. C., the student teacher, administers the test and when done, students grade their own papers (fieldnotes, 9/9/96). To encourage honesty, students are required to put away pencils and get out a crayon of a specified color to grade the papers. Once corrected, the spelling tests are turned in and a student grader (classroom job) records the scores. The last language arts assignment introduced is Sustained Silent Reading, a required part of the curriculum. Mr. L. directs students to the story, and corresponding pages in their workbooks with instructions to work quietly (9/11/96). Both Mr. L. and Mr. C. walk around the room during this time answering questions and giving feedback.

Part way through this period, as the noise has started to pick up, Mr. L. stops the class and says, "Take stock of what you have accomplished in the last 15 minutes" (fieldnotes, 9/19/96). Mr. L. rarely directly tells the students to quiet down, but instead puts the responsibility on the students by asking them to evaluate what they have been doing. This usually works and those students distracted return to work.

With just a few minutes left in the day, Mr. L. calls a class meeting (9/16/96).

These meetings typically consist of Mr. L. passing out and explaining certain items which need to go home. Some items need signatures and returned, others are informational. He specifically tells students that there is a consequence to not returning the required items, namely, being benched during recess. Once all of the items are passed out, Mr. L. asks the students if they have anything they wish to bring up. Anna raises her hand and wants to talk about the ice cream fund-raiser for the sixth grade trip. It is briefly discussed and Anna and Luann (whose mother is coordinating the fund-raiser) exchange telephone numbers so their mothers can talk. With no other items, students are directed to get everything ready and wait for school dismissal at 2:25 p.m.

A Day in Room 23, Mrs. R.'s Classroom

Students at Charles Lindbergh Elementary School stay on the playground until the first bell at 8:20 a.m. At that time, they line up on the playground in an assigned spot, by class, and wait for an aide to dismiss them into the building. Mrs. R. is already in the room at her desk, and as the students enter she begins to address questions and concerns from students. Students are fairly noisy as they put away their coats and unpack their

backpacks. A few students inform Mrs. R. that some of the boys, including Jeff, Paco, Drew, and Max were chasing girls on the playground, upsetting them. This concerns Mrs. R. who has already dealt with a playground game of "pest control" in which several boys acted as "exterminators," chasing and tagging unwilling participants. Mrs. R. talks to the boys about their behavior being harassment because the girls did not want to play and asks the boys what they think should happen. They mention detention and writing a paragraph. Mrs. R. mentions that she thinks they should individually apologize to each girl bothered during the game. With it agreed that they will have detention and make an apology, the boys return to their seats (fieldnotes, 12/10/96). At 8:25 a.m., the last bell rings, students quiet, and the student patrol in the main office leads the whole school in the Pledge of Allegiance through the intercom. Just as they quiet down, Jeff stands up from his seat and asks for everyone's attention. He tells the class that he was involved in chasing the girls, that it was wrong, and he is very sorry for his behavior. He promptly sits down and begins to cry. No other boys apologize, even after Mrs. R. goes over to Jeff and excuses him from detention because of his graceful apology. Mrs. R. then addresses the entire class, remarking that Jeff has shown great courage and she respects what he has done. This appears to also impact the other students, no one teases him for crying, and several remark through the morning that Jeff was brave, and they could not have made a public apology. Mrs. R. sees this occurrence (the public apology and subsequent admiration) as a major event in her attempts to encourage students to respect others and to accept responsibility for the welfare of others, and for their own behavior.

With this issue settled and with little encouragement from Mrs. R., students settle themselves in and begin to work on the daily challenges written on the dry-erase board at the front of the room, along with the day's schedule. The language arts challenge includes two sentences about the need to write thank-you notes to the first graders who raised money to send Rover, the class mascot, to the White House. The language arts challenge usually contains pertinent class information or information about Mrs. R.'s family. The sentences contain several spelling and grammatical errors that students need to correct (fieldnotes, 10/7/96). The sentences are to be written in one of two ways, correct or incorrect with editor's marks. On the first day of school, Mrs. R. explained these two options and told the students, "It's your choice" of how you wish to write them (fieldnotes, 8/28/96). The math challenge is a problem where students substitute numbers and letters in an equation. While most students are working on the challenges, several others are working at their jobs. Scotty is taking the lunch count, recording each student's selection. When finished, he says, "Thank you" to the class and takes the information down to the cafeteria (fieldnotes, 10/7/96). When Scotty first took this job, he was frequently unable to finish his challenges because he was doing the lunch count. Mrs. R. says she did not "cut him any slack" because she wants him to better budget his time (fieldnotes, 8/30/96). As the semester progresses, Scotty learns to come into the room and begin working on the challenges even before the last bell rings. This is also true for Shelly whose job is to put papers into student mailboxes and has found she needs to better budget her time in order to get the challenges done (10/21/96). Other students working at their jobs are Lisa, who changes the calendar, and Stephanie, who is taking

attendance. Stephanie, like most students, can explain her job and provide a rationale for why it is important. Stephanie says, "...attendance clerk...fills out the sheets if someone is absent and the office needs to know about that because they need to put it down so the teachers know how many times they have been absent..." (student interview #6, 2/18/97). One student, Robyn, was "fired" from her job as payroll clerk because she did not get the paychecks written on time each week (student interview #5, 2/18/97). Robyn seems relatively unconcerned, but freely admits that she has a new job (door closer) because she did not do her other job responsibly.

Once everyone has individually finished the challenges, Mrs. R. goes over them with the students and when done tells them, "It took a lot of cooperative work to do this and you worked together well" (fieldnotes, 10/8/96). The morning meeting is then called and Mrs. R. and the students move to the tiled area of the room and all of them sit in a circle on the floor. As they are getting settled, an empty desk is accidentally knocked over and the boys responsible set the desk upright. Mrs. R. asks them to check for damage and the boys examine the desk and the tile floor (fieldnotes, 10/7/96). She encourages this sense of responsibility not only to the people in the community, but also to community and personal property. She does this by helping students recognize opportunities to be responsible, and, by conscious modeling, what she believes is responsible behavior and indicative of good citizenship (Mrs. R. interview, 2/26/97). The first item for the morning meeting is to go over the Weekly Plan Sheet (WPS) which contains a breakdown of major assignments for the upcoming week, as well as student and staff birthdays or other special events. The WPS is distributed every Monday morning and discussed, although not

always in the meeting format. One of the specific reasons Mrs. R. goes over the WPS and writes each day's schedule on the board is so students will realize that they can suggest changes; that they do have a choice in the classroom (interview, 2/26/97). This opportunity for input is a conscious decision by Mrs. R. to create a classroom with democratic elements such as choice and decision-making. The next item for discussion is the list of questions that Rover will be taking with him to the White House (fieldnotes, 10/9/96). The list of questions had been generated in a discussion the previous day and when that discussion ended, the class was trying to combine some of the questions. Today, Mrs. R. has brought in the list of questions that she has refined. The questions are very similar to what the students generated, but some have been combined or reworked into more complex questions. She reads them aloud and asks the students what they think. Jeff asks about these refinements and the wording changes, saying that these are not the exact questions they came up with yesterday. Mrs. R. tells him she did this to avoid yes/no answers and hopes this will encourage more of a response from the White House. There are no other questions and Mrs. R. asks if the list is all right. The students nod their approval and then bring up questions about Rover's travel plans; they want to be sure that Rover arrives safely and has a camera and film. After this is discussed, Mrs. R. moves on to the last item for the meeting which is for students to share celebrations (fieldnotes, 10/7/96). During this part of the meeting, students raise their hands and when called upon say something positive that has happened in their lives. After volunteers explain their particular celebration there is some applause and words of congratulations or support from Mrs. R. (fieldnotes, 10/7/96). With the meeting over, students return to

their seats and Wayne and another boy rearrange the tables and desks displaced without being asked. They receive a thank you from Mrs. R.

Spelling is the next item on the day's schedule and Mrs. R. instructs students to get out their spelling workbook and turn to the correct chapter. The first spelling assignment of the week includes each student being assigned a word from the list, looking up its meaning and being able to use the word correctly in a sentence. As the assignment proceeds, a few students have difficulty with creating a sentence and Mrs. R. asks, "Can anyone help Rick (or Cindy, etc.) with his (her) sentence?" (fieldnotes, 10/14/96, 11/18/96). Mrs. R. may also request that the student having trouble choose a classmate to help (fieldnotes, 12/18/96). A request for help or a suggestion to ask for help is very common in room 23 and the students see helpfulness as a main criteria for good citizenship (student interviews #1 - #6, 2/17/97 & 2/18/97). In two separate interviews, Dominique and Jeff specifically mentioned helping others in the classroom as a part of good citizenship. This focus on helping as a part of citizenship is also mentioned in 16 of 22 citizenship essays the students wrote in September, and in the class constitution (room 23 artifact collection).

After spelling, social studies is the next subject under study and Mrs. R. tells the students what page of their book to turn to, with the remark to check your neighbor to see if he or she is also on the right page (fieldnotes, 10/14/96). Mrs. R. and the students take turns reading aloud the assigned section about early exploration of North America. When they finish reading, Mrs. R. hands Amber multiple copies of a magazine which has an article dispelling popular myths about Pocahontas. Paper passer is Amber's job and she is

usually up and ready to work before being asked. While Amber distributes these magazines, Mrs. R tells the students that a friend has loaned her these copies, and asks the students to be careful; they are. Students are then told they can read with a buddy, if they choose. She also reminds them to "make a wise choice" when selecting a partner (fieldnotes, 12/11/96). Most students pair up and find a quiet place to read, although a few students choose to read alone for the duration of the assignment.

Math is the last subject on the schedule before lunch and Mrs. R. teaches a brief follow-up lesson on multiplying double and triple digit numbers. After the homework assignment is made. Mrs. R. tells the students they will be working in one of two groups. Group one people understand this lesson; and group two people still need some help. She says, "You choose which group you want to be in" (fieldnotes, 10/30/96). Once the students have sorted themselves into the two groups, Mrs. R. makes partner assignments for the work and tells them to see her when and if they finish. As the partners finish and turn in their work, they approach Mrs. R. for direction. She asks about the completeness of the morning's assignments, and asks the students, "You have a choice. What would you like to work on next?" (fieldnotes, 8/28/96, 10/18/96, 10/30/96, 11/13/96). If they are finished with their homework, there are learning center activities or math games they are encouraged to explore. These suggestions are often accompanied by the comment of "Be courteous to your neighbor [regarding noise]" (fieldnotes, 12/10/96). This is standard procedure, and by early November, many students are routinely finding work to do without direction. Paco, whose job is to record bank transactions, is catching up on those records (fieldnotes, 11/15/96). Max figured this procedure out in October, before some of his classmates, and has gotten a math game to play. Garth remarks that he did not ask first, to which Max replies that he can play math games if it will keep him out of trouble (fieldnotes, 10/21/96). In the time remaining before hunch, the students work on a variety of tasks. Dr. Simmons stops by the room and sits down at a table with a group of students playing a learning center game (fieldnotes, 10/14/96). She chats with them, observing and asking them some questions about the topic under study. She stays for about 10 minutes with this group, and then leaves.

When directed, the students line up for lunch. This has to be done in alphabetical order for the cafeteria workers, and today line-up does not go smoothly. Students are doing a great deal of talking and shoving. Mrs. R. reminds them that if they do not line up respectful of democratic behavior (i.e., respect, fairness), they will lose the privileges of democracy. She asks if they like it when they lose those privileges; they respond with a chorus of "no." She then asks why they do not like to lose the privileges of democracy, to which they reply, "We can't do anything." Mrs. R. asks, "Why not?" The students reply, "We blew it" (fieldnotes, 11/13/96). In one student interview, Courtney talks about this establishment of consequences. She brings up the class constitution, which includes under the section on "Responsibilities:"

"We will listen politely to each other.

We won't use put-downs. We will use good manners.

We will try to never hurt someone through our own actions.

We will be fair" (room 23 artifact collection).

After bringing up the class constitution, she is asked if she has any specific comments about it. Courtney says, "It does help a few people, some of the kids in our class, [to] be better citizens in our class [and] to other people; and, it sometimes doesn't help and we've

learned that if we don't obey the constitution, we will get in trouble" (student interview #6, 2/18/97). Mrs. R. reiterates this establishment of a democratic classroom and consequences:

"I do try to run a democratic classroom. But there are times when the students see that in a democracy, citizens do have a responsibility to their society and that when the citizens fail in their responsibility to society, there tends to be a loss of rights and privileges, and maybe sometimes government becomes a little less democratic; and, there is a lesson in that, too" (interview 2/26/97).

Once the lunch line is quiet, Mrs. R. leads the students to the lunch room. Most of the teachers at Charles Lindbergh, including Mrs. R., lead the students, but walk backwards from the front of the line to monitor student behavior. By second semester, the fourth and fifth graders have assigned seats in the cafeteria because of behavior. This is upsetting to students, and particularly to Katrina. In discussing whether or not the students of room 23 have a say in the classroom, Katrina repeatedly brings up the cafeteria saying, "...we don't get to exercise our rights..." and "we don't get to exercise like our freedom of speech and the right to do what we feel..." (student interview #2, 2/17/97). Upon redirection to room 23 and having a say, Katrina says, "...we do usually, or all the time really..." (student interview #2, 2/17/97).

Lunch recess today is in the classroom because of bad weather. There is a recess aide monitoring both of the fifth grade classrooms, and students are doing a variety of things. Several are playing or chatting, while others are playing a math game or one of the educational board games Mrs. R. has in the room. Drew and Scotty are running around, but have not gotten in trouble. Some students are studying, including Dakota, Amber, and Shelly who have found a spot in the hallway to finish their math homework. When Mrs.

R. returns to the room, she tells the girls she is glad to see them taking responsibility for getting their work done and finding a quiet place to work (fieldnotes, 12/18/96).

With lunch recess over, Mrs. R. quiets the students and prepares them for the reading assignment. Today's assignment includes a practice run at reading a picture book aloud (fieldnotes, 12/11/96). Students will be meeting their kindergarten buddy class tomorrow, and instead of helping them in the computer lab, they will be reading to them. Yesterday, the fifth graders went to the library to choose a picture book, and some have chosen favorite books from when they were younger. Mrs. R. asks the students to choose a partner and find a quiet place to practice reading aloud. She has provided a rationale, saying that difficult or new words do not always appear difficult when one is reading silently. Reading aloud will allow them to find any troublesome words. Pairs of students scatter through the room to practice and most are thinking about how to do the reading. Wayne, Cliff, Sam, and Samantha practice holding the book out to the side, as they have seen teachers read to them. Sam, like many students, is also reading with great feeling and emotion, adding different voices for characters in the book. Mrs. R. is pleased as she says that the students have met her objectives of cooperation and oral reading. After the students rotate partners, Mrs. R. calls them back together and comments on the things she saw them do well. She encourages them to practice again at home with a parent or younger sibling. Once settled again in their seats, Amber passes out a language arts worksheet, and after an explanation from Mrs. R., student begin to work.

At 2:00, Paco passes out his birthday treats (fieldnotes, 12/10/96). Mrs. R. asks him to choose two helpers, and several students wish him a happy birthday as he

distributes the treats. As usual, no one eats or drinks until everyone in the class has been served. After looking around the room, one of the students asks Mrs. R. if they can eat, and she says, "I'm glad to see you are all waiting to eat, that is showing good manners" (fieldnotes, 10/30/96). Showing good manners is also a part of the class constitution section on Responsibilities and is frequently reinforced (room 23 artifact collection).

As treats are finished, students begin to pack up to go home. One part of the daily routine is for each student to complete a homework sheet which details everything they have done during the day. While Mrs. R. writes this list on the board, Amber passes out the blank homework sheets. As each student copies the information down, he or she checks if it was completed at school or is homework. Courtney, whose job is homework monitor, is preparing one of these sheets for each student who is absent. Courtney believes her job is important because, "...if I didn't do it, then people...wouldn't get their work done. They would have a late list and I really don't want that to happen..." (student interview #6, 2/18/97). Once the information is on the board, Mrs. R. reminds the students to clean up all areas of the classroom, not just around their desks (fieldnotes, 10/14/96, 11/15/96, 12/10/96). This is often accompanied by a comment of being responsible for the whole community, not just their part. Student check-out then begins and Mrs. R. reviews each student's homework sheet, makes any needed changes, and asks each student to check his or her mailbox. Students on safety patrol are the first to be dismissed, and when the students get a little noisy and it becomes difficult to hear, she tells them, we have got to work together to meet our responsibilities" (fieldnotes, 11/15/96). Patrols are dismissed on time, and then Mrs. R. has the rest of the class gather their

belongings, put their chairs up on their desks, and line up. Cliff is chair monitor, and with a reminder from Mrs. R., puts up the extra chairs. School is dismissed at 2:45 p.m.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

In this chapter, a very brief summary of the study will be presented, followed by a discussion of the findings of the study as they relate to the relevant literature. Also included is a discussion of the potential implications of this study for classroom teachers and teacher educators, as well as suggestions for further research. This is followed by the limitations of the study and final summative comments.

Summary of the Study

Using the theoretical frameworks of constructivism and interpretivism, this qualitative-naturalistic study describes two elementary classrooms that embrace experiential democratic citizenship with the hope of determining what specific qualities and characteristics in these classrooms promote motivation for civic participation. The two teachers participating in the study participated in the James F. Ackerman Center for Democratic Citizenship 1995 summer institute for teachers and expressed a continued commitment to democratic citizenship education in their classrooms. The two participating classrooms are geographically and ethnically diverse. Mr. L. teaches in a bilingual self-contained sixth grade classroom in a Southern California coastal city. Mrs. R. teaches in a fifth grade self-contained classroom in a small Midwestern city.

The primary data collected by the researcher includes the following: (a) fieldnotes collected during classroom observations to describe the classroom culture or environment; (b) semi-structured teacher interviews designed to explore each teacher's beliefs about

citizenship education in their respective classrooms; and (c) semi-structured student interviews designed to explore student perceptions of their classroom and what it was like to be in that environment. The secondary data was collected to assist in triangulation of the data. These data sources are to support or possibly contradict the primary data sources. Secondary data collected includes the following: (a) semi-structured school principal interviews; (b) semi-structured parent interviews; (c) semi-structured social service agency interviews; (d) teacher questionnaires; (e) archival data; and (f) classroom, school, and community artifacts.

Analyses of the data from the above-described sources generated the following two assertions. First, in classrooms where democratic elements such as providing student choice, shared responsibility, shared decision-making, and deliberate opportunities for student civic participation are present, students are beginning to accept more responsibility for their community. The community can be defined as the classroom, the school, or the larger geographic community. Generally, when these students are provided opportunities to have a real say in what goes on in their classroom, they also begin to accept more responsibility for the classroom community and the school community. Second, when the school principal makes student civic participation a high priority, as opposed to a low priority, those classrooms striving to include democratic elements and civic participation have more success with that inclusion. When a teacher believes that citizenship education and civic participation are priorities of the school principal, they believe they are able to include them more successfully.

Conclusions

In this section, the findings of the study from Chapters 4 and 5 as they relate to the relevant literature are discussed. An attempt will be made to explain the place of each of the two major assertions in democratic citizenship education and civic participation.

Accepting Community Responsibility

Reflecting Dewey's (1916/1944) belief that education should give students a "personal interest" (p. 99) or personal stake in their community, the elementary students in the two classrooms under study are beginning to accept responsibility for their respective communities. The communities they are most interested in are the classroom community and the school community, which are appropriate for the ages of these students according to the citizenship development theory of Dynneson and Gross (1991). This acceptance of responsibility has occurred because Mr. L. and Mrs. R. have created an environment which encourages this interest through deliberate and structured classroom opportunities, and students are beginning to form commitments to their community.

Both of the classrooms in this study contain a variety of democratic elements, and may be considered more democratic than less democratic. Very few classrooms are completely democratic; rather, they tend to operate on a continuum from more democratic to less democratic (VanSickle, 1983, p. 52). A more democratic classroom includes opportunities for the students to influence the decisions of the teacher and is characterized by students who participate in the decisions of the classroom. These decisions include topics of study, specific learning activities, and evaluation alternatives. The less

democratic classroom is highly centralized, and the teacher makes the majority of the decisions for the classroom with little or no input from the students. A more democratic classroom philosophy is consistent with the beliefs and practices of both Mr. L. and Mrs. R. who believe that as the trained professional in the classroom, there are certain decisions that must be made by the teacher. Although both teachers believe that it is very important to provide democratic experience in the classroom, neither teacher believes that his or her classroom should be completely democratic (Mr. L. interview #1, 9/10/96 & Mrs. R. interview, 2/26/97). Both teachers believe there are multiple ways for their students to experience democracy in the classroom. By providing real and meaningful student choice, shared responsibility, shared decision-making, and deliberate opportunities for civic participation, these two teachers have created more democratic classrooms. There are differences between Mr. L. and Mrs. R. in how some of these democratic elements are presented and introduced. This appears to affect the degree to which the students believe they are involved in the classroom (i.e., that it is democratic). This difference appears to account for much of the difference in perceptions.

Choice, shared responsibility, shared decision-making, and deliberate opportunities for civic participation occurred consistently in both of the classrooms under study.

However, these democratic elements appeared with more structure and deliberate intent in Mrs. R.'s room than in Mr. L.'s room. The students in Mrs. R.'s classroom are also more aware of their responsibilities than the students in Mr. L.'s classroom. The characteristics of structure, common vocabulary, and repetition seem to be significant in the differences between these two classrooms

The first characteristic, the presence of structured opportunities, occurred more frequently and with more structure in Mrs. R.'s classroom than in Mr. L.'s classroom.

The mini-economy is one example of this structured opportunity. It is a very concrete and deliberately staged opportunity for students to experience life as a citizen with the responsibilities of a job and the benefits and responsibilities of a salary. Students may experience the consequences of not performing their job well. They may lose their job and others in the community may suffer because of their failings. Structure also occurs in both classrooms as specific opportunities for choice are created by the teacher.

A second characteristic, a common vocabulary, may also be important. Related to structure, a common vocabulary is used by both teachers with their classes. Both teachers refer to the classroom as a community, to community members, and to responsibility to the community. In addition, Mrs. R. consistently uses the core democratic values with her students in conversation and across disciplines. The values of justice, common good, individual rights, patriotism, truth, diversity, and equality of opportunity are a part of the daily vocabulary and they are visible in the classroom on the student created shields. Mrs. R. consistently uses these terms in academic discussions with her students and in matters of classroom management. If students are talking disruptively, Mrs. R. does not say, "Be quiet." Rather, she says, "Your talking is infringing upon the individual right of Katrina [or whomever] to study."

Repetition is the third characteristic more frequently present in Mrs. R.'s classroom than in Mr. L.'s classroom. Repetition is certainly related to structure and a

common vocabulary as Mrs. R. repeatedly and consistently offers structured opportunities and uses a common vocabulary with her students.

Influence of the School Principal

The school principal is an undeniably important factor in every elementary school; and the influence of the two principals in this study seems to intensify the experience in the two classrooms. Dr. Simmons' more democratic leadership style and her support of democratic citizenship education encourage Mrs. R. to include those elements. Further, Dr. Simmons' support of democratic citizenship education is evidenced by her use of the vocabulary introduced by Mrs. R. throughout the school.

Mr. Valdez's demonstrated priorities on safety and achievement, as well as his more authoritarian style of leadership, has discouraged Mr. L. from implementing some of the democratic elements he would like to include. This may also explain the presence of fewer deliberately structured opportunities in Mr. L.'s classroom, as compared to Mrs. R.'s classroom. The school climate is decidedly less open at Las Flores. This may lessen the opportunity for students to see repetition and a common vocabulary outside of the classroom. If this is true, democratic elements are not consist throughout the school, and the opportunity for consistent reinforcement is missing.

Implications

This study helps to fill an acknowledged void in civic education research and is important for that reason. Researchers have stated a need for research in civic education,

particularly in classroom based studies (VanSledright & Grant, 1994; Wade, 1995). Much of the previous research has relied on self-reporting measures, such as surveys and questionnaires (Blankenship, 1990; Hahn & Tocci, 1990; Oppenheim, Torney, & Farnen, 1975). This type of research may not allow the researcher to see what occurs in the lives of these students that makes them respond with their particular answers. Sehr (1997, p. 86) specifically calls for studies which utilize "...qualitative research methods such as open-ended interviews and educational ethnography...[in order to] gain insight into the structures and processes of democratic schooling, and students' responses to their educational experience..." This qualitative ethnographic study makes a sincere contribution to the field of civic education research.

Classroom Teacher

There are also implications for the classroom teacher who may choose to read this study. For the teacher who is interested in democratic citizenship education, and wishes to prepare participatory democratic citizens, there are some suggestions based on the conclusions of this study.

- Democratic knowledge, skills, and attitudes are all necessary in a strong citizenship program. A combination of all of these should be present, and included in a meaningful and interconnected manner.
- The citizenship program should also be presented in an interdisciplinary manner and infused throughout the curriculum. Wraga (1993) supports interdisciplinary

- citizenship education by discussing the need for citizens (i.e., students) to integrate the knowledge of several subjects.
- Elementary students do not seem to commit to democracy when it is presented passively. A passive presentation of democracy would include democratic knowledge, but few opportunities for a "lived process of participation" (Wood, p. 170).
 Opportunities to use the knowledge, skills, and attitudes must be presented with structure, deliberately and repeatedly. It is hoped that this will encourage the "habits of mind" promoted by Dewey (1916/1994, p. 99).
- Second, democratic classrooms do promote community responsibility. Teachers wishing to encourage community and community responsibility should share the classroom with their students. Allowing students to become responsible in the classroom through rule-setting, classroom jobs, choice in assignments, etc., encourages responsibility to that classroom community. Students who have helped to set the environment for the classroom are more committed to the success of that classroom. As demonstrated by both teachers in this study, setting the classroom environment involves more than just rule-setting. Learning to care about one another and the classroom is nurtured through modeling and positive reinforcement.
- Students who participate in assessment of their academic work and who reflect on
 their classroom behavior appear to be more responsible in those areas. Teachers who
 want to encourage responsibility may wish to share assessment with their students, and
 to encourage reflection on classroom behavior.

- Democratic classrooms include the discussion of controversial issues. Taking this further, the encouragement of the civil discussion of issues should become a part of these classrooms. Lappe and DuBois (1994, p. 239) provide a list of "Ten Arts of Democracy," which includes, among others, active listening, mediation, negotiation, public dialogue, and evaluation and reflection. This list details those elements necessary for the civil discussion of issues and ideas.
- For those teachers who wish to nurture and encourage active democratic citizens, it
 may be in their best interest, when possible, to find administrators who are supportive
 of the teacher's goals. As stated earlier, islands of democracy can survive, but to
 provide the repetition and common vocabulary recommended, a supportive principal is
 essential.
- A final suggestion or implication for teachers would be for them to participate in a
 program, class, or institute that would encourage them to develop an appropriate
 citizenship education program for their setting. The two teachers in this study
 participated in the same institute and believed that that experience gave them a more
 clear understanding, a stronger vocabulary, and a more coherent vision of democratic
 citizenship education.

Teacher Educators

The implications for teacher educators differ little from the implications for teachers. The challenge for teacher educators is to provide, encourage, and nurture a commitment to democratic education through the university experience.

- It is essential to provide pre-service teachers exposure to theory and research on democratic education to increase their knowledge and understanding.
- As I would encourage teachers to provide meaningful citizenship opportunities, the
 same is true for teacher educators who wish to encourage a commitment to citizenship
 education. Provide pre-service teachers with consistent, meaningful, and relevant
 opportunities to create the climate of their classroom and to serve their respective
 communities, specifically service-learning.

Suggestions for Further Research

I have chosen to present the suggestions for further research in a bulleted format.

It is hoped this format makes these points in a concise and straightforward manner.

- Although this study helps to fill the need for qualitative and classroom based studies on civic participation, other qualitative classroom studies are certainly needed to support or challenge the findings of this study. Studies are needed at all grade levels to provide a comprehensive body of literature and to generate the grounded theory desired by VanSledright and Grant (1994). Most of the prior research on political socialization was done with secondary students and it was also quantitative, as opposed to qualitative.
- This study began with the assumption that democratic citizenship is a goal of schooling in the United States. However, as a very diverse nation, it may be important to study the interpretation of this goal with some of the diverse populations of our nation and how that may or may not affect citizenship education. This suggestion comes very

specifically from one interview comment made by Junior, an Hispanic student of Mr. L.'s. As we talked about the class constitution and rules, Junior was the only student to say that students should not have a role in making classroom decisions (student interview #3, 9/26/96). He believes it is the sole responsibility of the teacher. It is important to explore if participatory democratic citizenship education is more of a challenge in certain schools because a particular culture may be less supportive of democratic citizenship education.

- Longitudinal studies to ascertain if the experiences in the elementary or middle grades influence adult civic behavior are also needed. This would be even more meaningful if students had consistent democratic citizenship education throughout their schooling. If these students were followed through school in order to monitor their citizenship development, with later follow-up studies, more insight into the effects of citizenship education may be discovered. This will continue to be a challenge as traditional schooling is a decidedly undemocratic affair. Goodman (1992, p. 179) refers to the presence of "islands of democracy" in schools and communities. There is a need for further exploration to determine if one or two years on such an "island" is sufficient. Or, are multiple and concurrent experiences necessary? Common sense may tell us the latter (more and concurrent) is more desirable; is it possible, given the current structure of schools?
- Longitudinal studies may also be important to address the concerns of previous
 political socialization research. The students in this study are younger than students in
 most previous studies, and whether or not early civic experiences will be of long term

participation while still a child/adolescent may promote adult civic participation, although research evidence has been inconclusive, especially with younger children. Niemi and Hepburn (1995, p. 9) conclude that this is due to the fact that "... attitudes and behavior change throughout life...and that early learning is of limited consequence for adult political behavior." This is not an indictment of research, rather it calls for the intergenerational study of the political socialization of students.

- Conclusions in this study indicate that students can develop a sense of ownership of their classroom. Secondary schools provide a unique challenge as students and teachers generally do not have the same amount of time to build this community and sense of ownership. Additional studies in secondary or departmentalized settings are recommended to determine their potential for success. It may also be prudent to examine how different scheduling formats, like block schedules, may be used to enhance democratic citizenship education at the middle and secondary levels.
- Students in these two classrooms are strongly encouraged to cooperate with one another. In the classroom methodology, cooperation for the common good is seen as very important, and a higher goal than competition. Research to explore whether or not competition is contrary to citizenship education is of interest and recommended.

Limitations

As with all studies, this one includes limitations. These limitations occurred primarily because of trade-offs and time limitations. Studying two classrooms may

contribute to generalizability, but with only one researcher, time and detail in both classrooms is limited by the need to spend time in the other.

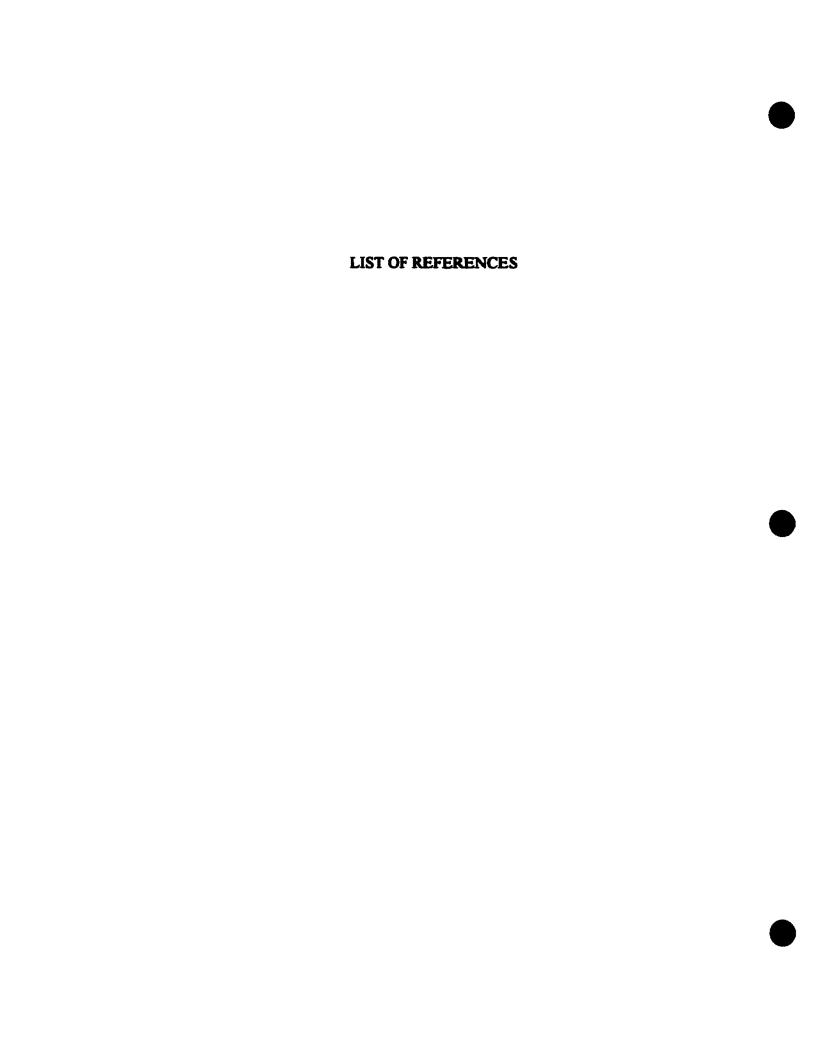
It was with deliberate intentions that two diverse settings were chosen for this study. While this decision should lend strength to the conclusions, a limitation is that the classrooms were studied concurrently, as opposed to simultaneously. I was in both classrooms during the first week of school because of different starting dates which was important to the early stages of the development of classroom climate. However, a concern is that the interpretation that Mrs. R.'s students felt more responsibility to their community than the students in Mr. L.'s classroom may be related to the later interviews in Mrs. R.'s classroom. An attempt to balance this was made by sending a letter to Mr. L.'s students with several writing prompts related to the study. It was hoped that Mr. L. and his students would use this letter to continue to provide updated information. This did not happen.

Another limitation of this study is the lack of depth in examining the social context of the classrooms under study. The selection of two or three students as key informants, interviewing them multiple times, as well as interviewing their parents may have provided more information about the social context of the schools.

The influence of the school principal was not a surprise; however, the intensity of the influence I found was a surprise. Additional interviews and more information about these two principals may have served to strengthen Assertion Two.

Final Comments

There is so much potential for additional research in the field of civic education that it may seem overwhelming. In general, additional qualitative and quantitative studies are needed; however, the lack of qualitative studies should impress upon other researchers the importance of this particular need. If social studies educators truly believe that democratic citizenship education which combines the knowledge, skills, and attitudes is our goal, we must conduct and support the research that will help us to determine what are the appropriate types of democratic citizenship education. Prior research has concluded that the traditional social studies curriculum is effective in transmitting knowledge, but not the attitudes and skills (Ehman, 1980). What then is more appropriate than the traditional curriculum? An important and related question for teacher educators is to ask how the conclusions of this research will affect how we teach our pre-service teachers. This research has discussed the importance of creating a democratic classroom climate if one wishes to encourage community and civic responsibility. Do teacher educators then model this approach in their classrooms? I believe we must. Mrs. R. certainly believes she must "walk the walk" of democracy with her students (interview, 2/26/97). I cannot believe that teacher educators should do any less.



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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Pilot Study Student Interview Ouestions

Primary Unstructured Interview Question

Can you tell me what it is like in Room 23?

Primary Semi-Structured Interview Questions

- 1. What is the most unique thing about being in Room 23?

 Probe: What makes it different from other classes?
- 2. Do you think you get to have a say in what goes on in Room 23? Probe: Can you give some examples?

Question 3 followed question 2 dependent upon the answer given to 2.

3. Is that [having a say] related in any way to citizenship?

Probe: How do you think they might be related?

Probe: Can you give some examples?

- 4. How important is participation to citizenship?
- 5. Do you participate in the community [beyond Room 23] as a citizen? Why?

Appendix B

Pilot Study Teacher Interview Ouestions

- 1. Can you tell me what democratic elements or opportunities, or democratic experiences that you deliberately create in your classroom?
- 2. Can you think of democratic opportunities or elements that seem to occur by chance, that are not deliberately set out by you?
- 3. Can you explain how those opportunities to civically participate are introduced? Probe: What do you think really motivates the students to civically participate?

Appendix C(1)

Explanation of Informed Consent for the Study Proper

All participants in the study were informed that consent was voluntary. The two participating teachers signed a consent form detailing the presence of the researcher and requirements from the students and the teacher. Students and their parents were specifically informed that participation or non-participation would not affect a student's grade in any way. Separate consent forms were required for parents and students with the student consent form written in language appropriate to the age of the students.

Participants were informed that all data collected would be kept confidential and any individual referred to in the study will be referenced by a pseudonym.

Appendix C(2)

Informed Consent Form for Participating Teachers

QUALITIES AND CHARACTERISTICS OF DEMOCRATIC CLASSROOMS

Invitation to Participate

We have spoken about the possibility of my doing part of my dissertation research in your classroom; and, you indicated that you would be interested in participating. I am now to the stage of selecting the most feasible and representative sites for that study and am obtaining consent from all participants. I would welcome and encourage your participation in this research, as a teacher-researcher, in helping me to understand what is going on in the classroom.

It is first necessary to let you know what my presence will mean to you and your classroom. The preliminary title of the research study is "An Ethnographic Study of the Qualities and Characteristics of Democratic Classrooms which Motivate Civic Participation."

- 3ecause this is an ethnographic study, I plan to observe your classroom in its "natural state" - meaning, I will not be teaching any lessons or asking you to use any of my curriculum materials.
- I will need to spend three to four weeks in your classroom with you and your students, mainly observing, sometimes participating as a class member.
- I would like to be able to interview on audio-tape selected students (with all necessary permissions) and at convenient times.
- With permission, I would like to copy student work, classroom documents, lessons, classroom artifacts or other materials that may help describe your class
- 5. With permission, I may also video-tape your students.
- I would like to be able to interview you on audio-tape in depth on a few occasions and also have the opportunity to chat with you briefly each day about the day's occurrences.
- If possible, I would also like to attend "specials" like PE and Music with your students.
- All information will be kept strictly confidential and anonymous even your state and city will be kept vague (i.e. an affluent suburb of a large city in a western state).
- Participation in this study is strictly voluntary, and may be withdrawn at any time.
- 10. Students and their parents will also be required to sign consent forms if they wish the child to participate in this study.

As you can see, this is a big commitment for you to make and I encourage you to think carefully about it. From our conversations, I believe you and your classroom carry some unique qualities that say some great things about democratic classrooms. Please understand that I am not doing this study to evaluate what you or your students are doing. I already feel strongly that

wonderful things are happening in your class and I want to turn a description, analysis and interpretation of those things into research.

An Informed Consent for is attached that summarizes this information. If you agree to participate, please sign this form and return it to me in the enclosed self-addressed stamped envelope.

Thank you for your assistance.

Kathryn Obenchain

enc.

Informed Consent for Teacher Participation in Research Project on Democratic Classrooms

This study will explore the qualities and characteristics unique to a democratic elementary classroom. It is performed as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for the researcher's Ph.D. in Social Studies education at Purdue University.

There are no foreseeable risks in this research. If there are any questions, the researcher may be contacted at the numbers given below.

In summary, I understand the following:

- I will observe your classroom in its "natural state" meaning, I will not be teaching any lessons or asking you to use any of my curriculum materials.
- 2. I will be in your classroom for three to four weeks.
- 3. I would like to be able to interview on audio-tape selected students (with all necessary permissions) and at convenient times.
- With permission, I would like to copy student work, classroom documents, lessons, classroom artifacts or other materials that may help me describe your class.
- 5. With permission, I may also video-tape your students.

Kathryn Obenchain

- I would like to be able to interview you on audio-tape in depth on a few
 occasions and also have the opportunity to chat with you briefly each day
 about the day's occurrences.
- 7. I would also like to attend "specials" like PE and Music with your students.
- 8. All information will be kept strictly confidential and anonymous.
- Participation in this study is strictly voluntary and may be withdrawn at any time.
- Students and their parents will also be required to sign consent forms if they
 wish the child to participate in this study.

Kathryn Obenchain

11. If there are any questions about the research, the researcher may be contacted by calling 219/753-8191 (home) or xxx/xxx-xxxx (locally). The researcher may also be contacted by writing to:

1442 LAEB, Room 41158 West Lafayette, IN 47907	732 Barclay Street Logansport, IN 46947
Teacher's Name	will participate in this research project.
SIGNED:	DATE:

Appendix C(3)

Informed Consent Forms for Participating Students (and their Parents)

QUALITIES AND CHARACTERISTICS OF DEMOCRATIC CLASSROOMS

Invitation to Participate

I am currently involved in a research project exploring the specific qualities and characteristics of democratic classrooms. This project will specifically explore unique qualities and characteristics that may influence civic participation. This study is performed as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for my Ph.D. degree in Social Studies education at Purdue University.

As a student in Mr/Ms. XXXXX's classroom, your child's participation in this project will provide useful information on the topic. Mr/Ms. XXXXX's classroom has been identified as an appropriate site which will benefit the research. The school administration and Mr/Ms. XXXXX have both given their permission for my presence in the classroom and school.

I will be spending approximately four weeks in Mr/Ms. XXXXX's classroom during the fall of 1996. Students should not notice any changes in their daily class routines. The majority of my research will occur through my observations of the natural activities, occurrences and behaviors of the students during their school day.

Specific permission is needed to interview your child and to copy any relevant samples of his or her class work. Brief interviews (10-15 minutes) will be conducted in both individual and small group settings and will focus on "what it is like in Mr/Ms. XXXXXX's classroom." All interviews will take place during school hours, at the convenience of Mr/Ms. XXXXX and your child. Permission is also necessary to video-tape the classroom during the day. Video-taping will only occur during the first week of school. The video-taping will be done only to assist me in identifying qualities and characterisitics and will not focus on any student. Participation is strictly voluntary and is not associated in any way with grades. All data from this project is confidential and will be used for research purposes only. Data from interviews, video-tapes and samples of work will remain anonymous.

Two "Informed Consent" forms are attached that summarize this letter. One form is for parent/guardian signatures and the other form is for your child to sign. Returning these forms to your child's classroom at your earliest convenience will be a great help.

Thank you for your assistance.

Kathryn Obenchain
219/753-8191 (home telephone number)
XXX/XXX-XXXX (telephone number during research in your community)

Informed Consent for Participation in Research Project on Democratic Classrooms Parent/Guardian Form

This study will explore the qualities and characteristics unique to a democratic elementary classroom. It is performed as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for the researcher's Ph.D. in Social Studies education and Purdue University.

There are no foreseeable risks in this research. If there are any questions, the researcher may be contacted at the numbers given below.

In summary, we understand the following:

- 1. The time required for participation in the interviews will be 10 to 15 minutes.
- 2. Relevant samples of class work may be copied.
- 3. The classroom may be video-taped during the first week of classes.
- 4. Participation is entirely voluntary. The parents/guardians or the student may terminate involvement at any time without penalty.
- 5. All data collected will be held in confidence.
- All data is for research purposes only and will not affect the student's school
 record in any way.
- 7. If there are any questions about the research, the researcher may be contacted by calling 219/753-8191 (home) or xxx/xxx-xxxx (locally). The researcher may also be contacted by writing to:

Kathryn Obenchain	or	Kathryn Obenchain
Purdue University		732 Barclay Street
1442 LAEB, Room 4115B		Logansport, IN 46947
West Lafayette, IN 47907		
		may participate in this research project
Student's Name		
Consent must be given by both	parents and/or	guardians.
Parents/Guardians		
SIGNED:		DATE:
SIGNED:		DATE:

PLEASE HAVE YOUR CHILD RETURN THE SIGNED FORM TO CLASS.



Consent Form for Students

I am doing a school project so I can graduate from college. The topic is democratic classrooms, and I have heard that your classroom is one that might be interesting for me to spend some time in this fall.

There should not be any risks for anyone who helps with this project. If you want to ask me any questions, that is OK.

I have made a list of the things that I might ask you to help me with in my project.

- 1. I might ask to talk to you, either just you and me, or with some of your classmates. It should only take 10 or 15 minutes.
- 2. I would like to copy some of your schoolwork, like papers or projects.
- 3. There might be a video-camera in your classroom the first week of school, video-taping your class.
- 4. Participating in this project is up to you and your parents or guardians. If you do not want to participate, you can tell me at any time and it will be OK.
- 5. Everything that I copy or that you say in our interview is confidential. That means that I cannot tell who said what or who's paper I have copied.
- 6. Participating in this project won't change your grade or your school record.
- 7. My home phone number is 219/753-8191 and my phone number while I am visiting your school is xxx/xxx-xxxx. You can ask me any questions about my project but remember to ask permission before you call.

There is a place at the bottom of this page for you to sign your name and put the date. If you would like to participate in my school project, please sign this form. Your parents or guardians also have a form to sign. You will see a black cat on this form and the one that your parents or guardians will sign. In your classroom, you will also see a big brown envelope with a black cat on it. It will be a big help if you will put both forms in that envelope for me. Thanks.

	may participate in this project.
Print Your Name Here	
SIGNED:	DATE:
Sign Your Name Here	
4	



Appendix D(1)

Full Study Primary Teacher Interview Questions

1. What do you perceive as the school and district philosophy toward citizenship education?

Probes: What are their foci?

Where does (if it does) the idea of a democratic classroom fit in?

2. What is your philosophy regarding citizenship education?

Probe: Does the idea of a democratic classroom fit into that philosophy fit in? How?

3. How does your philosophy translate into what you do?

Probes: In the classroom - both academic and hidden?

In the school?
In the community?

- 4. Are there any specific democratic elements in the classroom that you consciously create?
- 5. Are any of these elements (if any) designed to motivate students to participate beyond the classroom? Which ones? How?
- 6. Is there anything you would like to do in terms of citizenship education that you do not do? Why?
- 7. What are your impressions of the year so far? Is the development of the classroom environment on track from previous years?
- 8. In your setting, what influence do you think the family, school, and larger community have on motivating students to participate?

Appendix D(2)

Full Study Student Interview Questions

- 1. Can you tell me what it is like in Room 11/23?
- 2. What is the most unique thing about being in Room 11/23?
- 3. Do you think you get to have a say in what goes on in the classroom? Can you give me some examples?
- 4. If you get to have a say, do you think that is at all related to citizenship and being a citizen?
- 5. Do you think your classroom jobs are related to good citizenship? How?
- 6. Why do you do these classroom jobs? Why did you choose the jobs you have chosen?
- 7. Can you tell me about your work in the buddies class?
- 8. Do you do anything outside of school that might be related to good citizenship? What and why?
- 9. What do you think a good citizen is?

Appendix E(1)

Full Study Principal Interview Ouestions

- 1. What are your priorities as principal at your school?
- 2. What do you perceive as the district philosophy toward citizenship education? Probe: What is their [district] focus?
- 3. In the running of this school, what is your philosophy toward citizenship education?

Probe: Does the idea of a democratic classroom fit into that philosophy? How and where?

- 4. How does your school philosophy translate into what happens, or what you encourage to happen at your school?
- 5. Do you think any of these things might motivate students to civically participate?

Note: For both principals, additional probing questions related to their specific site were asked during the interviews for the purpose of clarification of researcher observations. These questions were site specific and not general.

Appendix E(2)

Full Study Parent Interview Questions

- 1. In your opinion, and for your child, what do you think is the purpose of his/her education at this stage of his/her life?
- 2. What do you think are the priorities of this particular school?
- 3. Why do you volunteer at the school? Do you think it affects your child? How?
- 4. Does your family do other volunteer work? Do your children participate with you in these situations?
- 5. Does your child believe that the opportunities your child has in the classroom to participate (e.g., jobs, buddies) are seen by him/her as civic or community participation?

Appendix E(3)

Full Study Social Service Agency Interview Questions

- 1. What is your typical volunteer like, in terms of demographics?
- 2. Does your agency have enough volunteers? What seems to affect the numbers?
- 3. How, by whom, and where are volunteers recruited?
- 4. Do you think your city has a sense of community and is committed to betterment?
- 5. Of the youth who volunteer, what brings them to you?

VITA

VITA

Kathryn M. Obenchain is a native Hoosier. She was born in Logansport, Indiana in 1959 and has resided in Indiana for most of her life. She is a 1978 graduate of Logansport High School and a 1982 graduate of Hanover College located in Hanover, Indiana. With a B.A. in History and a secondary teaching certificate, Kathryn taught U. S. History, World Civilizations, World Geography, and American Government at her alma mater, Logansport High School. She earned a Masters degree in Social Studies education from Purdue University in 1994 and anticipates a Ph.D. in Curriculum and Instruction from Purdue in 1997. Beginning in the fall of 1997, Kathryn will be an assistant professor of education at the University of Nevada, Reno.

